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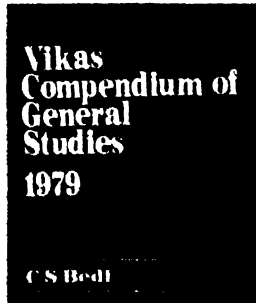
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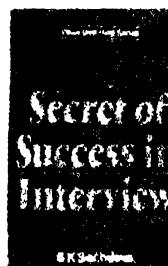
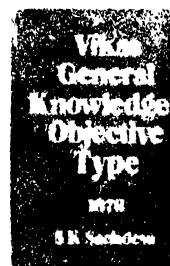
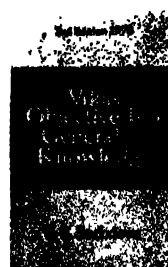
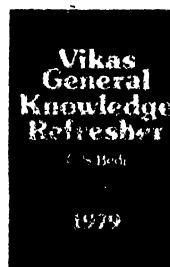
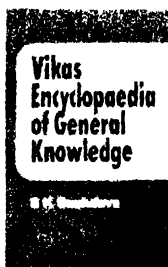
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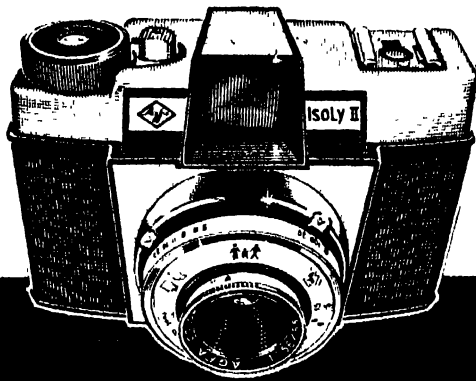
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Rajiv Gandhi's memories of his childhood years are different from the way M. O. Mathai remembers them. In an exclusive interview with M. J. AKBAR, Rajiv Gandhi says that Mathai didn't know the Nehru grandchildren all that well. There are glimpses into how the brothers grew up, the atmosphere in the Nehru family and how they went their different ways.

We reprint an interview published in *Sahafat* of Pakistan with Tarah Masih, who carried out the execution of Z. A. Bhutto. Masih says that though he looked sick and pale, Bhutto wore a determined expression on his face as he went up to the gallows.



Moynihan's allegation that the Congress Party under Indira Gandhi had received CIA funds for electioneering has set the cat among the pigeons with a crop of counter-accusations and passing-the-buck excuses. KEWAL VARMA finds out how the CIA fed anti-communists.

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Editor M. J. Akbar

Assistant Editor Subir Roy Editorial Staff Shubhabrata Bhattacharya,
Nirmal Mitra, David McMahon, Saumitra Banerjee, Tirthankar Ghosh,
S. N. M. Abdi Delhi Correspondent Ajay Bose
Art Director B. pul Guha Asst Art Director Anuya Bhattacharya

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SUNDAY
Exclusive report from Pakistan by Peter Niesewand
Tariq Ali speaks out from London
How Muslim nations treat their leaders



Has Bhutto been silenced?

Dastardly murder

THE report by Peter Niesewand, "Has Bhutto been silenced?" (April 15) affords a graphic picture of the execution of Bhutto. Whereas the whole story reminds us of the saying: "Those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword" and suggests that Bhutto has been appropriately rewarded for his deeds, the question arises as to whether Bhutto was really a murderer. Not only most Pakistanis, but people the world over have been stunned at his execution.

Prabhat C. Borah, Gauhati

BHUTTO's execution was barbaric, un-Islamic and unfair. It is a political murder. Under the present political set-up, General Zia is free to do anything he thinks fit, to consolidate his position and he has no qualms of any kind.

Banumathi Rajaram, Madurai

WHY were Bhutto's relatives not allowed to see his body which was lying in a wooden coffin? According to Muslim custom, a dead body must be bathed and wrapped in white unstitched clothes before burial. In a state of Nizam-e-Mustafi General Zia should have called Bhutto's daughter to identify the dead body in place of Amir Begum as the husband becomes "Bhair Mahram" (A man from whom *Pardah* is essential) in the eyes of Islamic law and the wife is not entitled to see his face. Were these procedures followed in the identification of Bhutto's body?

Ali Muneer, Hazaribagh

BHUTTO's greatest blunder in life was to promote Zia-ul-Haq to the post of Army Chief by superseding six senior Generals. Zia, instead of remaining obliged to Bhutto, was

determined to wipe him out of Pakistan's political scene.

B. N. Bose, Jamshedpur

NOT only General Zia, but the Indian Government too should be condemned for not reacting to the appeals for clemency to Bhutto. It neither made any effort to save Bhutto's life nor uttered a word of sympathy after his execution.

M. R. Ananthasayanan, Madras

A POLITICIAN who tried to accelerate the pace of progress in Pakistan to its acme failed miserably and ultimately had to resort to a political crime at the expense of his adversary. As a democratic leader he needs homage.

K. Jayalakshmi, Madras

GENERAL Zia justified the execution of Bhutto saying that Islam does not distinguish between the high and low. He should know that Islam is a religion of peace. A Muslim, according to the Holy Koran, is he who has made peace with God and man. Peace cannot exist without goodwill and tolerance. In fact, the whole foundation of Islam is based on tolerance. It is said tolerance is the first test of civilisation, and intolerance is the product of arrogance. Besides, the usurpation of power is prohibited in Islam! So Zia's very first act was un-Islamic.

General Zia may recall the assassination of Khurmuzan during the reign of the third Caliph. When Hazrath Umar was assassinated by one Firuz, Umar's son killed not only Firuz but also his friend Khurmuzan, when the two were in conversation. The question arose whether Umar's son should be executed for killing Firuz's innocent friend. Most people sympathised with Umar's son, so the Caliph Usman set him free after he paid the blood money to the bereaved family. In Kasuri's case, General Zia did not offer Bhutto any such option. Yet he proclaims Pakistan an Islamic republic.

Md Khaleelur Rahman, Madras

Living legend

NO POLITICIAN is infallible in this world, let alone Z. A. Bhutto. The former Pakistan President and Premier's appearance on the political scene was not so earth-shaking, but like the coming of dawn on the mountainside, it slowly crept upon his countrymen and permeated them. Bhutto may have had a million drawbacks — hauteur, authoritarianism, narcissism, and megalomania — but he showed his gumption in formulating his country's foreign policy; he showed how a small country like Pakistan can survive without antagonising Beijing, Moscow and Washington. His Pakistan Peoples Party, though of recent origin, is a viable political force. Bhutto's myth was

born long before he went to the gallows after midnight on April 4, 1979 at the Rawalpindi Central Jail, to satisfy the savage lust of Pakistan's military rulers.

Jahar Das and Kartick Chandra Das, Calcutta

IT WAS interesting to note ("God's will", April 15) that Mr Vajpayee's suggestion that the issue of Bhutto's execution be taken to the House was turned down by the Prime Minister, Morarji Desai. No doubt, both the Foreign Minister and the Petroleum Minister, Mr Bahuguna felt strongly about Bhutto's execution, but it is a pity they did not consider it rationally. Why should India comment on its neighbour's internal affairs? Morarji was right.

Vijay Lyndoh, Shillong

Nearer home

THE hanging was, to use the language of Piloo Mody, too tragic for words. However, the reaction of certain individuals would have been amusing, but for the sadness sincerely felt by a good section of our people. George Fernandes rushed with a telegram to Mrs Bhutto forgetting that his country also had not spared two illiterate Naxalites, Bhoomaiah and Kista Gowda from the gallows some time back. No political or legal luminary had joined Romain Rolland's plea for sparing the life of Nathuram Godse, in keeping with Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent principles. Many also feel that smugly putting opponents to death is not uncommon in Muslim countries. But they conveniently forget that in the only Hindu kingdom of the world, Nepal, a couple of political agitators met the fate of Bhutto only a couple of months earlier.

Lastly, it is pretended that the secret elimination of people is unknown in this country. According to the late Setalwad's Memoirs, it was a plus point for Sardar Pratap Singh Kalron that he could successfully rub out an inconvenient person.

Koneti, Cuttack

BHUTTO was smart and intelligent, but a crooked politician, all the same. He had a hatred for India, and this was the main reason why India was at war with Pakistan in 1949, 1965 and 1971. These wars not only shattered India's economy, but also devastated his own country. Bhutto was also responsible for the secession of East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. He called Indians dogs at the UN. In spite of all this, I wonder why the Indian Press is showing such great sympathy for the late leader. I believe he was rightly treated by Zia-ul-Haq; his execution should remain an eye-opener to all the world's dictators to make them realise that they are not above the law.

Jasvinder Singh, Delhi

A contradiction

IN reply to the question regarding why India did not make an appeal against the death sentence on Bhutto, Mr Morarji Desai said it was an internal affair of Pakistan and he could not interfere. But on April 6, 1979 an AIR news bulletin at 8.50 a.m. said that the Government of India had issued a mercy appeal to save the life of the South African black leader Mr Solomon Mahlangu on whom a death sentence had been passed. Is this not a contradiction? In both cases the issue involved was purely humanitarian.

S. Kashmiri, Srinagar

BHUTTO suffered, not because of his coercion, but because he gave his country new ideas. He failed to prepare his people for them, however. And one should know that supplanting old ideas with new ones is far more difficult than the conquest of a country.

Md Younus, Bahadurganj

WHEN democracy does really return to Pakistan, Zia will certainly go the way of Idi Amin. The people of Pakistan will hang him in public. Bhutto's execution was followed by a spate of hangings all around the world — of the black leader Solomon Mahlangu in South Africa, of Hoveida in Iran, of four others in Pune, India and many others. We are making our way back to the medieval times.

M. S. Prasad, Nellore

I DO NOT agree with Tariq Ali ("Bhutto was bad, the Generals are worse", April 15) that if the USA really wanted to save Bhutto's life, they could have. True, they had succeeded in saving Mujib while they failed to save Bhutto. But this was not because the USA was not sincere in its purpose. The fact is, Bhutto was a statesman who could visualise things even beyond the current storm, while Zia is a dictator who saw in Bhutto's death his only hope of survival. This is what made the former concede to world opinion and the latter ignore it.

Chhaya Ghosh, Durgapur

CONGRATULATIONS for Kutty's cartoon depicting the late Z. A. Bhutto's ghost beside an ailing Zia. General Zia will soon have to repent for taking Bhutto's life.

Surinder Pal, Delhi

Plainly malicious

VIVEK SENGUPTA's plea in "Headless Media" (April 15) for revoking the rules of retirement in favour of a fellow-Bengali DG of AIR may be born out of his charitable disposition. But the insinuation that G. S. Bhargava owed his present position to his authorship of a biography of Morarji Desai is malicious. Bhargava's biography is not an eulogy. Moreover, it reads almost like a chargesheet against the octogenarian leader. The very opening

sentence blows up the unsavoury fact that as a man Morarji Desai does not endear himself to anybody coming into his contact. I was present when the first copy of the book was presented to the PM. He received the biography with a stern, wooden face, and made only one cryptic remark: "Why should people spend Rs 25 to read it?" Not even a smile of thanks. Obviously, the PM was none too happy over Bhargava's assessment of the PM's public and private life. Since Bhargava is not a fellow-Bengali, neither Vivek Sengupta, nor myself, would plead for his continuation as the PIB chief after reaching the age of superannuation.

Satyendra Nath Sarkar, Delhi

VIVEK SENGUPTA's article gives only one side of the story and it is rather unfortunate that SUNDAY should have allowed it to be published without taking into account the views of professionals like producers, newsmen and engineers.

The post of Directors General of Akashvani and Doordarshan is not a promotion post from the cadre of Deputy Director General. It is a travesty of truth to hold the Minister of Information and Broadcasting responsible for the present uncertainty. The so-called programme officers who have taken it as a birthright to head all the stations in the network cannot swallow that claims of other professionals in the media are to be duly considered and the monopoly so far enjoyed cannot be allowed to perpetuate. The quality of programmes put out under the aegis of the programme officers speak for themselves and need no comment. The main reason for this state of affairs is the abundance of mediocre and below-average programme officers at the decision-making levels.

One example of how facts are distorted by the PSA (Programme Staff Association) is that while comparing the number of Class I posts on the programme and engineering side, the number of producers and newsmen have been conveniently left out as though they either do not exist or do not form a part of the "message". For the benefit of your readers and special correspondent, it may be added that other Broadcasting Organisations like BBC, NHK, ABC have been headed by eminent newsmen, engineers and producers to much better end results. Absolute monopoly breeds absolute corruption and inefficiency. The so-called programme officers (no better than contractors or brokers) are the bane of these creative media and the sooner the real professionals are given due importance the better it would be for the organisation and public at large.

The I & B Minister, who is known for his courage and conviction should not fall prey to the vehement propaganda unleashed by vested interests. We know, it is not easy to bring any social equity but attempts to cut the vested interests to proper size are laudable.

V. K. Mehra, Joint Secretary, AIR Engineers' Association, Delhi

Criminal indifference

THE rape of Basti's nurses (April 8) by Nirmal Mitra highlights yet another instance of the ubiquitous political interference in criminal cases. One wonders why politicians try to make political capital out of everything. The mass rape at Basti is a reflection of our moral corruption, and the police indifference was most disgusting. When shall the guardians of the law start doing their duty properly?

Batrai, Srinagar

ON PAGE 39, in paragraph 3 of the first column, it is stated that Mrs V. Dhavale visited Basti on March 13, 1979. This is wrong. It was Miss D. Dhulia, Deputy Director, Nursing Services, who visited Basti that day, when she was shown black flags and nurses in Basti protested against her for having come 17 days after the incident. It was she who made an official visit to Gorakhpur, and not Mrs V. Dhavale, as mentioned.

In fact, Mrs V. Dhavale (not Mrs V. Dhavale) and Miss Juneja, President and Secretary respectively, of the Rajkiya Nurses Sangh, UP, along with the president and secretary of the Nurses Association, District Branch, Basti, met the Deputy Director, Nursing Services, and Government officials on 8.4.79 and acquainted them about the situation in Basti. The undersigned visited Basti on March 10 and made an on-the-spot inquiry about the whole incident by contacting individual victims (of the rape) and assured them of a thorough inquiry. They also held a meeting with the nurses followed by a meeting with the CMO.

2) On page 40 in column 3 of the interview under the heading "The nurses corroborate", it is not true, as implied, that President of the State Nurses Association was present on 28.2.79, when the District Magistrate, Superintendent of Police and CMO went to inquire into the matter between 11 and 12 a.m.

The Rajkiya Nurses Sangh, UP is fully sympathetic to the nurses of Basti, and is leaving no stone unturned to ensure that they get full justice. Members are satisfied with the action taken by the RNS, but are agitated over the action of the Deputy Director, Nursing Services, UP.

It is painful to read such mistakes.

I request you to rectify the error.
V. Dhavale, President, Rajkiya Nurses Sangh, Kanpur

The names of Mrs V. Dhavale (not Mrs V. Dhavale, as mentioned), President of the Rajkiya Nurses Sangh, and Miss D. Dhulia, Deputy Director, Nursing Services were inadvertently mixed up. The first sentence of para 3 in column one on page 39 should have read: "We met the State President of the Nurses Sangh, Mrs V. Dhavale and Vice President Miss N. Juneja..." In the lines that follow, "Mrs Dhavale" should read "Miss Dhulia". Our apologies for the lapse.—Editor, SUNDAY



RAJIV GANDHI ANSWERS

Last week, we published M. O. Mathai's memories of Rajiv and Sanjay Gandhi as children. In this issue, the elder and quieter son of Mrs Indira Gandhi says, in an exclusive interview to M. J. AKBAR, that Mathai has exaggerated.

Mathai didn't know us

What is your first reaction to M.O. Mathai's piece ?

A : He goes on a lot about how well he knows us; I don't think he knows us that well at all. He was working in the house; he might have taken us to Okhla once, or swimming a couple of times, but in so many years you do not get to know a person by taking him out three or four times: well, half a dozen at the most.

Q : What kind of person was Mathai? What are your impressions of him?

A : Impressions...obviously not now, but what I thought of him then. We were quite aloof from him. He used to be in his office downstairs, and we wouldn't go there much. Downstairs was taboo in a way; it was sort of out of bounds. We wouldn't frequent the place.

Q : Except to take apples from Mathai's desk, as he claims in his book.

A : (laughs) I don't remember. We might have taken apples... (the expression on Mr Gandhi's face says that he considers this slightly ridiculous, not worth recalling, even if true).

Q : Do you think Mathai used to exaggerate his own importance?

A : Quite honestly, I can't say. We took no interest in politics; we were too small then. Up to 1955 we were in the house; in 1957 or so when Mathai moved out I was twelve years old, Sanjay was less...

Q : Well, what do you think of Mathai now that he has published these books about your grandfather?

A : He has the right to publish whatever he likes. He has written a fair amount of crap in his first book: that's his prerogative.

Q : No, it isn't anyone's prerogative to write crap.

A : Well, obviously he doesn't think it is crap. I think it's crap, but that doesn't mean he thinks it's crap. I don't think he'd doing a con job; he won't be kidding himself; he wouldn't be that dishonest. Obviously he thinks he is writing the truth. (For instance) there is no need for him to make up that we were swiping the apples — why should he make that up?

Q : You think he makes a big show of insignificant details: is that

what you are trying to say?

A : Well, sometimes small things stick in your mind. It might have gone into his mind that, 'look, these chaps are pinching the apples from my drawers....' He used to get the apples with his meals. He used to live in the other wing of the house opposite to where we lived, and the food must have been going from the house — you know, *quota sa hoga, veb aa gaya* (a quota must have been going, with an apple included)... (laughs).

Q : Mathai says you were a cry-baby crawling on all fours. Remember?

A : I don't remember. I don't think so; I don't remember howling around.

Q : Quote: "Rajiv was a sensitive child more dependent on his mother than Sanjay". Reactions please.

A : I think I was more sensitive. I don't think I was more dependent on my mother, but I was a kid then (when Mathai came), so...

Q : Mathai clearly implies that he was a father figure to you and Sanjay when he says that both of you used to come to him with your little problems and quarrels.

A: No (he was not); not at all.

Q: I quote again; "Panditji noted that the children were invariably with me whenever he strayed into my study in the Prime Minister's house".

A: Actually I don't remember going into his study very often. I might have gone into his study a couple of times (but nothing more). I can't seem to relate to all this.

Q: Do you remember Mathai with any fondness?

A: No, not at all. I remember him just like I remember that Rajan or Sheshadri used to work there—no more than that.

Q: Among all the staff, who were you most friendly with?

A: I think Usha Kakkar and Mrs Krishna, but that was later.

Q: Mathai is kind enough to say that both you and Sanjay were lovable children.

A: Well, either I'm crying all the time, or I'm lovable (laughs).

Now this Hungarian woman who was your teacher . . .

A: Yes. You want to meet her? She still runs a school, I think. She was a terror actually; I used to be terrified of her. Just the authority she wielded in that school! We were in Doon when she beat up my mother; she is like that; she would beat anybody up—if she didn't like you she'd beat you up, and she was big enough to do it. She used to come and give us long lectures. She was convinced that I should have been a painter—I've never painted at all!

Q: Mathai says that there were so many privileges, so many servants etc that you two brothers grew up taking many things for granted.

A: We did have numerous servants; yes. I suppose one would grow

up taking things for granted, but I don't think I take things for granted now. I don't mean I have stopped takings for granted only after 1977; I would say I didn't take things for granted even in the early Sixties. Maybe school was responsible for that; because in boarding school we had to do everything by ourselves: polishing shoes, making beds, the whole thing.

Q: Your brother?

A: I don't think he takes things like servants etc for granted. He spent four years in England, and you can't survive there taking such things for granted. He's not really that kind of a chap. I don't want to comment on his political side, where, he might be taking things for granted.

Q: Mathai says that to say thank you did not come naturally to both of you.

A: (pauses) You know, the atmosphere being so political—I mean the politics did not filter down to us, but my grandfather working twenty hours a day, my mother busy all day—obviously we didn't have the normal family atmosphere. But it was not like Mathai makes out in his book.

Q: He says no family feelings or family ties were built up in your household.

A: Well, 'no' would be very strong, but not strong family ties.

Q: Would you say that family meant largely your mother and your grandfather?

A: Yes. Because my father lived in Teen Murti only for a while, and later we were in school eight months of the year. In the four months they might be out on tours—the normal public life hassles.

Q: Did the private life hassles affect you?

A: No, I don't think so.

Q: Did you ever resent your father's estrangement?

A: No. We used to visit him.

Q: Did you resent your father not being more of a family man?

A: I don't think at that age we really knew what it meant, or involved. (My father) was a very independent chap. He wanted to have his career, his own things; you can't grudge him that.

Mathai says he bought a horse for you.

A: We had a horse, and we had a horse named Timbaktu—now who bought it, I have no idea who bought it. I always thought they (the horses) were my grandfather's. When he says he bought the horse what he means I think is that he physically bought the horse (he was my grandfather's secretary), which doesn't mean he necessarily paid for it.

Q: Did Sanjay ask for money as birthday presents?

A: He never asked me for money! I don't remember him asking for money.

Q: How was Sanjay as a kid?

A: We were not very close, never really. He was much more outgoing than I was. He had his own friends; well, before we went to school we didn't have friends as such because friends you choose—we had people we played with, and we really got our friends once we went to boarding. Being two years younger, Sanjay had a completely different set of friends.

Q: Did he want to be one-up on you?

A: I don't think so. He didn't have a chip on his shoulder or anything like that.

Q: But this story which Mathai tells, where both of you went fishing with him and you caught a fish, but Sanjay caught a tortoise, and Sanjay was very disappointed and persuaded Mathai to buy a fish larger than the

Mrs Sonia Gandhi leaving Tihar jail after visiting Mrs Gandhi



THE SAGA OF GWALIOR RAYON

The Saga of Gwalior Rayon is the Saga of a Dynamic Enterprise in the Private Sector working for the service of the Nation.

With the formation of Pakistan, India lost a valuable source of supply of good cotton. Production of Viscose Staple Fibre was the only answer.

- Gwalior Rayon established the first Staple Fibre Factory in India in the backward area of Madhya Pradesh i.e. at Nagda, which then was a small village of hardly 100 inhabitants in 1952. The main raw material for Viscose Staple Fibre i.e. Rayon Grade Pulp, had to be imported and no foreign producer was willing to give the technical know-how. Gwalior Rayon established its own Pilot Plant and evolved its own know-how.

- Gwalior Rayon, thereafter, established the first Rayon Grade Pulp Factory in India in a backward area of Kerala State at a small village called Mavoor, based entirely on its own know-how, without any foreign collaboration; and also established another Fibre factory there, in 1968.

- Gwalior Rayon established its 2nd Pulp Factory in a backward area of Karnataka in the district of Dharwar, near Harihar, without any imported machinery or equipment, in 1972.

- Gwalior Rayon is giving full aid to the Research Institute at Nagda and on the technology developed there, established near Harihar a factory to produce a superior quality of Fibre (Grasilene) without any foreign collaboration, or any imported machinery or equipment. The entire credit for this goes to young, enthusiastic Indian technicians and engineers.

- All Gwalior Rayon factories were established in backward areas in different parts of India and now give direct employment to over 15000 workers in the rural areas.

- In all its development, Gwalior Rayon never utilised finances from financial institutions, and on the other hand, made substantial contributions to the National Exchequer and earned or saved very considerable amounts of foreign exchange.

- Though Rayon Grade Pulp and Viscose Staple Fibre cannot be produced in the Small Sector or by Village Industries, they form the foundation for providing basic raw material for Village Industries such as hundreds and thousands of Handloom and Powerloom weavers.

- Rayon Grade Pulp and Viscose Staple Fibre help farmers to divert their lands for growing more profitable food or industrial crops.



**THE GWALIOR RAYON
SILK MFG. (WVG.) CO. LTD.**
P. O. Birlagram, NAGDA (M.P.)

one you had caught to display as his trophy at home.

A: I remember having gone fishing with Mathai once, but I seem to remember that I never caught anything. I've never caught anything whenever I've been fishing (laughs). Maybe it was the other way around; I think Sanjay did catch a tortoise, but I don't think I caught anything at all. I don't remember if Sanjay bought a fish later or not. These sort of things grown-ups tend to remember better than children.

Q: What was life in London like?

A: Sanjay was up in Crewe; I didn't see much of him. Maybe once in three or four months, he would come down to Cambridge (where I was staying). He had a car, and I didn't have transport.

Q: Why didn't either of you do well?

A: Didn't study at all, really. Maybe it was just, in the beginning, being set loose, and we didn't have the (sense of) responsibility which we should have had. Sanjay did much better than I did; he worked much harder. He wasn't sent out from Rolls Royce. He threw it in from his side. He completed one course and got some diploma or the other, and he should have done another year and got another diploma. He wanted to come back and start his business.

Q: Mathai says he even had to give Sanjay warm clothes before he left for England.

A: I don't know, Mathai may have given him his fine leather jacket etc, but that doesn't mean Sanjay didn't have a coat.

Q: Why did Sanjay have a car and you didn't have a car?

A: Well, he was working in a car factory, and it was much easier maintaining one there. Less expensive. We got the same amount of money, but he had less expenses, being in Crewe—we got 620 pounds a year, out of which 450 went in fees and digs and things, there was not much left. Money was very tight. If you didn't work you were in problems.

Q: Where did you work?

A: All sorts of things. Sold ice cream. Worked in a deep freeze factory. Worked in a bakery. Plucking fruit. Normal things you do.

Q: Mathai says the best thing you did in England was meet Sonia.

A: He's absolutely right.

Q: Where did you meet Sonia?

A: In Cambridge.

Q: But tell me about the Rolls Royce and Sanjay business: surely you've discussed the matter with Sanjay, you should know what really happened.

A: I haven't discussed it with him. The impression I was given was certainly that Rolls Royce hadn't terminated it and Sanjay wanted to come back. Because before he came back he had had this discussion with mummy in which he said he wants to come back. She wondered if he shouldn't finish his degrees. He was very keen to get his car going. It wasn't a cover up. In the initial four or five years of the Maruti project he was working very hard at it.

Indian Airlines and I

Do you feel any kind of persecution complex now?

A: Me, personally? No.

Q: The rest of your family?

A: I think, yes. Luckily I am not (in politics). In the airline I found after the March elections people were much nicer to me than before; they would come and say, 'Look, we didn't talk to you because of this, but now there is no reason'.

Q: How often do you fly?

A: On every alternate day, generally.

Q: What planes are you flying now?

A: Avros.

Q: Really leaving your life down for the country, isn't it?

A: (laughs) Absolutely.

Q: What is it like in the house now?

A: Strained. A little tense.

Q: There were many post-Emergency rumours that you had gone to London during the Emergency, and spent money like you owned the country; this accusation, if I am not mistaken, was even published. How do you react to that?

A: I was in London for two days, if I remember rightly: actually, I don't think we went during the Emergency. We went to Russia during the Emergency, and in Russia we were treated very well—but you don't need money in Russia, there's nothing you can buy in Russia. We didn't spend much money in London (when we went there); we stayed with friends...

Q: Tell me, when your mother was in power were you pulling strings in Indian Airlines, where you work?

A: For what?

Q: Power.

A: There would have been a (hostile) reaction (now) if I had done something.

Q: There was talk that you were sitting in on board meetings.

A: No. Never. I think you are referring to the incident of going into Mr A. H. Mehta's room. Actually what happened was Mr Mehta had travelled on one of our flights and we, the two of us flying the Avro had given him our list of grievances. He did quite a long sector with us, an Avro takes five hours (on one of those journeys). We collared him, and he said, 'Look, it is no use telling me now, you come and tell me in the office'. So I had gone to tell him, that. Quite frankly I do not remember any Boeing business being



discussed, although there seems to be some confusion (on this point)—I think Mehta said yes, and Kapoor said no, and somebody said he was not in town that day: I don't know exactly what happened, but I don't remember anything being discussed. But the Boeing subject was hot (then) as we were buying our Boeings and everyone was discussing it, but it was not a discussion on evaluation because in the airline everybody knew that the only aircraft that was going to work was the Boeing: there was no doubt about that. So it was a question of when, not which.

Q: What grievances did you have?

A: Some grievances, some suggestions for improvement. Like, our timings were very tight: you lose five minutes in Delhi and you will be late right through. Things like that: improving certain facilities. Even small things. When we go outstation nobody has a newspaper—the airport people don't have a newspaper. So we requested them to put some extra newspapers so that we could distribute them without having to empty the cabin. That sort of thing; minor.

Q: But you don't think people would have used your name to get their decisions through?

A: Not major decisions. Our airline is not a very bureaucratic set-up; it's a very friendly. It's been running on a sort of bhai-bandi basis; you knew the boss, the boss knew you, so the minute you complained he said, 'Look, why are you making a nuisance of yourself'. So you said okay, okay, and went off. Now that atmosphere is being eroded. The management is not geared up (today), so when they throw a rule at you you throw a rule back at them. Interference is very relative; the people whom I would have (hurt by) interfering would be the people (to resent it) obviously, and I don't think I have had any (such) reaction in the airline: I would have felt it. I was a check pilot on Avros before, and I am a check pilot still.

Life with grandfather



Jawaharlal Nehru with Indira in London in 1938.

What are your earliest memories of life with your grandfather?

A : Well, what I remember most is that it was very organised. Meals were on schedule; breakfast at eight, lunch at one-thirty; dinner at eight-thirty. We would normally see my grandfather only at meals, and just after meals. After breakfast he went out and played with all the animals. At various stages we had pandas, tigers, lions, leopards. We had a man looking after the animals; the same chap who looked after the dogs.

Q : What dogs did Mr Nehru like?

A : Well, the dogs were really ours. They were all Golden Retrievers. And we had one mongrel which we picked up.

Q : What was the menu at the table?

A : Breakfast was always porridge, eggs, and we had milk; he (Pandit Nehru) must have had coffee — I don't really remember. We used to have guests for breakfast also — not every day, but often. It was a formal meal; even breakfast was a formal meal. Lunch and dinner would be a three-course meal sort of thing...

Q : Did you ever feel that you were living with a Prime Minister?

A : No. But maybe we were too small. Also, in school there was no mention of politics. We never discussed politics or anything of that sort.

Q : Did the visitors who came to your house try and pander up to you

in order to please your grandfather?

A : No, I don't think so. Actually, we really did not have much contact with the political types, because they would not come upstairs, which was the living area: downstairs was where the general public came. Upstairs, people like the Mountbattens would come, or family friends and relatives.

Q : What about your mother: how much time would she spend on you?

A : We were mostly with my mother. In 1955 we went to boarding school; that meant that we were away eight or nine months in a year.

Q : Which of your relatives were you most fond of?

A : We liked my father's sister very much — Tahmina. She was in Allahabad, and I think she was very fond of us also. But she didn't come to Delhi very often and we didn't go to Allahabad very often. She was the oldest sister, who brought him (Pandit Nehru) up, I think. On my father's side: Mrs Hutheesingh, Mrs Pandit. On my grandmother's side, Mrs Kaul, who is in Kanpur now, and Mr Katju.

Q : And how much time did your father Mr Feroze Gandhi, spend with you during your early childhood?

A : Well, he was living with us on and off. He had a room (in the PM's house) and he also had a house in Queen Victoria Road I think. I don't really remember him spending much time in the house. There was always a bit of friction. But he (my father) was very fond of us, and we

liked him. He was a handy man, he used to do all these things — he used to do everything himself, from fixing his car to fixing his house, to gardening...

Q : Cooking?

A : I don't remember him cooking but I think he was a good cook. He used to like eating.

Q : How much influence do you think your father had on you and Sanjay?

A : (Long pause) don't know...don't really know...

Q : Did you, for instance, admire his politics?

A : Actually, till the time he was alive we were not interested in politics — at all! At least for me, even now I am not interested in politics — except that you start discussing it now because things have hotbed up quite a lot (smiles). But, at that time we were completely disinterested.

Q : Both of you?

A : I think so, yes.

Q : Your father was known for his independence, for his honest views which he would express freely.

A : One of his best characteristics was this. If he thought something was right he wanted to do it, and if he thought it was wrong, he wanted to expose it. I don't think we were that involved (in his work) because that was all politics. You know, all his interests (were political).

And what was your mother like as a person then?

A : She used to look after the house quite efficiently: guests, and all that. She was running the show.

Q : How much did your grandfather depend on her?

A : Politically? Emotionally?

Q : Both.

A : Emotionally really. If you are working so hard, and he (Pandit Nehru) was working very long hours, it's good to have a break. In those days my mother wasn't really in politics, so it must have been a good, relaxing break from his office work. I am talking of much earlier on, the early Fifties.

Q : How did you feel when your mother entered politics — this would be '58?

A : We were in school then, and we were not at all in touch with these things; we were not at all interested. I can't explain it, but we were just absolutely ordinary kids.

Q : Did you think that it was only but natural that your mother should enter politics?

A : We never thought, actually; quite frankly, we never thought — would she, wouldn't she? Good thing, bad thing? When we were children we never even discussed politics, at all... I'm quite shocked at the way these days kids who are

My father was a very independent chap. He wanted to have his career, his own things; you can't grudge him that.



five years old say I'm this and you're that. My mother and my grandfather came to our school once and we felt very shy — we didn't even go and see them! They came only once to Doon.

Q: How did your schoolfriends and your teachers react to the grand children of the Prime Minister?

A: Quite normally. Most of them were very good, because they didn't have any hang-ups. It was the old Westminster kind of attitude, that you are only schoolchildren. There were quite a few politicians' children there anyway, and ex-Maharajahs' children — and at that time an ex-Maharajah's children probably carried more weight than a PM's children!

Q: How do you react to the accusation that you grew up in an atmosphere where you took power and authority for granted?

A: Well, I've never taken authority for granted, personally. I don't think we really had an atmosphere like that.

We were not very close (as children) Sanjay was much more outgoing than I was. He had a completely different set of friends.



Q: Did the powerful-man's-child syndrome operate? Were you cut off from the country?

A: I suppose we were cut off, yes. And maybe that is why we were not interested in politics. We played our games, and did our normal school activities, and no more.

Q: Did you ever go to a village with your grandfather on one of his political tours?

A: We must have.... We went with my mother once on a long tour; I think it was just after she became Congress President. I remember we went on a long tour of Manali and Kulu and then drove up towards Kashmir.

Q: Can you recall any important event in your childhood which might have left an impression on you — even a simple thing like getting slapped perhaps.

A: I don't remember getting slapped at all, or whacked really....

Q: How were you disciplined?

A: Just being told off was enough: we never got to the zone of getting whacked, we stopped short.

Q: What kind of pranks were you up to?

A: At home it was just fighting each other — whacking my brother, and he'd whack me, that sort of thing. In school... raiding the lights (laughs)... Like my children fight today.

Q: Parents and grandparents have aspirations for their children: what did your grandfather want you two brothers to become?

A: He never said anything at all; in fact I think he intentionally did not want to say anything so as not to (prejudice us). I don't think anybody tried to guide me on that; it just went as I wanted.

Q: Did your mother have any aspiration for you?

A: No. That's what I meant by anybody: mother or father.

Q: Do you have any memories of how you moved into your profession and how Sanjay moved the other way?

A: I've always liked to fly — started off during the holidays when we used to go gliding, just after we left school. I did some flying in England, and then came here and finished (my training) here.

Q: What do you remember of Cambridge?

A: (laughs) We had a ball there. I was doing mechanical engineering — or not doing! The Indians (in England) used to treat us as the PM's grandchildren, not our friends — the others would. I find it embarrassing. You go into some place and somebody says 'meet so and so' with emphasis.

Q: When did both of you start thinking or reacting to Indian politics?

A: Sanjay started reacting. I think, a little before 1971. And I don't think I was really interested till much later.

Q: Are you interested now?

A: Interested means worrying about it — but entering it? Certainly not!

Maruti



Do you think Maruti flopped because Sanjay was too immature, because he didn't know business?

A: Er, well, didn't know business maybe; didn't know production. To make a prototype is one thing but to get the same things under production is much, much harder. It's a different game. My brother-in-law was working with Fiat and he used to say the same thing: for production you need a much bigger team; you can't just do it alone. Things like that, you know: Sanjay didn't designate responsibility, liked to do everything himself.

Q: You were involved with Maruti yourself, at least through Sonia?

A: Well, only her name was.

Q: This charge keeps reappearing that Sanjay was groomed for dynastic succession—how do you react to that?

A: I wouldn't like to say anything on this.

Q: Let's hear about you and Maruti.

A: Where do you start? We were not really involved at all. In the firm, as in many private Indian companies, you have to have somebody reliable. I was working for Indian Airlines, so I couldn't be there. Mummy couldn't be there. Sanjay wasn't married then. So, it left only Sonia. So her name was there. We never really got anything out of it.

Q: Didn't you ever doubt the wisdom of it all?

A: Sonia really didn't want her name at all. I don't remember whether she didn't want it right from the beginning, but certainly at a later date she wanted it taken out. And I sort of persuaded her not to precipitate things; things were tense anyway. We didn't want to give the impression that when things were going badly, we wanted to jack out. And that's why we sort of remained with it; we never really went into the working of it. I mean, I never went into it; Sonia never really looked into it; Sanjay was handling it entirely on his own.

Q: So there are strong family ties; I mean brother would not necessarily help each other out in business.

A: I think the ties really got stronger later on, after school.

CIA'S INDIAN AGENTS

Why blame Mrs Gandhi alone? There have been others. But first, Kewal Varma exposes how money passed into Congress hands in the late Fifties and Sixties. Chand Joshi reports on the history of CIA involvement in our country. David Selbourne is convinced that the CIA is very fond of Mrs Gandhi, while our mediawatcher notices something strange in this leak, courtesy Mr Moynihan—is this a plant?

Rightists got money

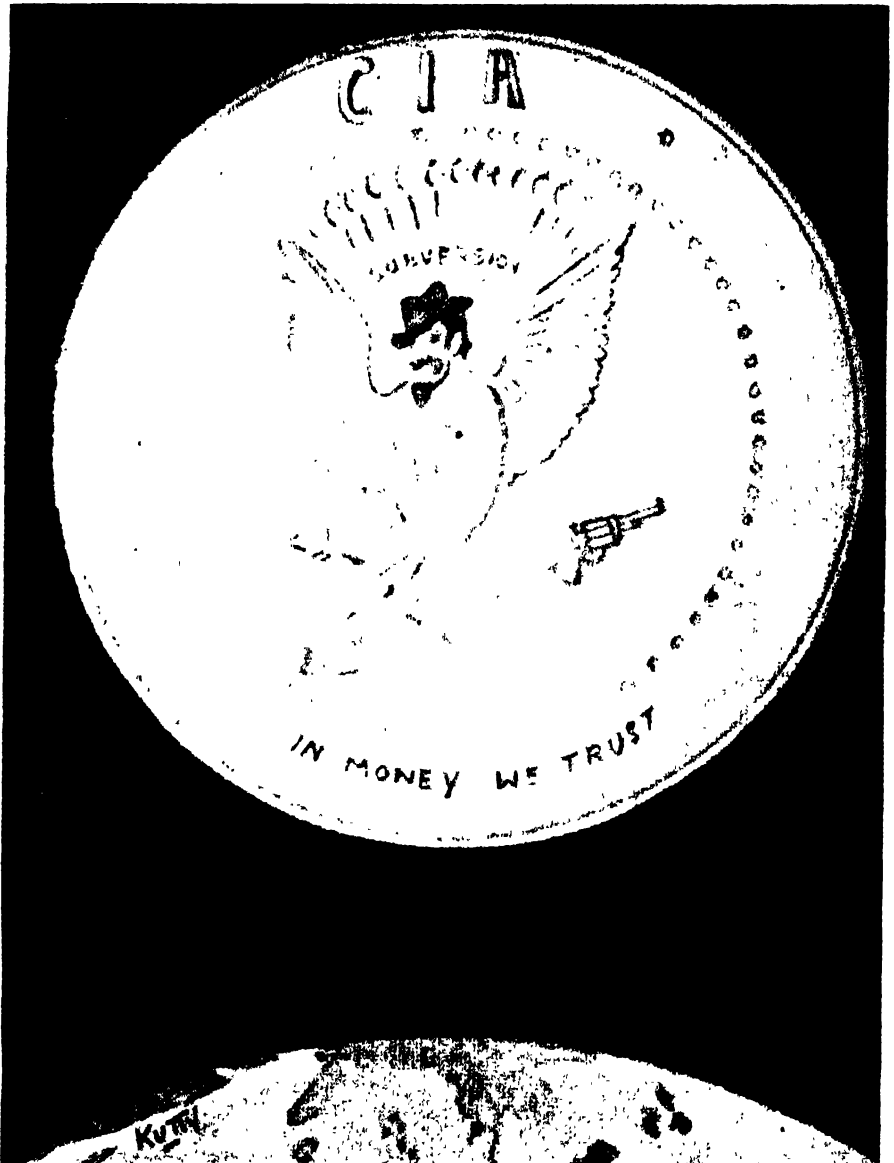
By Kewal Varma

WHO is this Carol Laise whom Foreign Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee is said to have met during his last trip to the USA? According to an Associated Press report, the meeting took place; upon his return to India Vajpayee denied meeting her. The "mysterious" Carol Laise is the former US ambassador to Nepal, and now wife to the well-known American diplomat and former ambassador to India, Ellsworth Bunker. According to the agency report the couple played host to Mr Vajpayee at dinner. There was one more fascinating guest that night, said the report: Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

In 1960 Carol Bunker was Carol Laise and was employed in the US embassy in Delhi. The CIA money given to the Congress to defeat the Communists in Kerala passed through her hands. Even then, this wasn't such a big secret. Krishna Menon heard whispers about CIA involvement in the Kerala midterm polls when he went to the United Nations. He dutifully reported the rumours to Jawaharlal Nehru, who asked his daughter, then President of the Congress Party. Mrs Gandhi is said to have told her father that she knew nothing about the CIA money, and if anyone was in a position to know it was Mrs Sucheta Kripalani, then general secretary of the AICC, and Mr S. K. Patil, who was then Congress treasurer.

However, the fact is that the Congress President had taken direct charge of the Kerala elections. Defying her father, Mrs Indira Gandhi engineered a bitter anti-Communist agitation in Kerala to prepare the ground for the dismissal of the Nambudiripad Government. And she received full support in this from a wide range of people who are in so many diverse camps now including JP, Acharya Kripalani and Ashoka Mehta.

Mrs Gandhi is said to have told



her father that S. K. Patil might know about the CIA money: as a consequence Patil refused to take the responsibility for distributing funds to the Congress candidates in the elections. Mrs Gandhi then put K. K. Shah in charge of spreading the money around, and this marked the beginning of a long friendship between the two, which only ended in 1971. In order to cover up the source of funds, a story was circulated that Bombay's industrial houses had donated generously to the anti Communist cause. Ratilal Gandhi vice-president of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, raised this issue in the BPCC and wanted K. K. Shah to submit a full account of collections made in Bombay, but K. K. Shah parried off this challenge by saying that he had not taken any money from the BPCC, and for any other collections made he was responsible only to Mrs Gandhi. Ratilal Gandhi resigned on this issue. It was generally believed then the CIA money was diverted to the Janhit Nidhi Trust (the Trust is a shareholder of the *National Herald*).

But if the CIA involvement was not blown up then into a national scandal, it was simply because the ruling elite (which, of course, included Mrs Gandhi, but hardly consisted of her alone) was united in its effort to isolate the Communists, and use any stick it could find to beat them. Many of those who adorn the Janata benches now were blind anti-Communists. By 1967, a change had come about: there were rifts in the traditional ruling elite: the troubled waters gave the CIA far more scope to fish around. Simultaneously, investigative reporting in the USA began to unearth skeletons all over the place.

It was revealed that the Asia Foundation was a conduit for CIA money. Between 1965 and 1967, Asia Foundation gave 53 grants to various organisations and institutes in India. Among the notable recipients of the grants was an organisation called the Indian Assembly of Youth, which was an affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth. The IAY built a palatial Viswa Yuva Kendra in the posh diplomatic enclave of New Delhi. Who was the chairman of this trust? Mr Morarji Desai, currently Prime Minister of India. Who was president of the World Assembly of Youth? Mr Ravindra Varma, currently Union Labour Minister.

SUSPICIONS that the CIA, or the US Government if you like, was heavily involved in the 1967 elections got credence from a statement made by the late T. T. Krishnamachari that the US embassy had made heavy withdrawals from its PL 480 funds on the eve of the elections. Later the Finance Ministry issued a technical denial. But the suspicions were strong enough to prompt the Government of India to start an enquiry into the business. The Intelligence Bureau did the job. But even after persistent demands, the Government has refused to make public the IB report on foreign funds in the 1967



Moynihan at Rajghat

elections. On such subjects, all politicians seem to share the same view—it does not matter whether they belong to the Janata or to the Congress or to the Congress(I).

However, a New Delhi datelined report in the *New York Times* in June 1967 said that according to the IB report the CIA had given "substantial sums of money to rightwing Parties and individuals". The story added that the report revealed that the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party were the "major beneficiaries" and "individual candidates of the governing Congress also benefited". This explains the conspiracy of silence—which cuts across Party lines.

In fact, during those days, the Americans had a soft corner for Mrs Gandhi too. It was in 1966 that Mrs Gandhi had devalued the rupee on the advice of the Americans, and in her foreign policy she had come very close to supporting the USA on Vietnam. Lyndon Johnson was so infatuated by Mrs Gandhi during those days that he said that she was as beautiful as Lady Bird (his wife) and as intelligent as Barabara Ward. Indeed, Mrs Gandhi's special relations with the Americans angered homespun Congress leaders, including Kamaraj. The 1967 IB report on foreign funds in Indian politics is believed to be a real bombshell. The late Lalit Narain Mishra, who was then a Minister of State in the Home Ministry, is believed to have had access to it: perhaps that was one of the reasons why he became so powerful.

Moynihan, however, has insulted the intelligence of the people of this country by saying that the CIA got involved in Indian politics only twice, and on both occasions through Mrs Gandhi. There is hardly any established politician in the country who, directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly, has not been a beneficiary of foreign funds in the post-Independence period. It suited Moynihan's personal views to expose

Mrs Gandhi. With his strong rightist bias he never got along with Mrs Gandhi while he was ambassador in New Delhi. And he does not hide his political inclinations: obviously he and ex-Swatantrite Pilloo Mody are on the same wavelength.

Mr Morarji Desai's attitude to the CIA and its operations can best be found from his reaction to the discovery that the CIA had worked with Indians to set up the spy devices in the Himalayas. He played it cool and said that "in the light of the international situation prevailing at that time, it was then decided by the Governments of India and the United States, at the highest level, to plant the device".

Some irrepressible Janata leaders are raising the issue, of Mrs Gandhi taking money, to score debating points over her. Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee has also said in the USA that "I do not blame the Americans. I blame those who accepted it (the money)". While this may sound logical enough, it also implies that Mr Vajpayee sees no wrong in the USA trying to pump money into Indian politics. It is a sad commentary on our national vigilance and self-esteem that the CIA charge no longer seems to cut much ice. In fact, Mrs Gandhi herself had made the accusation so cheap that Pilloo Mody answered her by wearing an "I am a CIA agent" badge to Parliament. Even the revelation of CIA money reaching Mrs Gandhi may not hurt her very much politically, except to add to the gradual erosion of her credibility. ■

Hallowed tradition

ACCORDING to some historical records, Napoleon sent money to Tipu Sultan to fight the British. Did that make Tipu an agent of a foreign power? In more recent times we have the equally interesting case of Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, a legendary revolutionary who died on April 29 this year. In 1957, at a function of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society to celebrate Lenin's birthday, the Raja disclosed that he had personally brought money from Lenin to organise the overthrow of British rule in India. The Soviet ambassador, who was present, felt utterly embarrassed at this revelation, and even tugged at the Raja's coat to persuade him to stop; but the Raja would not stop. He asked: what was wrong in taking this money from Lenin? After all, not a paise had been misused, the Raja pointed out, and Lenin was always helping good causes. Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh had set up a provisional Government in Kabul, crossed the border in 1919 and was taken to Petrograd (now Leningrad) in a special train to meet Lenin.

The CIA's Indian history

By Chand Joshi

"It is precisely because she (Prime Minister Indira Gandhi) is not innocent, not squeamish and not a moraliser, that her concern about American intentions is real and immediate. And, of course, the news from the US printed in the Indian Press repeatedly confirms her worst suspicions and genuine fears. Nothing will change her unless she is satisfied that the US accepts her India. She does not think we do. She thinks we are a profoundly selfish and counter-revolutionary power. Do not think, fellow Americans of beguiling Indira Gandhi with talk of cultural exchange, joint industrial undertakings or a few shiploads of cheap food. Her concern is not economic. It is political. Her concern is whether the US accepts the Indian regime. She is not sure but that we would be content to see others like her overthrown. She knows full well that we have done our share and more of bloody and dishonourable deeds".

—An open telegram sent by US ambassador in New Delhi, Daniel Patrick Moynihan to US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and quoted in *The New York Times*, September 23, 1974.

...Of the various joint Indian-American enterprises none survived the strains of 1971 more successfully than those directed against China..... As much as the Gandhi Government may have desired American defeat in Vietnam, once that became inevitable they could see it would not really be to the advantage of India, and in private became even more explicit on this point. And so we continued, jointly, to spy on the Chinese from the tops of the Himalayas.

—From *A Dangerous Place* by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

IN his top security room on the ground floor of the US embassy in New Delhi's Chanakyapuri, the CIA's station director summoned an "immediate" meeting. Also present were the ICA (formerly called USIS) director Gildner Miller, and two journalists. The station director is officially the commercial attache of the US embassy. Forty-eight hours earlier Indian newspapers had front-paged extracts from Moynihan's book alleging that the CIA had paid money to Mrs Gandhi to fight the Communists. Within hours, Mrs Gandhi had threatened to leak information available to her on CIA operations in India.

But, during the next few days repeated enquiries met with no response. Mrs Gandhi's promised disclosures never materialised. The Janata



Allen Dulles, the then head of the CIA, came to India in 1956 to finalise collaboration plans with B. N. Mullick, director of the Intelligence Bureau.

Government also maintained a significant silence. A calling-attention motion in Parliament was quietly side-stepped by the Government. The Indian Government officially stated that it had asked the US Government and the US embassy for comment and they had replied that there "was nothing to add." The CIA bubble vanished into thin air.

In the meanwhile those with access to information were sedulously cultivated. Invitations came from multinationals, friendship societies, sympathetic publishers. And the word was quietly spread that in case a public announcement was made on CIA activities in India (a subject on which Indian intelligence has done sufficient work), quite a few skeletons would rattle. Interesting information could be released to the Press: the Boeing

payoff list, the list of agents for foreign arms manufacturers, the names of those who had accepted kickbacks on import agreements and foreign collaboration licences and "old history sheets". The names of half the ruling elite (irrespective of Party) could well have figured in the disclosures. Just to name one: among those who have represented foreign arms manufacturers in the past is Mr V. Shankar, who is so close to Mr Morarji Desai at the moment. Ironically enough, there were rumours that American money was flowing into Gujarat during the agitation to dissolve the Gujarat Assembly in 1974—and one of the heroes of that movement was none other than Mr. Morarji Desai himself.

Whether the present PM was aware of the role of foreigners or not, it is

interesting to recall certain highly unusual methods of "protest" during that season of unrest in Gujarat. There were clear attempts at sabotage of the ONGC-supervised oil wells in Dholka, which were damaged. In another case, the main valve of the pipeline from Kalol to Koyall had been closed, and if it had not been detected inadvertently, Gujarat would have been plunged into darkness.

Apart from this, several "happenings" need to be examined. The World Assembly of Youth, an organisation which was reportedly financed by the CIA, and with links with the US National Students' Association had as its first head of Indian committee a "potential leader of the future". The potential was realised. The person was Ravindra Varma now Janata's Minister for Labour. On February 13, 1967 the USNSA, in a Press statement, admitted that it had received CIA funds for its international programme. In all fairness to Mr Varma, it must be stated that he was most probably unaware of the sources of the munificent finding of his youth body.

Neither is the slate of Mrs Gandhi and Mr Sanjay Gandhi too clean, despite Mrs Gandhi's anti-CIA tirade. Of course, we now know about the deal on the Himalayas when Indian intelligence and the CIA collaborated to watch China while the CIA was being abused on the plains. But more serious is the allegation that known CIA agents were advising Sanjay Gandhi during the Emergency: in fact, a RAW agent in June 1978 sent in a report to his chief, R. N. Kao (a 'For Your Eyes Only' document) mentioning this allegation. Later, it was also reported that Sanjay Gandhi, under the advice of the infamous US political attache Gilpatrick had been studying the Phillipine model to find a way to come to power — by the creation of a broad Right Wing case. (In fact, was this why RSS leader Deoras was released along with many RSS volunteers, and why Deoras sent a letter implying support for the Government's programme?)

THERE are no James Bonds in the CIA; there isn't much of the cloak and dagger stuff, whatever may be the popular notion. The CIA is the successor to the OSS which ran the USA's intelligence during the Second World War, and its job during the cold war and later became not only to challenge the intelligence services of other countries, but also to promote Governments or leaders who would form an international bulwark against the "Communist menace". The end of the Second World War also saw the creation of a large number of independent countries as the old empires disintegrated. Among the first and most important was India. And in the black-and-white scheme of the CIA, India was "black" as Prime Minister Nehru spoke not only of non-alignment but also of nationalisation and planning.

In the early '50s, while McCarthyism ruled in the USA, the newborn CIA

sought the help of the suave British intelligence. Britain realised that it could no longer police the world; America became the Inspector-General of this police. The exchange of information with regard to India was channelised through the CIA's top operative and later deputy director Ray S. Cline and British intelligence's Sir Kenneth W. D. Strong. The reports encouraged the Americans as they showed that by far the greater majority of the Indian bureaucracy was dominated by the British-created ruling class and was consequently antipathetic to Communism. "In spite of Prime Minister Nehru and his small coterie," one report reads, "there is no possibility of a red revolution in India.....sizeable sections of the politicians (believe in) the concept of democracy." The notes, the exchange of which reached a peak in 1953-54, listed disillusioned Marxists and Socialists as the best bets for "conversion". Among the organisations listed which could be infiltrated were the Radical Humanists founded by M. N. Roy, and the Praja Socialist Party.

The adolescent CIA had still to develop its later sophistication. It tried to achieve its main aims, the containment of the USSR and China, by pumping funds to "sympathetic persons and organisations". The CIA was chary of Jawaharlal Nehru and his Socialism. His opponents, particularly of the rightist variety, were helped, while front organisations carried on a propaganda blitz against the Government's economic policy.

The first serious case which came to the notice of the Indian Government was in the early '50s, when it asked for the recall of American personnel who had been posted as military observers in Kashmir. The Government of India alleged that these officers had set up a spy network and were recruiting local collaborators.

But the most sensational covert action of the CIA involved the ill-fated aircraft Kashmir Princess, which blew up in mid-air; it was carrying Chinese passengers. Premier Chou En-lai was also slated to travel by this aircraft but changed his programme at the last minute. There was enough circumstantial evidence with India's intelligence services to show that there was direct American involvement in the incident.

Till 1956, however, CIA operations in India remained basically ad hoc and concentrated on pouring in money and cultivating the bureaucracy, who by their training and class background were anti-Communists. In 1956, Allen Dulles, the dour boss of the CIA, accompanied by aides, visited India. In a series of meetings with Indian officials, including the then Home Secretary and Director of the Intelligence Bureau Mr B. N. Mullick, a plan of mutual collaboration was drawn up. From then on the CIA in India never looked back. With the help of Indian intelligence, they set up training camps for Khempha and Bhutia tribesmen in the Kumaon and NEFA areas. These

were directed against the Chinese Government. In India, there was a sudden spate of regional Parties, and they all seemed flush with funds. But what really went against the national interest most was the CIA money for the belligerent Nagas. The take-off in the CIA's activities was helped in no small measure by the presence of the famed Timberlake as the first director of the USIS (later USIA and now ICA) and Miss Helen Semmerling. India had become a "top priority area".

The period between 1956 and 1961-62 was one of hectic CIA activity, directed mainly against China and Russia externally and against the Socialists and Nehru internally. One of the greatest provocations to the Chinese came from the trained tribals in the hill areas, from where they could forage into Chinese territory. After the Dalai Lama's escape, which was covered in detail by the foreign media because they had been tipped off earlier, Tibetan refugees were also recruited into training camps and Khempha rebels became a major irritant to the Chinese.

It was only in 1963 that a broken Nehru came to learn about these training camps, and found out that this was one of the major reasons for the Chinese attack. A despondent Nehru was also informed that the American agency had infiltrated into key sections of the bureaucracy and the Army. Lt. Col. J. R. Saigal, who was a serving officer during the 1962 war, has just written a book (excerpts will be published in next week's SUNDAY) in which he has alleged that subversion played the biggest part in India's defeat in 1962. And later reports revealed that the Americans had played a classic game of double cross in 1962: they had passed on to the Chinese military information which resulted in a national humiliation for our country. The reason was simple: the Indian Left, stretching from Nehru on one side to the Communists on the other, would suffer most from the consequences of defeat, and India would surely move towards the right in international affairs. Both things happened.

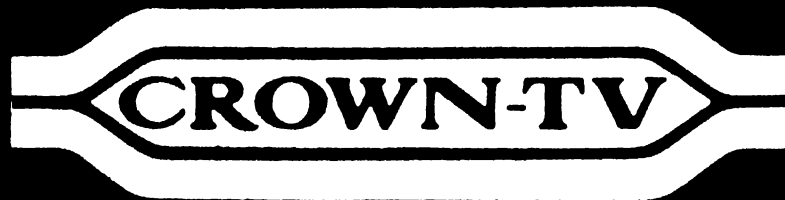
Simultaneously, the CIA had spread its network to the Indian mass media. As early as in 1958, Mr P. N. Mahanti, Home Secretary of Orissa, asked a major English daily to replace its Orissa correspondent in the State capital as he was alleged to be in the pay of "a major Western power": the Government had accused him of tendentious reporting with a view to overthrowing the Congress Government in Orissa and replacing it with the Ganatantra Parishad, a Right Wing combine of deposed native princes. Universities were also blanketed with American propaganda from now on.

The first flush of American money in Indian elections also turned up in this period. Pandit Nehru officially summoned the then American ambassador to India to inform him of the reports of large-scale US funds being used against the maverick Krishna

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Menon. The attempts to break the Left Government in Kerala have already been exposed by Moynihan.

But it was after the Chinese war that the CIA reached the zenith of its power. Immediately before the Chinese aggression the Indian Government had declared three American diplomats persona non grata on the grounds that they were interfering in the third general elections. Those expelled were Harry Kositzke, first secretary of the US embassy, Charles G. Kogan, assistant attache, and the US consul-general in Bombay, Robert L. Boise. The expulsions were personally ordered by Nehru. But by the end of 1962, Nehru's Government was in shambles. Right Wing newspapers and columnists started their campaign and though Nehru survived, Krishna Menon had to be sacrificed. The post-1962 scene also saw the demand for restructuring and revamping our Intelligence Bureau. Try as he did to retain his position, Mullick was brushed aside. While covenanted officers of the Indian Police Service manned the administration, a new breed of directly recruited field officers was sent for training to learn the latest techniques. Sent where? Where else, but to the CIA training schools.

IT was in the early Sixties that Parties like the Jana Sangh, composed largely of people who had previously been nobodies, sprang up. The Swatantra Party phenomenon came into existence. An ailing Nehru lost his grip over the administration, and it gradually began going the American way.

The Americans were happy with the successor to Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri: they thought she would be pliable, and was sufficiently pro-American. Her early actions displayed her tilt towards the Americans. The devaluation of the rupee was done on American advice. But what jolted Mrs Gandhi, and in a sense destroyed her political innocence, was the 1967 election. Her instinct told her that she had to begin taking an independent line, to move away from the Americans. And she did it with a vengeance: by the early Seventies she had quite substantially reduced the US influence on the country, so laboriously built up through the Fifties and the Sixties, and, if anything, had taken the country into the Russian camp.

In late 1967, while Mrs Gandhi was still struggling to find her political feet, she asked one of her old faithfuls, D. P. Dhar, to suggest somebody who could undertake a full intelligence review. Dhar suggested the name of R. N. Kao, an Imperial Police Service officer, and a Kashmiri brahmin known for both his integrity and his devotion to the Nehru family. Kao's report was an explosive indictment of the CIA's role in India.

Kao reported that of the approximately Rs 144 crores spent by the US from the accruing PL 480 funds, and for which there was no record available, almost 70 per cent had gone directly to finance Right Wing

Parties in their election and organisational campaigns. "Nobody who is anybody in the Indian political scene can say that he has not been a recipient of American largesse," Kao said. He added that the entire Indian armed services were dependent on Western arms and there were allegations that huge sums had been paid as kickbacks on arms deals — providing the CIA with enormous material to blackmail important people.

However, Mrs Gandhi's Government was not averse to using the CIA when possible — if the allegations of the CIA's involvement in crushing the Naxalites are true. The CIA had managed to infiltrate the Naxalites and then indulged in killing them. According to one intelli-

gence report the CIA even managed to send Indian agents with the Naxalites to China!

But if Mrs Gandhi had snubbed the CIA, it found another entry into the corridors of power — through her son. It was the CIA's plan to bring together all Right Wing forces in the country (including the RSS) and demolish the Left, wherever it might be — even if it was next to Mrs Gandhi! But as the history of the Emergency shows, Mr Sanjay Gandhi and his friends miscalculated.

It is said that immediately after the 1962 debacle, the CIA got hold of Pandit Nehru's urine and faeces samples in order to diagnose his health. Has the CIA made any effort to find out the state of Mr Morarji Desai's health?

S. K. Patil : 'No money came to me'



MR S. K. PATIL, former Congress treasurer, did not rule out the possibility outright, when asked about CIA funds. He said, "I know nothing about these transactions. If the money was given, it has never come to the books of the AICC nor was the treasurer informed about it. The time referred to was round-about 1960 and 1967. In 1960, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was very much alive and in control of the Congress. He would not have tolerated any such gift from a foreign Government. One does not know who received the money and, in what way. Evidently, if the money was given to anybody it was what is called black money, for which there was no receipt. Anybody can subsequently deny it. I am sorry all this dirt got immense publicity." Mr Patil however did not rule out the practice of the United States and the Soviet Union giving political money. In fact, he said, "I must find fault

with the United States. Why should they encourage people to take money and then divulge who the money was given to? Both the giver and taker are guilty. Unless the money given to Mrs Gandhi or the Congress Party were entered in the records I don't see how else Mr Moynihan could have made this statement. Moynihan was obviously angry about the repeated accusations against the CIA by Mrs Gandhi and asked the embassy to give him the details. Anyone can deny it now. As I am concerned, even though I was not the treasurer at the time, I still received company donations for the Party. I received the money, all in cheques, in this part of India and Mr C. B. Gupta received it in the north. It was never more than Rs. two crores for general elections. No money ever came to me from any American Government."

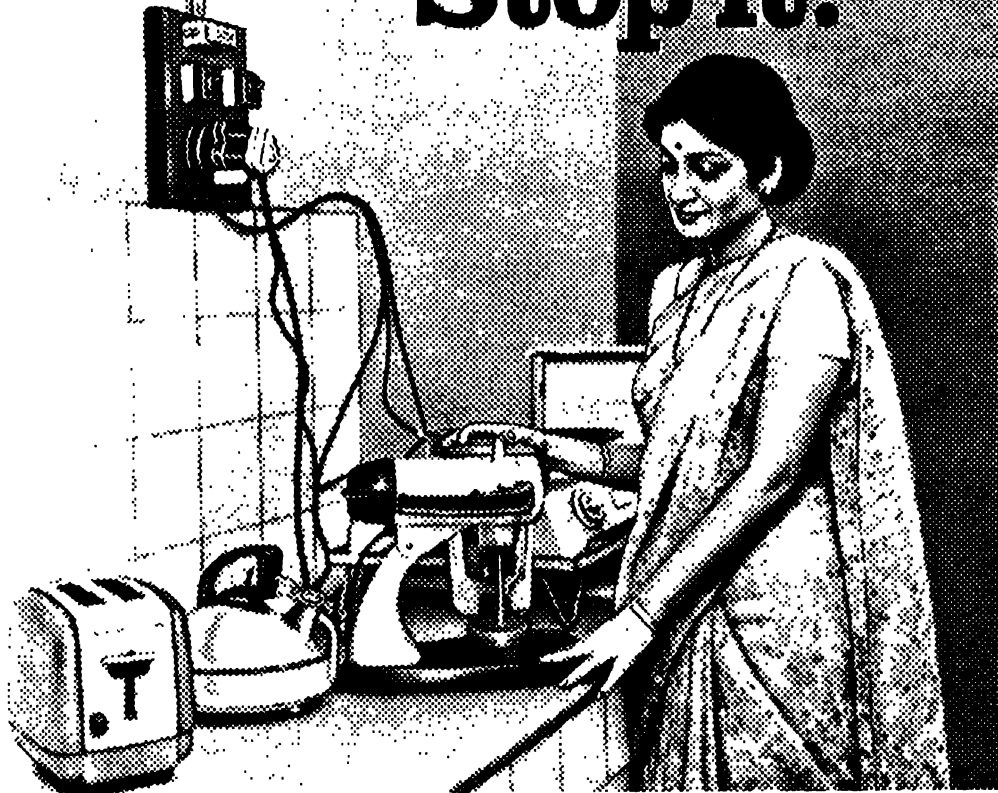
"I know," he continued, "that Americans gave money to anybody who proclaimed that they were fighting the Communists. The word 'Communist' to them was like a red rag is to the bull. They were liberal with their money. And they must have given money to the Socialists and the Jana Sangh. The only reason why nothing has been said about it is because these Parties never accused them like Mrs Gandhi did."

Mr Patil said, "it is unfair" of Mrs Gandhi to try and confuse and confound the issue by saying she didn't know who was the treasurer at the time. She took the name of Mr Y. B. Chavan and Mr Morarji Desai knowing very well they were never treasurers of the Party at any time. "I don't know why she is creating these suspicions," said Mr Patil.

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The CIA-Congress coalition

DANIEL MOYNIHAN, the former US Ambassador in New Delhi, has at last revealed categorically what many suspected, but few actually knew for certain: that both Mrs Gandhi personally and her Congress Party were (and perhaps still are, by one route or another) in receipt of CIA funds and support. Apart from Mrs Gandhi's swift and undoubtedly false denials of Moynihan's assertions, there are at least two kinds of possible response to the facts he has revealed in his book, *A Dangerous Place* (Secker and Warburg, London, March 1979). One would be that dirty tricks in politics are common place, that CIA dirty tricks are commoner and dirtier than most, and that given Mrs Gandhi's own political style there is nothing exceptional, or surprising, in the revelation that she and her caucus should have been CIA-supported.

Another response, less cynical, would be that Moynihan's information is perhaps the single most important disclosure to be made about the politics of India in general, and the politics of the Congress Party in particular, since India gained its independence as a nominally free nation. It is a reaction I myself share. Why? First, because all those knaves and liars in India who ceaselessly tried to pretend, against all the evidence, that the Congress stood for the cause of a socialist and non-aligned India, for the defence of its national sovereignty against internal and external reaction, and for the struggle against imperialism and 'fascist' subversion of its integrity, now have a lot of explaining to do. (They cannot do it).

Second, the CPI and its followers, whose whole political strategy was and still is based on the absurd belief in the progressive nature of India's 'national bourgeoisie' under the rule of Congress, must now face up to the knowledge — which they cannot do either — that so progressive was the political position of the Congress in power, that it eventually became an attractive financial proposition to the CIA, and was given covert aid in India's elections.

Third, much of the rationale for the Emergency, long exposed as a cruel hoax against the people of India, rested on Mrs Gandhi's paranoid assertion (which the CPI endorsed and echoed) that a 'pre-emptive blow' was struck in June 1975 against 'dark and evil forces' of the right, which were conspiring to take over the country. You may even remember that Mrs Gandhi, nothing if not to be ranked amongst the most brazen of all the world's (formerly) leading politicians, even drew a parallel between her ignominious role in the Emergency and that of Salvador Allende's heroic defence of the rights of the Chilean people; but he was killed by the CIA, not paid by

By David Selbourne

them. Yet the imputation of her falsehood was clear: his enemies, the CIA among them, were the same as hers. Furthermore, it was implied and even stated by Mrs Gandhi, that just as Allende was a martyr to the cause of his people, and their struggle for national independence from imperialism, so would she have been too if she had not stepped in and prevented India's overthrow by innumerable but unnamed enemy forces, who were allegedly conspiring to obstruct her progress towards socialism.

And yet as I pointed out in my book *An Eye to India* (Penguin Books, London 1977), during the Emergency she was always puzzlingly silent — though it is now perfectly comprehensible — on the question of the role of the CIA in India. Instead both she and her now thoroughly discredited henchmen, in those months of cruelty and lying, would unhesitatingly name among her imagined enemies and the enemies of India all manner of other 'dark and evil forces': the BBC, the Pakistan Army, the Socialist International, the RSS, 'Chinese fascism' and so on and so forth. But never the CIA; never once, as far as I could discover, did she refer to that true and archetypal enemy of the sovereignty of Third World peoples, the Central Intelligence Agency. Why not, some asked. They have their answer had, and Daniel Moynihan has provided it, beyond mistaking.

Again, as I recall, when she was asked during the Emergency whom exactly she had in mind when she used to refer to 'agents of foreign Governments' acting against the interests of India, she would always be characteristically coy and evasive; 'she did not want to single out the US', as she put it then. Of course not. Nor, as I wrote on page 120 of my book, 'were any CIA agents named, proscribed and expelled, as has happened in other countries'. When there have been real attempts by the CIA to subvert and 'destabilize' a nation's governmental system. Indeed it would have been exceedingly inhospitable and ungrateful — biting the hand which was feeding her — for her to have expelled the agents of an organization which tacitly supported her and the Youth Congress, and on a scale which has still to be fully revealed.

For whatever the precise connection between the CIA and the caucus rulers of Emergency India — and we still do not know the precise details — it was not a connection between ideological enemies, but between the sufficiently like-minded for an alliance to make sound political sense to both parties; certainly sufficient sense to the Americans to be worth paying

for, as Moynihan testifies. Above all, since the end of the Emergency it has grown much clearer that there were certain links of common interest between the CIA and the fascistic aspirations of Sanjay Gandhi and his youth movement. Indeed, it was always much plainer even than in the now-exposed case of his mother that his desire to clean up India, and to bring about a forced Western-style economic development at almost any cost in the people's suffering, was, however brutal and thuggish — broad but unsophisticated according with the views of the World Bank, the IMF and the CIA on the nature of India's problems and their solution.

Thus, to drive a bulldozer through the poor shacks and shanties of the hated and economically redundant 'weaker sections', and to take a knife to their genitalia, was only the most visible part of this radical politics of extreme reaction. For it went with an expressed determination, still highly acceptable to any future American paymaster, to halt the socialization of the economy, to elevate the private sector, to facilitate the ransacking of India's productive capacity by the multinational corporations, and to crush the Indian trade union movement; and all in the name of a Maruti-style modernization of India. And when his contacts in the US Embassy in Delhi were widely reported to have left India in a hurry in March 1977, in the wake of the elections, it was also obvious that their shared dreams of such a 'modernizing' dictatorship on Iranian lines were (temporarily) over.

The CIA has not got a distinguished record of political activity in the so-called 'free' world. As Phillip Agee, one of its former agents, has revealed, it has subverted the democratic order the world over. It helped to instal the Shah's brutal rule, the dictatorship of the Greek Colonels and the Chilean Junta, among many other fascistic regimes which (it thought) could be guaranteed to defend American power and the Pax Americana.

For just as the CIA remains a potent force for political evil in the conduct of the world's public affairs, so do the interests which were once represented by the Emergency Raj, by the Youth Congress, and by Sanjay Gandhi remain in being. That is, though the organizational form and the personnel through which these interests are expressed may change — and some of them are now more than adequately represented by the Janata — the interests themselves, being structural socio-economic ones, cannot similarly be dispelled. So that Moynihan's revelations are not the end of the affair; as far as India's future is concerned, but are only the beginning. ■

Spring a leak

SENATOR Moynihan's claims about CIA funds for Mrs Gandhi's elections and Howard Kohn's article, "The Nanda Devi Caper", in a 1978 issue of San Francisco's *Outside* magazine should draw Indian attention to a problem that has increasingly been worrying informed opinion in the USA: complicity in publicizing leaks that are deliberately sprung to serve a devious end.

It is tempting to view newspaper accounts of confidential information as evidence of resourceful reporting in the service of the public's right to know; but it is clear from such events as publication of the Dange letters in the Sixties, more recent reproduction of a photostat copy of a document allegedly referring to Mr Sanjay Gandhi's Swiss bank account and from Mr Morarji Desai's release of an application from the awkward Mr Shamim Ahmed Shamim that the innocent right to information is frequently abused.

They are not all leaks in the technical sense of knowledge that has surreptitiously been gained or disclosed. Mr Desai, for instance, openly published Mr Shamim's letter at a time when the latter was being difficult about the Prime Minister's errant son. Nor is there any secrecy about Mr Moynihan's book, *A Dangerous Place*, which similarly discredits Mrs Gandhi on the eve of her arraignment before the Special Courts. But in both cases, newspapers have been used to make public seemingly innocent information whose only effect is to damage the credibility of a political opponent.

This is an old American tactic which reached its apotheosis during hearings of Senator Ervin's Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. "The Ervin Committee did not invent the leak," mused its vice chairman, Senator Howard Baker, "but we elevated it to its highest art form."

We all know how the calculated seepage of information from the Watergate inquiry into the columns of *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* (with *Washington Star News* reporters under intense, editorial pressure to secure similar information) injured John Dean's veracity and prejudged the issue against John Mitchell and John Ehrlichman. It prompted lawsuits

in the Hughes Rebozo investigation, prima facie assuaged Senator Hubert Humphrey of an election fund felony, and appeared to involve General Alexander Haig in complicity in Bebe Rebozo's murky affairs.

The charges against Mrs Gandhi may well be true, but the tainted source from which they emanate clearly suggest that Uncle Sam has again exploited a favoured American practice to come to his Indian protegee's rescue. A fringe publication like *Outside*, for instance, is sufficiently remote from the Washington establishment to provide a convincing nursery for planted information. It is doubtful if Kohn would have been able without official sponsorship to tap eight of the 14 American mountaineers said to have been engaged by the CIA, obtain confirmation from three different units of the U. S. Intelligence network and receive clearance from eminent scientists working at Princeton and on the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission. Everything, especially timing, points to collusion.

The suggestion of conspiracy was discussed at great length in the USA after Charles Colson pleaded guilty to obstructing justice by leaking materials intended to prejudice the criminal trial of Daniel Ellsberg on charges relating to his obtaining and releasing the Pentagon Papers. Here, the manufacture and publication of forged bank documents is obviously criminal in law as well as in terms of media ethics even if Mr Sanjay Gandhi chooses to ignore the obvious case for damages. But publication of news that is disseminated by official sources (whether openly or secretly) with the obvious intention of denigrating a person, creating adverse public opinion or pre-empting a court decision (as in the case of revelations about the former Prime Minister) raises rather different moral problems for reporters.

The First Amendment notwithstanding, the American Press can apparently be prosecuted for contempt in such a situation under a Supreme Court ruling which held inter alia that "The prevailing view is that the Press is not free to publish with impunity everything and anything it desires to publish". But lawsuits, in the USA as here,

would instantly provoke howls of protest. In any case, the U.S. court verdict referred to situations where leaks affected the Government and not to situations where the Government's inspired leaks are designed to destroy a private person. The latter has few, if any, remedies in law and even if, overcoming formidable practical obstacles, Mrs Gandhi were successfully to prosecute *Outside* or Moynihan, the damage to her reputation in India would not be saved.

Discussing these complexities in another context, James Hamilton, who served throughout the Watergate hearings as assistant chief counsel to the Ervin Committee, wrote that "The claim that a news organization must print or broadcast leaks because its competition does so is not adequate justification for indiscriminate publicizing of confidential information. And while the public's right to know is a powerful consideration influencing media conduct, the need to act responsibly to promote effective, fair governmental functioning is also present."

Again, however, the stress is on not embarrassing the authorities. Nor does all this take into account helpfully motivated leaks from abroad to solve a domestic political battle. The Moynihan book, for instance, could never have been published without Carter's clearance.

It may be argued that if Mrs Gandhi sanctioned Operation Blue and Red Mountains, of if she took CIA money, she automatically placed herself at the mercy of the Americans, knowing that under certain circumstances they would use their leverage. Honour among thieves is only an obsolete literary concept. In practical terms, far more relevant is what occurs when thieves fall out—or when one of the thieves finds a more docile and desirable partner as the USA has found in Mr Desai.

But while no tears need be shed for Mrs Gandhi's political troubles on account of the American disclosures, the very fact that a foreign Power can so influence a dispute at home should cause the gravest concern. The dangerous long-term implications of the equation, and what the situation reveals of the Janata Party's dependence on the Carter administration or of the latter's interference in Indian affairs, do not, however, seem to bother the Press which, like Mr Desai, is prepared to accept any ally providing the alliance helps to discredit the Congress (I) leadership.

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His face was strong, eyes peaceful

THERE is a church in Lahore's Bihar Colony: most of the city's Christians live there. Near this church is a person called Bhutto Dookandar. He took the correspondent of the Pakistani magazine *Sahafat* to Gunga Masih, who in turn brought him to Tarah Masih. It was the end of a long search. The result: the first interview with the man who hanged Bhutto, Tarah Masih. A copy of *Sahafat* has reached us, and we print this report for the benefit of our readers who are denied *Sahafat*. This piece is not a complete translation, but is composed of extracts from the original piece.

TARAH MASIH is thin, bald; he looks weak and hair struggles out of his ears. His hands are a series of bones without flesh, and his grip is not very strong; a shadow of fear flickers across his eyes. He does not look at all like a hangman. Just like an ordinary labourer, a poor labourer. His voice is cautious. He is suspicious of Ghulam Hussain, the man who has come to interview him. He stands near a wall outside his house; he will not accept the invitation to come to the car for a comfortable chat. His family members, women and children, are watching from the door, afraid that something nasty might happen to Tarah Masih, afraid that the strangers are hostile. Ghulam Hussain opens the conversation: "How did all this happen?"

"*Bas jee*, this was the will of Allah. We should say *tauba*, *tauba*; I could never have imagined that I would have to do a thing like this. But what could I do? I had no choice."

"When and how did you learn that you would have to hang Bhutto?"

"*Janab* on April 1 I had reached Multan after finishing my work in Bahawalpur, when a message came from Lahore: Send Tarah here immediately. I took a train from Multan and reported to Kot Lakhpat jail. The moment I reached the superintendent's room in the jail I was told that I was forbidden to leave the jail. This was on April 2. I could not go home, nor leave the jail. I was told that I was being kept there for some important work. In the

evening word came from the Inspector General of jails that Tarah Masih should be sent to Rawalpindi at once. Without telling me, an air ticket was bought for me, but I refused to travel by air as I have never travelled by air and it makes me afraid. The superintendent then sent me on a station wagon along with a head warden—this was the first time that a warden was accompanying me. There was secrecy about my journey, so much so that even my family was not told of my whereabouts. On the night of April 2 and 3 we reached Rawalpindi and reported to the district jail. I was immediately put into a room near the big gate of this jail and forbidden to leave the room."

His (Bhutto's) lips were parched and his eyes were bloodshot; he did not want to see anyone or face anyone

"Had you, by now, got an idea that all this was preparation to hang Mr Bhutto?"

Tarah Masih replied: "Knowing the political situation in the country, I could guess that perhaps this was the reason for the secrecy. You know, *sahab*, that this is my profession and I have to do all this. And if I do not do it, somebody else will; how am I at fault?"

"What happened after that?"

"By eleven on the morning of April 3, it had been announced that all employees of the jail could not leave the premises; nobody went out. Everyone in jail knew about this order."

"Do you know why this order was given?"

"I did not know then, but I learnt later that arrangements were then being made for the last meeting between Mr Bhutto and Begum Bhutto and Benazir." Tarah Masih's voice had dropped to a whisper.

"What happened next?"

"What happened...That afternoon seemed interminable and the evening

had virtually stopped progress. But night came eventually, and I was told to go to sleep. I had great difficulty in eating my evening meal. I stretched out and tried to sleep. God knows how long I spent in this state. Suddenly a *maulvi* was brought and locked with me in my room. The *maulvi* was very upset and afraid and kept asking me whose corpse he would have to bathe. I learnt that he was a servant of a mosque and the police had picked him up at four the previous evening—sometimes they would lock him up in the *thana* and sometimes they would ask him to sit in a room.

"At about one thirty at night a voice shouted out for me. I was told that my work was to begin. There were a lot of people around the room where the hanging would take place—some in uniform, some without uniforms; there were at least 250 people. There were many vehicles with wireless sets. Apart from the superintendent of the jail and the IG there were many other senior officers present. I prepared the noose—actually, two ropes."

"Why? Were two people supposed to be hanged?"

"We always prepare two ropes so that in case one noose breaks the other can be used."

"When did you see Mr Bhutto?"

"There were a few minutes left to two o'clock when I saw a few warders who were carrying a stretcher. When they came near I saw that someone was lying on the stretcher."

"Why did Mr Bhutto have to be brought on a stretcher?"

"*Janab*, I have hanged thousands of people. I can tell you that there are very very few people who walk calmly to the noose, fully in their senses. Most often, people are unconscious when they are brought to the noose. They are half-dead already. A human being is a human being, *sahab*, not a stone. But, if they are told when in this condition that they have been given a last-minute reprieve they stand up at once, full of life."

"Is it true that some people shout

slogans and put the noose heroically around their own necks?"

"Yes, it happens. But very rarely. More commonly, the shock is enough to make the convict unconscious. Dying is very difficult, *sahab jee*. There might be another reason for the stretcher. There was rain that night, and the ground was muddy."

"Do you think that if there had been no rain, Mr Bhutto would have walked to the gallows?"

"I can't say anything, *sahab*, but I did learn later that for some reason Mr Bhutto refused to go to the gallows."

"Why do you think Mr Bhutto refused?"

"I wasn't there myself, but some people who went to fetch him told us later that Mr Bhutto said he was sick and could not come out."

"Was he really ill?"

"I don't know, *sahab*—if you want to know the truth ask the superintendent or the IG *sahab*. I was only waiting in the room."

“WHAT was the condition of the former Prime Minister when you saw him?"

"*Sahab*, it is better that you do not ask me this question; I have no words to describe it." The interviewer persisted. Tarah Masih touched his ears in the sign of a *tande* and said: "*Sahab Bahadur* (that is, Bhutto) was in a bad shape. He had white untidy

I could not look straight into his eyes even once.

hair. He was not wearing the jail dress but a *sahwar kameez* plus something which resembled a jersey."

"The papers said that he was wearing only a blue *sahwar kameez*."

"No. If I didn't see *Sahab Bahadur* then who saw him? Were the journalists there? He was wearing a white *sahwar kameez* and a jersey."

"Was the stretcher brought to the hanging stand?"

"No. It was brought near and kept on the ground; then they caught *Sahab Bahadur* from both sides and brought him to the stand."

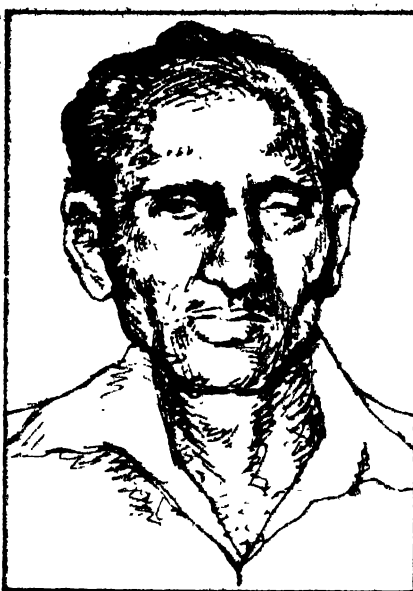
"Is it true, Tarah, that when Mr Bhutto reached the stand he said that Pakistan not he, was being hanged?"

"That is not true. He did not say a word. He did not look at anyone, although there were so many people there. His last words were to me, only me. *Sahab Bahadur* said only two things. First, when his hands were handcuffed behind him, he said, '*Iae zara dheela kar do*' (Loosen them a little). Next, when I began putting the blindfold over his head, he said something in English which I later learnt was 'Finish it'. Those were his last words."

"But it is said that he said something about his wife and he also said, 'God, have mercy, I am innocent.'"

"That is wrong, *sahab jee*, he did not say anything of the sort. I told

Drawing by Nirmalendu Mandal



Tarah Masih

you he did not speak to anyone. His lips were parched and his eyes were bloodshot; he did not want to see anyone or face anyone."

"What was his physical condition like?"

Suddenly Tarah Masih's hands shot out and he began feeling the interviewer all over his hands and body with his bony fingers. Then he answered: "*Sahab*, you have a lot of flesh. *Sahab Bahadur* was emaciated. His legs had become so thin that they looked like a child's legs. His weight had come down; he could not have weighed more than 35 kilograms. But his face seemed strong, and his eyes were still powerful. I could not look straight into his eyes even once. After all, he was such an important man, he was Prime Minister, he was President!" Tarah Masih became restless.

"There is also a rumour that Mr Bhutto was killed before he reached the gallows. What do you say, Tarah?"

"That is the biggest lie I have heard in my life. Tell me, which employee of that jail could have touched *Sahab Bahadur*. Nobody could have shown any disrespect to him. I have seen, as have 250 to 300 others, *Sahab Bahadur* getting up from the stretcher, heard him talking. Have fear in God, *sahab jee*, can a corpse talk?! Death is a very cruel thing. *Sahab Bahadur* was tense; perhaps he was not ready for this evil hour, but it is absolutely a lie to say that he was tortured."

"Were you nervous?"

"*Sahab jee*, what shall I tell you? It is better that you do not ask me. This is my word. I am not afraid of anything. But *Sahab Bahadur* was not an ordinary convict. Whenever I looked at him I used to shudder all over my body and my heart used to beat harder. But this had to be done—I did it."

"There is an allegation that you deliberately delayed the whole affair."

"How could I? It was all over in a few minutes."

"Did you think, before the hanging, that it was all a staged drama and the hanging would never really take place?"

"I did not think it to be a drama, but my heart refused to believe that it would actually happen. I kept thinking that at the last moment someone would say, '*Tarah, bas karo*' (*Tarah, stop it now*). This has happened; condemned prisoners have been pardoned at the last minute."

“IN Larkana, Mr Bhutto's estate manager, who saw the dead body, said that Mr Bhutto had not been hanged because there was a calm expression on his face, his neck had not stretched, his tongue had remained in his mouth and his eyes were not bulging out."

"*Janab*, the truth is that a hanged man's eyes and tongue do not come out; the popular myth is wrong. As far as the neck is concerned, seven to eight people out of ten have their necks elongated, but that is not a must either. Death really comes with the breaking of the Adam's apple. Sometimes, when the black hood is not put on properly and the victim has his tongue out before the hanging, then the momentary pain of the death makes him or her bite the tongue and cut it. Sometimes, if the hood is not put properly death comes not from breaking the Adam's apple

I kept thinking that at the last moment someone would say, 'Tarah, bas karo'

but from strangulation and this is painful. But I have never made these mistakes...I do not like giving anyone pain. How could I make a mistake in *Sahab Bahadur's* case! That is why his face was so peaceful. *Janab*, it was not in my power to stop the hanging, but it was in my power to make the death as painless as possible."

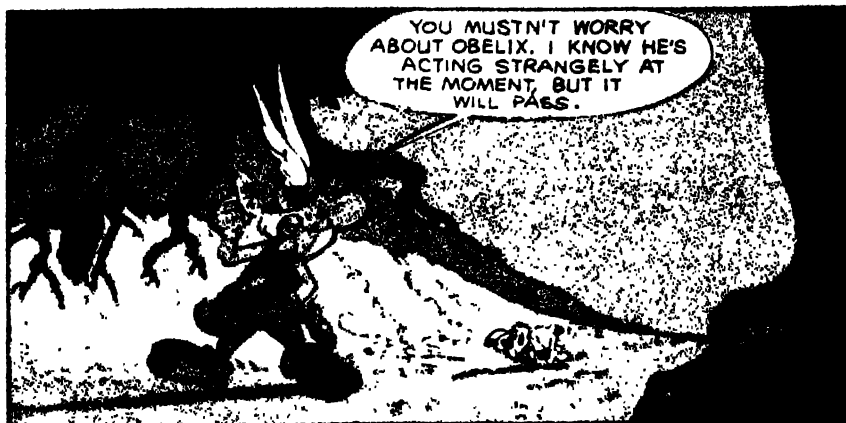
"Is it true that as soon as the hanging was over, a message went to General Zia?"

Tarah Masih looked around before answering. "I told you that there were jeeps with officers in them, they must have sent word. I stayed with the body for half an hour; I did not hear anything myself."

"How has the rumour spread that your life is in danger and that the authorities have provided you with guards to save your life?"

"*Sahab jee*, I am in front of you and you can see that there are no guards near my house. I am a poor man. Hanging people is my job. I have no enmity towards anybody and in particular how can I have been an enemy of *Sahab Bahadur*? Where was he, and where am I! I did hang him, but I am not responsible for his death. I go to jail every day and note my *haziri* down. If it was in my power, I would never have done this. But perhaps this is my fate."





What's cooking?

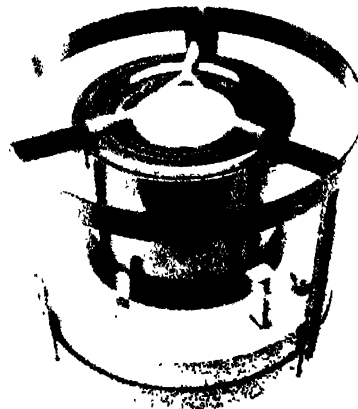
Ministerial wranglings have jeopardised the 'janata' stove project, says S. C ANANTHA-RAMAN.

THIS is the story of the "janata" stove called "Nutan." In fact the stove was to have been christened "Janata", but political developments in the country in early 1977 forced the "Nutan" name on it. Despite being in power for two years, the Janata Party Government has failed to establish new facilities for increased production of the stove, which has a demand and which is being sold in black market right in the capital city. Behind its total failure are several factors but the main one is the rivalry between two Central Ministries concerned with the production of the stove—Ministry of Petroleum & Chemicals, and the Ministry of Industry—a rivalry made worse by the reported lack of rapport between Mr H. N. Bahuguna and Mr George Fernandes, who are in-charge of these ministries.

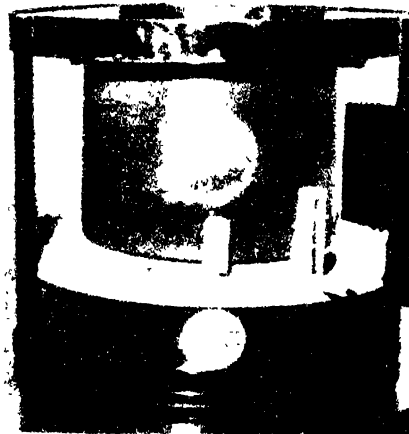
The reason for this rivalry arises from the fact that "Nutan" is the result of work done by the Research & Development Centre of Indian Oil Corporation (IOC). IOC has already given its know-how to a Calcutta firm, Oriental Metal Industries, which has a capacity to manufacture 50,000 pieces a month or 600,000 a year. This is the only company manufacturing the stove for the past two years. Since the Petroleum & Chemicals Ministry has taken the initiative to develop the better thermal efficiency wick stove and has also taken the lead in establishing manufacturing facilities, there is some resentment about why the Industry Ministry should poke its nose into this matter by wanting to get the stove produced in the small-scale sector.

Apart from the interministerial rivalry, there is the publicly unstated hostility between the R & D Centre of IOC, and Indian Institute of Petroleum (IIP), Dehra Dun, both under the Petroleum Ministry. IIP has also developed a new wick stove and named it "Pratap". The claim is that this stove has a better thermal efficiency than even "Nutan" and IIP is naturally keen that manufacture of "Pratap" also should be undertaken.

Added to these rivalries is the confusion over policy. The Ministry of Industry apparently wants new facilities for the manufacture of the "Nutan" stove to be established only in the small-scale sector. Another idea has been quietly thrown in by the Petroleum Ministry to add to the confusion within the small-scale sec-



Two views of the 'Nutan': How many people have seen the stove?



tor, should the manufacture be entrusted to existing units, or only to new units preferably employing unemployed graduates?

IOC sources say there is a Government decision that the stove should not only be manufactured in the small-scale sector, but the capacity should be limited to 4,200 pieces a year per unit. This compares with the Calcutta firm's capacity of 50,000 pieces a month. So IOC has lost all interest in taking any further initiative. It is prepared to part with the know-how to any governmental organisation, which is willing to undertake sale of the know-how and also supervise quality of the final product.

Thus enters another organisation into the scene—the National Small Industries Corporation (NSIC), which is under the Ministry of Industry. The latest decision seems to be that the know-how will be routed through NSIC to new units. The corporation will also supply the raw materials

and ensure quality of production. But the capacity confusion remains. Though IOC sources allude to an official decision limiting annual capacity of new units to 4,200 pieces, nobody in the Petroleum Ministry or Industry Ministry is able to say who took the decision and when.

The confusion over the whole affair can be assessed from the following excerpts from the minutes of a meeting convened by Mr Bhargava, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Petroleum, held on January 23, 1979. The heading says: "Minutes of a meeting convened by Shri Bhargava regarding manufacture and marketing of IIP-designed stove." The heading only too well proves the pulls and pressures between IOC's R & D Centre and IIP, though officially everyone says there is no rivalry.

The minutes go on to say: "Shri Kannau, chairman, NSIC, indicated the efforts already made by NSIC to identify entrepreneurs at Madras, Hyderabad, Rajkot and Bombay to take up manufacture at the rate of 50,000 pieces per month." If the chairman of NSIC says this, then where is the decision limiting capacity of new units to 4,200 pieces a year? The reference of NSIC chairman is clearly to "Nutan" stove, as the minutes go on to say that "as regards IIP designed stove, no guarantee was offered by any organisation."

Here you have the whole scenario of what is going on about organising more production of the "janata" stove. Here is a product which is the result of research in the public sector carried out with the taxpayer's money. It is a product bequeathed to the nation largely at the initiative of Mr K. D. Malaviya, former Petroleum Minister and father of the Indian public sector oil industry.

It has been acknowledged—according to Press releases issued both by IOC and the Press Information Bureau—that the use of "Nutan" stove would save the country Rs. 30 crores in foreign exchange every year or 300,000 tonnes of kerosene annually. It would also mean a monthly saving of Rs. eight per family, as the use of "Nutan" would mean less kerosene consumption.

Despite these advantages to the nation, Mr Bahuguna and Mr Fernandes together have not been able to get three or four units started in different regions of the country (as was originally envisaged) to manufacture the stove. The cost of establishing a unit with a capacity of 50,000 pieces a month is estimated around Rs. 50 lakhs—which is no great investment, considering a saving of Rs. 30 crores a year. More than anyone else Mr Bahuguna knows the mounting cost of oil imports. Since his Ministry has "fathered" the stove, he should have given a push to the project. Mr

Fernandes' sympathy for the small-scale sector is well known. While there is nothing wrong in this, it is this small-scale sector "phobia" that is preventing the benefit of public sector research percolating down to the common man.

As the NSIC chairman has talked about having identified four entrepreneurs in Madras, Hyderabad, Rajkot and Bombay, these must be small entrepreneurs, as the corporation has nothing to do with the big ones. The NSIC chairman has confirmed in writing that production by these units can begin in four months if approval is given.

Yet the net result of all the meetings, discussions and what not in the last two years is only the perpetuation of the "monopoly" for the Calcutta firm, though Mr Fernandes is averse to creation of "monopolies". There seems no concrete decision put down in writing limiting the capacity of new units to 4,200 pieces a year, yet responsible people in IOC talk about this. If there is no such decision, then Mr Fernandes (to whose Ministry the decision is attributed) should make the position clear.

It will be ridiculous to limit the capacity of new units to 4,200 pieces a year because of several reasons. First, the present Calcutta unit has already been licensed for 50,000 pieces a month or 600,000 a year and this capacity cannot be reduced. Secondly, if one firm's capacity is so large and new units are restricted to produce only 4,200 pieces a year, then where is fair competition? What will happen to quality? How can price be controlled?

When I raised all this, I was jocularly told by officials that I suffered from the "culture of the large" complex. There is no question of either "culture of the large" or "culture of the small" in this matter. The main issue is to get more production. Cannot Mr Bahuguna and Mr Fernandes end this disgraceful situation?

That nobody means any business is obvious from the fact that a new element has been brought into the whole affair. The UP Government has proposed that it would encourage entrepreneurs in the State to produce 50,000 pieces a year for three years. The marketing of these total output of 1,50,000 stoves is to be guaranteed by NSIC—a guarantee the corporation has agreed to give.

But this is tinkering with the problem. IOC has reportedly sold about seven lakh stoves in the last two years. So what is this guarantee of marketing 1,50,000 stoves in three years? Can the UP Government encourage an entrepreneur who can compete in price and quality with the Calcutta firm, which produces 50,000 pieces a month? Once production starts, say by a small entrepreneur in UP, the question of subsidy for him will be raised. Next question will be: who will subsidise it? Naturally, it should be NSIC who are standing



Trivandrum Tyagi



Union Ministers H. N. Bahuguna and George Fernandes: will they be able to get the production of 'Nutan' started?

guarantee for marketing. This can be countered by NSIC saying that the subsidy should come from the Oil Industry Development Board. Such discussion will go on and the stove will not be produced.

As it is, with a capacity of 50,000 pieces a month, and an agreement between IOC and the Calcutta firm about price increase, the cost of "Nutan" has risen from about Rs. 32 in 1977 to Rs. 42 now—an increase of 30 per cent in just two years. The black market price is Rs. 50 and above, official sources say. One can imagine the price situation if the Calcutta firm's monthly capacity is to be matched by 12 small units each with an annual capacity of 4,200 pieces a year.

I began inquiring into the problem of the "Nutan" stove when visiting friends from Pune, Bombay, Madras and Trivandrum all wanted to get a stove to take back with them from Delhi. So I asked IOC authorities why "Nutan" was not available in these places. They said that the Industry Ministry was largely to blame. Later I was told that Petroleum Ministry was creating the problems. Though IOC has been asked to inspect the four identified units in Madras, Hyderabad, Rajkot and Bombay, the corporation has still not sent anyone to inspect the units.

I took this up with the spokesman of the Petroleum Ministry who, in turn, spoke to Mr Bahuguna. The Minister immediately called a meeting. If what I hear of the outcome of the meeting is correct, then the country will either get a lousier and costlier "Nutan"

stove or additional production will not start at all for months to come.

With no clear direction from the top, what is happening is mere shadow-boxing. It is time for some big thinking about the small stove. At the last meeting called by Mr Bahuguna, they were still thinking what to do with "Pratap". The decision reportedly was to call "Pratap" the "Nutan II". The present "Nutan" will then be named as "Nutan I" and "Pratap" will become "Nutan II" and the areas where each will be marketed in the country will also be earmarked. For instance, some parts of the country will get a better product (as and when "Nutan II" is produced) and also pay a higher price, and other parts will get "Nutan I". If one knows the way the Government is functioning, one can easily imagine the further confusion and problems such earmarking can produce.

Both IOC's R & D Centre and IIP, Debra Dun, are governmental organisations. Cannot the research of these two institutions be combined and the country get a still better product? Should this rivalry go on?

One public sector institution, Indo-Burma Petroleum (IBP), had sometime ago evinced interest in manufacturing the stove. If IBP is entrusted with the job then research, production and marketing will all be under one Ministry.

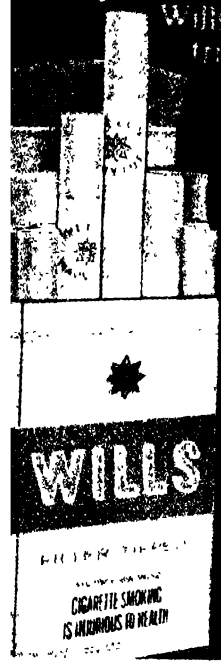
IBP can be asked to start the first two plants in Lucknow and Muzaffarpur—so the constituents of both the ministers will also be pleased. For heaven's sake, get on with the job Mr Bahuguna and Mr Fernandes.

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...e Wills Filter.
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 ...tched. Taste that truly
 ...sies—time after time.
 ...illions of smokers wouldn't
 ...ve it any other way.

Wills Filter. Once you've
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India's largest-selling
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Filter and tobacco perfectly matched

...CIGARETTE
 ...SMOKING
 ...IS UNHEALTHY
 ...TO HEALTH

The cow is in limbo

Was Vinoba tricked into giving up his fast?

ON the night of April 26, Radio Pakistan, commenting on the fast by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, said that the octogenarian Sarvodaya leader had been "tricked" by the Indian politicians. This observation by a foreign radio seemed to sum up the situation. Vinoba had gone on a fast-unto-death on April 22 to demand a complete ban on cow slaughter, and given up fasting on April 26 after the Prime Minister had announced in the Lok Sabha that the Government proposed to bring legislation to amend the Constitution of India and put cow protection in the Concurrent List. The Prime Minister made this announcement only after he had been "assured" that the two main Opposition Parties in the Parliament—the Congress and the Congress (Indira)—would support the move. But soon after Vinoba had given up fasting, the Congress (I) President, Mrs Indira Gandhi, said at Nagpur that her Party had given no such assurance!

One may not agree with the ideology or the methods adopted by Vinoba. And his support to the Emergency (which he hailed as the *anusashan parva*, era of discipline) has made many people sceptical of the moves of the *Sarkari Sadhu*—a name coined for him during the Emergency. But his role in the socio-economic transformation of rural India cannot be overlooked. Between 1952 and 1968 the Bhoodan movement launched by him took the countryside by storm. Though he could achieve only partial success in this movement, and in the subsequent Gramdan movement, it has to be acknowledged that he had taken a step in the right direction.

After the Gramdan movement, for a long time Vinoba remained aloof from public life. In fact it was this aloofness which led to his accepting the Emergency without a protest. Many say that he had become nervous after the Emergency was imposed. After the Janata came to power at the Centre, he decided to launch the anti-cow slaughter movement. He believes that a majority of India's problems can be solved if the cow is protected.

ON April 25 a delegation of RSS leaders went to meet Vinoba. The delegation was led by Mr Rajendra Singh, who is Number Two in the Sangh hierarchy. Other members of the delegation were Messrs Bhaurao Deoras (Number Three in the RSS hierarchy and younger brother of the *Sarsangchalak*, Mr Balasaheb Deoras), Bapurao Kanhadpande, Babasaheb Talatule, and Keshavrao Gore. The delegation told the fasting

Acharya that they had been sent by the RSS boss, Balasaheb Deoras. They held a closed-door meeting with Vinoba and assured him the Sangh's support for his cause. They told him that in Kerala the RSS had *shakhs* (branches) in as many as 1,400 villages and they could spread the movement like wild fire. They informed Vinoba that Mr Rajendra Singh had been entrusted with the task of mobilising support for the anti-cow slaughter movement. The Acharya reportedly told the delegation: "*Mam Sangh ka asubhya sadasya hoon*" (I am an unofficial member of the Sangh).

When I met Mr Rajendra Singh after his meeting with Vinoba, I said that there was a feeling that the RSS was not fully supporting the Acharya's cause. He said that his organisation was waiting for a directive from Vinoba, but Vinoba had not told them to do anything till then ("*Agar Vinoba kahen to desh mein bahut kuchh kiya ja sakta hai, lekin abhi unhone kaha kuchh nahin hai*").

In Delhi, the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, Mr Yeshwantrao Balwantrao Chavan, had assured the Prime Minister of his Party's support for legislation to bring the subject of cow protection from the State List to the Concurrent List. There was an impression in the



Vinoba Bhave let down by politicians?

capital that Mrs Gandhi too had assured a delegation sent from Pauniar that her Party would support the proposed legislation. The Prime Minister sent the Janata Party President, Mr Chandrashekhar, to Pauniar in an attempt to persuade Vinoba to give up the fast.

Meanwhile in a statement issued from Vijayawada, the CPI General Secretary, Mr C Rajeswara Rao, accused the RSS and Mrs Gandhi of having instigated Vinoba in Calcutta, the West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, appealed to Vinoba not

RSS THREATENS SUNDAY

I MET Professor Rajendra Singh, *Sarkaryach* (the Number Two position) of the RSS when he was on his way to meet Acharya Vinoba Bhave during the Acharya's fast for the ban on cow slaughter. I told him that I would like to interview RSS chief Balasaheb to get his views on some of the burning questions of the day, and requested him to help me get the interview. He asked me, "*Kis akhbar ke liye?*" (For which publication?) I answered, SUNDAY and RAVIVAR (which is the Hindi weekly from our group).

Suddenly his face darkened. With some anger he said, "*Hain SUNDAY tatha RAVIVAR ki credibility khatam kar denge. Koi swagat nahi inhe nahin kharidega.*" (We will destroy the credibility of SUNDAY and RAVIVAR. No RSS member will buy these magazines.)

I asked, why?

Professor Singh answered, "*M. J. Akbar aur Udayan Sharma apne*

ko kya samajhte hain, pata nahin; jo kacha hota hai likhte hain." (I don't know who M. J. Akbar and Udayan Sharma think they are. They write whatever they feel like.)

I said you tell me what you feel, and we will print that too.

He replied, "*Mam ya Balasaheb Deoras yadi RAVIVAR ya SUNDAY ke liye kuchh kahenge to mki credibility barh jayegi. Hain to mhe samajh kar dena chahte hain.*" (If I or Balasaheb Deoras say anything to RAVIVAR and SUNDAY then the credibility of these magazines will go up. We want to finish them.)

Professor Rajendra Singh (also called Raju Bhaiya) said this and walked ahead. Beside me was a young journalist from Nagpur. He could not resist saying to the recording figure, "What else is fascism, Raju Bhaiya?"

SANTOSH BHARTIYA, Pauniar

to be misled by Mrs Gandhi. Mr Chandrashekhar reached Paunar on April 25 night. He met the Acharya on 26th morning soon after eight. Vinoba told the Janata chief that he should speak to Dada Dharmadhikari, and Messrs R. K. Patil and R. K. Bajaj. "Whatever they decide will be acceptable to me," he said. Mr Chandrashekhar told Vinoba that though in principle he did not support his fast, he would try his utmost to find a solution as he considered Vinoba to be a *Rashtrapurush* (national figure).

After prolonged talks, and a number of phone calls to Delhi (in which the Janata chief spoke to Mr Desai and the Maharashtra Chief Minister, Mr Sharad Pawar), Mr Chandrashekhar told the Acharya that he would ensure that the Janata Party honoured its pledge to him. To get support from Mrs Gandhi's Party would be Vinoba's responsibility. That very evening Mrs Gandhi said at Nagpur that Acharya Dharmadhikari had misunderstood her, she had never given an assurance to the effect that her Party would support the move to bring the subject of cow protection under the Concurrent List.

WHEN I went to Wardha, which is eight kilometers from Paunar, I was surprised to find that the common man was not in least bothered by what the Acharya was doing. The rickshawpuller who was taking me around on the first day sarcastically said, "Vinoba baba ab bai jaisa bolta hai" (Vinoba now speaks like a woman). During the five days Vinoba was on fast, I did not come across anyone in Wardha who was concerned at what was going on in the Paunar ashram.

The main reason for Vinoba's unpopularity may be attributed to his role during the Emergency. And the presence of Mrs Nirmala Deshpande, who is extremely close to Mrs Gandhi, at the Paunar ashram has made matters worse. In fact a Sarvodaya leader from Gujarat, Mr Jagdish Shah, was openly critical of this and due to protests by him and a few others Mrs Deshpande was not allowed to be present during Mr Chandrashekhar's talks with the ashramites.

When Vinoba decided on his fast unto-death, the inmates of the Paunar ashram became worried about the future of the ashram's assets. There were two distinct camps on this issue. One camp wanted the property to revert to the Bajaj family, the original owners, while the other camp wanted the property to be owned by the ashram's Brahmvadya Trust. Fortunately Vinoba decided to give up fasting, otherwise after his death there would have been a sharp division in the ashram on this issue. From what I saw, the chances are that Mr Gautam Bajaj, who has been with Vinoba for the last many years, will become heir to the ashram's assets.

Most people in the ashram feared that if the Acharya died, then the RSS would cash in on it the most. One Sarvodaya leader said that he

was afraid that the reactionaries would start riots all over the country. Unfortunately, apart from Mr Jayaprakash Narayan, who appealed to Vinoba from his sick-bed, no other Sarvodaya leader even paid lip-service to the Acharya's cause.

A section of the ashramites wanted Vinoba to break his fast in the presence of Mrs Gandhi. But Mr Chandrashekhar pointed out to them that this might cause unnecessary embarrassment for the Prime Minister and Mr Desai might take a stiff attitude then. Senior ashramites also agreed with Mr Chandrashekhar, therefore this move did not succeed.

When Vinoba was informed about Mrs Gandhi's Nagpur statement on the 27th morning, he said, "Lagta hai mujhe phir anshan karna parega" (It seems I would have to go on a

fast again). But Dada Dharmadhikari urged him not to contemplate fasting as the Government had given its word. When Mrs Gandhi reached the ashram later that day, she accused Dada Dharmadhikari of spreading rumours that she had agreed to support the proposed Constitutional amendment.

Everyone in Paunar agreed that had it not been for Mr Chandrashekhar, then it would have been difficult to save Vinoba's life. No politician—not even Mr Desai—was really interested in saving the Acharya's life, they felt. Only one man seemed sincerely concerned through the five-day ordeal. And that was Mr Jayaprakash Narayan.

SANTOSH BHARTIYA, Paunar

A trade union of hockey players?

Cricketers have shown the way



Aslam Sher Khan: hockey players of India, unite!

HORSE-trading in hockey is likely to give way to trade-unionism—very soon. Olympians and international players, agitated at the regular dismal performance of teams selected by the Indian Hockey Federation, are working on a comprehensive plan to set up a "registered" Hockey Players' Association. Its membership will be open to players who have represented a State or an affiliate unit in the Junior or Senior National Hockey Championships. The inspiration has obviously been drawn from the Cricketers' Association.

But, as Olympian Aslam Sher Khan pointed out, "We are not interested in bargaining for money or for inclusion in the team. Our primary aim is to seek recognition from the IHF so that we can help it to evolve a ratio-

nal policy for the selection of not only players but umpires and members of the selection committee as well". International umpire Gian Singh recently told me that "the umpires owe allegiance to the IHF". This was because the IHF selects umpires for the various tournaments held in the country and not the tournament committees. Olympian Inamur-Rehman agrees: "At present the players do not have confidence in umpires or members of the selection committee because the criteria for acceptance or rejection of a player is only the opinion of the IHF which in my opinion is not the Gospel".

This agitation for rights by sportsmen, according to critics, is a result of Packer's appearance on the scene. But while the swamy (head priest) of Indian cricket—M. Chinna-swamy—has been able to contain players from walking across to Packer by raising their allowance, his success is likely to place the swamy of Indian hockey, M. A. M. Ramaswamy, in an embarrassing position.

Hockey is our national game and should not be relegated to second class status or its players meted out third class treatment. Players are, in fact, treated shabbily, and the existing players' associations haven't made any impact. Sportswriter Khalid Ansari, in a recent issue of *Sportsweek*, highlighted the problem. "Our hockey players have not yet been paid a single paisa from their daily allowance of Rs 5", he reported, adding that our players "had been promised a similar daily allowance in the camp for the Bangkok Asian Games but had to rest content with an allowance of Rs 2 on the plea that the Indian Hockey Federation was 'short' of funds". If this is

rue, then there is every reason behind the move by the hockey-players. 'After all have you ever heard of a benefit match for a hockey player' asked Inam

Charles Cornelius? "Yes, but his was an exceptional case. And did he get all the money?"

What has made matters worse is that players whose only ambition is to play for the country, irrespective of the money paid, are ignored on the plea of indiscipline, individualism and fitness. "The IHF believes more in spending money on 'observers' to international tournaments", said Aslam. "We accept that they helped us pay customs duty on our return home with the World Cup in 1975. But even that money was later taken from us."

Financially hockey players are far

worse off than cricketers. And if cricketers are still critical of the 'meagre' payments they receive, the hockey players have even more cause to rebel. But, then, at a time when a murdered hockey coach does not even rate a condolence; when cricketers look after hockey affairs; when club votes are the expertise that enable people to hold eminent positions in sports bodies; and when the Sikhs, who till yesterday formed the bulwark of the national team, are forced to claim in public interviews that they are also 'Indians' (Surjit Singh in *Sportsworld*, March 14 issue), the situation is ripe for trade-unionism.

"Positive trade-unionism", emphasises Aslam.

MATIN KHAN, New Delhi

Confidence trick

Boeing hijackers baffle investigators

L UCKNOW's Central Jail is a sprawling, no indiscript complex that boasts of housing the state's leading lights. Its latest sensation is two unassuming village youths, Devendra Pandey and Bhola Nath Pandey, hijackers of the Indian Airlines Boeing aircraft. However, the two celebrities to the inmates of the Jail are the bane of the State CID, CBI and the Police.

In the war of attrition currently being waged between the hijackers on the one hand and law enforcement authorities on the other, the latter have emerged a hopeless second. Despairing investigators concede that the hijackers boast at the time of surrender: "We have shown the world that the Janata Government is a farce and can be frightened with a toy pistol and a cricket ball," may not have been an idle one after all. On the strength of the evidence they have been able to piece together making out an extreme case against the hijackers, as the Government wanted it, has proved impossible. "Any shrewd attorney could rip a case of a hijacking conducted with a toy pistol apart and make it sound like a minor traffic offence not to say make us sound 'ridiculous,' laments one investigator.

"Failing to make out a case against us," accused the Pandey's in an exclusive interview with this correspondent in Lucknow's Central Jail, "the police conspired to confine us to jail for as long as possible by getting judicial remand on the plea that investigations were incomplete." It was only after three months that the hijackers were chargesheeted. Subsequently the Pandey's moved the High Court for bail but this was rejected although the court directed that the trial be completed within six months, after which the hijackers

would be entitled to bail. And in this ultimatum lies the rub. The police, who had been hoping to break the hijackers into revealing the alleged involvement of Congress (I) leaders in the conspiracy through a prolonged trial that would sap their resistance have now grown frantic. Simultaneously the Pandey's have stepped up their campaign in the courts where they have accused the Government of dishonouring pledges for withdrawing court cases against Sanjay Gandhi and Mrs Indira Gandhi. They have also complained of harassment, both physical and mental by jail authorities and of inedible food being supplied to them.

That the two hijackers are fanatics is undisputed. Devendra claims to possess 2000 clippings of Mrs Gandhi and confidently predicts Sanjay's ascendancy to power by 1985 and has christened his only child Suraj Gandhi. Bhola Nath Pandey says that he is "willing to sacrifice my life for the Gandhis." Considering this fanaticism, they could easily lie to protect their leaders. Alternately they have undertaken the mission to demonstrate their loyalty. Equally, if rejected and ridiculed by the very Party for which they crusaded, they could prove dangerous implicating, rightly or wrongly, others into the conspiracy. It is in recognition of this fact that local Youth Congress (I) leaders have been attempting to mollify the imprisoned heroes who have been "very pained by the denouncements of Mr Tripathi and Mrs Kidwai." It could also be the reason why Mrs Indira Gandhi and Sanjay have not spoken out against the hijackers. Rather, the President of the UP Youth Congress (India), Mr Sanjay Singh has vowed to defend the Pandey's "legally, politically and constitutionally."

"The pocketful of clues the hijackers have left behind them," says one investigator, "could mean only one of two things. That they are either gangster-movie-misled-kids who did the whole thing for kicks and publicity. Or they are very shrewd, very conniving, very slick operators who are feigning their fanaticism to get off lightly. The use of a toy gun and a cricket ball may be hilarious enough to be labelled as the hijack hoax of the century. It could also be the brainchild of a very legal, very calculating mind. Goodness no hijacker, anywhere in the world had conceived the idea of a non-violent hijacking. It might even get them off!"

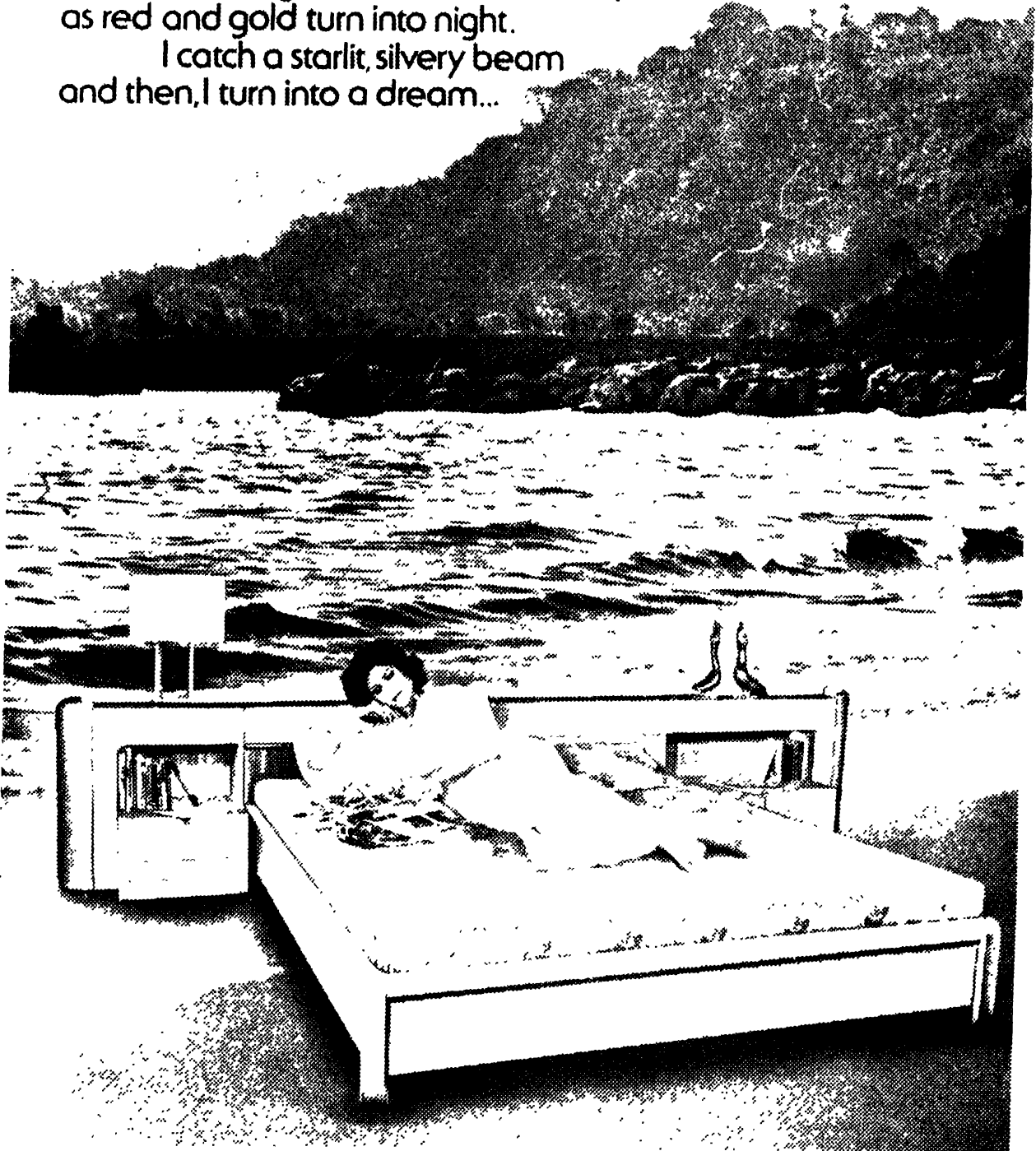
What is bothering investigators is how two highly educated (Devendra Pandey is a LLB from Lucknow University and Bhola Nath a PhD in Hindi from Banares Hindu University) young fathers could be so ignorant of the consequences of their act as to believe that they would go scot-free. Yet that is precisely what the two adventurers believed. Having courted arrest on petty political charges including the time they stormed the Lucknow station of the AIR in protest against Mrs Gandhi's arrest on October 4, 1978, they expected to be released, as earlier, after a few days. The two give the impression of being under the mistaken notion that a magical twist in fortunes may bail them out of their predicament yet.

Their failure to rope in some Congress (I) leaders to please the ruling Party aside, the lack of stringent anti-hijacking laws (which has recently been recognised by the Government and a law has been enacted), has made the dilemma of the police unenviable. The hijackers have been charged under various sections of the IPC dealing with intimidation, threat to life, unlawful entry, etc. which can draw a maximum of a seven years' sentence. Whether a judge will take a stern enough view considering that the two were armed only with toy pistols and a cricket ball, remains to be seen. The police who had been banking on the third hijacker theory that envisaged another hijacker aboard the craft who switched weapons before the hijackers surrendered and mingled incognito into the crowd have dropped it for failure to come with any tangle evidence to substantiate it. Consequently the chargesheet follows the popularly believed sequence of the hijacking with no sensational revelations.

With the Court finally having committed the case to the Sessions, the battle for the hijackers, who had successfully confused the issues to an effective extent, has now moved into the hands of their lawyers. Will these legal luminaries prove as successful inside Court as the two village-bred youths have proved, wittingly or unwittingly, outside it?

ACHAL MEHRA, Kanpur

Sungloss around my bed
takes me on a magic flight
the seagulls call, the heavens spread
as red and gold turn into night.
I catch a starlit, silvery beam
and then, I turn into a dream...



SUNGLOSS decorative laminate

Beauty that endures

Uttarpara

The sad story of Karl Umrigar

Is a building in Bombay jinxed?

THE death of Karl Umrigar, 19 years old and the wonder kid of the exclusive world of famous jockeys has cast more than its share of gloom in the racing fraternity. After an unprecedented 54 wins in a single season, Karl fell from 'Vashdha' on the last day of the Bombay season, April 15—and eventually succumbed to lung injuries. It is true that Karl is not the first jockey to die in such tragic circumstances: Mohammad Yusuf died within hours when he fell from 'Royalist' in 1964. But many people saw a jinx in the death of Karl Umrigar: and this jinx has its foundation in basic human fears, about land, fate, and mysterious evil. In such a context, it is possible to look at the rest of the story as either total baloney, or as absolute fact. The veracity of the evidence can only lie in the eye of the beholder: we only report a series of strange incidents.

There is a theory in builders' circles in Bombay that if a building is put up on a plot in the shape of a 'gowmukhi' (cow's head; that is, the front area is smaller than the rear) then it will be "lucky" for its residents. However, if the plot is in the shape of a 'waghmukhi' (tiger's head; the front is bigger than the rear), then the building will be "unlucky". Superstition, as everywhere else, dogs the construction of houses. Situated on a seductive curve across the famed Haji Ali mosque that juts into the Arabian Sea, is a twin complex of 19-storeyed residential skyscrapers called Eden Hall. It has an unrestricted view of the western peninsula of south Bombay on one side, and on the other stretches the exciting expanse of the Mahaluxmi racecourse. Flats are today worth Rs. eight lakhs or more, though of course most of the residents bought it for far less when the building was constructed. The ground floor has a marble foyer which is decorated by life-sized marble statues of Greek Gods and Roman emperors. This building is supposed to be jinxed; the residents have faced too many tragedies. Karl Umrigar's family moved into it one month before he died.

One of the first to feel that there was something "wrong" with the building was a doctor, who also owned horses. As he puts it. "Three of my horses died one after the other, and it was really inexplicable. One died upon reaching the winning post." He has since left the building, and is thanking his stars that his ill-luck did not reach his family. A girl who loved swimming, who was tall, athletic and in the full



The corridor of Eden Hall: hungry stones?

bloom of youth, suddenly met with a serious accident when she went swimming to the sea one day: at a private club which opens into the sea, she dived from a height, and as the tide was not high enough she hit the rocks and is now paralysed. Less mysteriously, businessmen and wealthy princes who have moved in here have found themselves targets of MISA. One of the most tragic experiences was the death of the Vashdanwalla family: it was wiped out in the Air-India crash on New Year's Day in 1977 (only the husband survives, now bereft of wife and two children).

A foreign couple who have now gone back to their country were constantly stricken by illnesses that they could never really fathom, or cure. They used to work in a con-

sulate, and would return to the country to get cured. But whenever they came to this building they would fall ill. There have been personal tragedies: families breaking up etcetera.

And Mr Rajni Patel, who was the uncrowned king of Bombay, soon found himself in political wilderness after he moved into this building.

The latest to come were the Umrigar family. Though they had bought this flat several months ago they did not move in till recently because the place had not been furnished adequately.

A well-known interior decorator dismisses all this as "rubbish. It could just be a coincidence". It could

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

Bombay

Burdwan's monumental mistake

THE Taj Mahal suffers from "stone cancer", thanks largely to the Mathura oil refinery. Konarak's fabulous Sun Temple is in danger of toppling down through neglect. And in Madurai, the ancient Nayak fortress is doomed to be "renovated" by misguidedly enthusiastic city fathers. West Bengal's princely monuments are similarly imperilled by careless custodians.

Most of a library of 14,000 books have disappeared from Murshidabad's Hazar Duari palace, while a painting, believed to be an original Raphael, is smudged beyond recognition. Cooch Behar's palace is in an even worse state of disrepair; the Jalpaiguri forests hold the unrestored 1,500-year-old ruins of the Nalrajar Garh, a Gupta era relic; and rumour has it that the Tagore mansion at Jorasanko will give way to a structure in the PWD's heavily clumsy style to suit Rabindra Bharati's aesthetic preference.

More definite news from Burdwan, about the University Council's plan to demolish Mahatab Manzil, is no less disturbing. Started in 1849 and completed three years later, this massive edifice of lofty Gothic

pillars, a majestic staircase, marble eagles and life-sized portraits, now houses the University's administrative offices. Together with seven or eight lesser buildings, including the graceful Golap Bagh palace on the lake, it was given in the late Fifties to the people and Government of West Bengal. The latter passed it on to the university.

But the academic authorities are singularly insensitive to architectural beauty, learning or the stirring history evoked by a monument that recalls Sangam Rai, a Punjabi businessman who went on pilgrimage to Puri in Jehangir's reign and settled down at Baikantapur, five miles from Burdwan, where his descendants carved out India's most highly assessed zamindari. They are far more interested in the quick profits to be made from demolition and reconstruction.

Some years ago, the Burdwan University Council announced that the boundary wall was crumbling and would have to be torn down. But they soon discovered that the sturdy structure — about six feet deep and rising to the height of a double-storeyed house — could not be destroyed

without dynamite. It was nevertheless, and at great cost, blown apart; and with the wall came down an ornate gateway high enough to allow easy passage to elephants and howdahs.

Now Mahatab Manzil too is said to be dilapidated and too expensive to maintain. When one of its parapets fell down during the October cyclone, the university engineer — who has a vested interest in vandalism — promptly ordered that the remaining, and perfectly solid, parapets should also be knocked down. The tenders committee, which stands to gain the most from such wanton destructiveness, readily sanctioned the demolition plan which at the time of writing is being considered by the Burdwan University Council.

No one who sees the palace can possibly believe that it is in any danger of collapsing. But there is money to be made in selling old building materials and constructing anew; the Council being too ignorant of history, and too indifferent to the trust implicit in Maharajahdhiraja Sir Uday Chand Mahatab Bahadur's bequest, to object.

A CORRESPONDENT, Calcutta

THE WORLD

Whitewashing for whites

"SCANDAL" is no longer a rare word in the Western political lexicon. At one time it had the power to stun — the Profumo Scandal in Britain in 1962, which involved a Cabinet Minister, a prostitute and a mysterious Russian connection, generated shock waves which took years to subside. But in recent times scandals have become commonplace. Whether they involve the sexual peccadilloes of Lords Lambton and Jellicoe in England, or the illegal buying of political influence by the Lockheed aircraft corporation in the Netherlands, Italy and Japan, or a break-in on an electoral opponent in America's Watergate, scandals seem to occur with a frequency that has diminished their dramatic impact. Not even the upgrading of the cast of characters has changed the situation.

It is in such an atmosphere that the South African information scandal has broken. On the face of it, the scandal is not much by current world standards: the Government has apparently been using taxpayers' money to run a pro-apartheid newspaper, *The Citizen*, and finance sundry other attempts at influence-buying. The last Information Minis-

ter, Dr Connie Mulder — who earned his "Dr" by writing a Ph.D. thesis on "hopscotch in South Africa" — lost his job and, in quick succession, his seat in parliament and his membership of the ruling National Party. American journalists, who excel in reducing world events to familiar labels, gleefully dubbed the affair "Muldergate". But the average reader cannot be blamed for asking with a yawn: "so what?"

The answer to that question is not quite as mundane as the scandal itself. For the entire unsavoury affair is of significant interest at several levels. At the personal level — which is not, despite our American friends, the most important one — it has marked the downfall of the man long considered John Vorster's probable successor. Last year at this time Dr Mulder was arguably the second most important man in Pretoria, the head of the National Party in the crucial State of Transvaal, and a politician of considerable standing amongst the right-wing Afrikaaner population. Today he lives in disgrace, drummed out of the Party he had helped build up, and dismissed from

the Government he came within a few votes of leading (he lost the Prime Ministry in a narrow contest to the present incumbent, Pieter Botha). That is a long way to fall.

But what the scandal has revealed about the country and the system is even more interesting. It has shattered the myth, assiduously built up in the West by South African propagandists, that however Pretoria may treat its coloured subjects it rules its whites honestly. Not many professedly democratic governments have stooped so low as to spend public funds on setting up a newspaper in order to defend the policies of the ruling Party. Equally significant is that such a scheme was thought necessary at all. The strong pro-apartheid elements in power have little support among the English-speaking minority in South Africa and even less in the Press. The only way to counteract this, the Government appears to have decided, was to acquire an English-language newspaper. They have now learned that sometimes solutions are worse than the problem they seek to address.

SHASHI THAROOR, Geneva

SANJAY LOSES A FRIEND

SANJAY GANDHI has unwittingly lost the loyalty of one of his most steadfast supporters, Mr Lalit Maken, a general secretary of Delhi Pradesh Congress (I) Committee, Mr Maken and his college-friend, Mr. Prem Swarup Nayyar had been responsible for many a demonstration staged outside the courtrooms whenever Mr Gandhi appeared in the numerous cases pending against him. But sometime back Mr Maken's wife, Mrs Geetanjali Maken (daughter of Dr Shanker Dayal Sharma) was removed from the presidency of the National Students Union of India, the Congress (I) students' outfit. This seems to have enraged Mr Maken. He and Mr Nayyar then organised a convention of Youth Congress (I) volunteers in Delhi in which the DPYC(I) chief Mr Jagdish Chander Tytler was "removed" and Mr Nayyar installed in his place. Significantly, among the leaders who addressed the Maken-Nayyar convention was Mrs Margaret Alva, who is a prominent supporter of Mr Devraj Urs. Though Mrs Alva subsequently disowned any responsibility regarding the parallel Youth Congress (I) meet, the anti-Sanjay Gandhi slogans raised in the meet and Mr Urs's stand regarding Mr Gandhi makes one wonder if Mrs Alva was totally unaware of the intentions of Messrs Maken and Nayyar.

SYCOPHANT JOURNALISTS

IN THE capital there is a group of journalists whose only loyalty is to the RSS. These few journalists always manage to dominate the Press conferences of anti-RSS leaders. Instead of asking questions, all of them start arguing. Subsequently the Press conferences turn into a debating session. Most of their questions are designed to serve the interests of their political masters. But the sadder part of the story is that the majority of correspondents attending the Press conferences grumble, but do not dare to come out openly against this clique. The worst happened on April 25, when, a senior pro-RSS journalist started shouting at Mr Karpoori Thakur, who whispered to one of the correspondents present there. "Samajh main nahi ata, mainay to RSS kay khilaf guch kaha bhi nahi. Ye

log apna akhbar represent kar rahay hain ya RSS ko?" (I cannot understand whether these people are representing their newspapers or the RSS, I have not said anything against the RSS so far). Interestingly, a special correspondent of a leading Hindi daily, known for his RSS connections, behaves in a more sensible way than these new-found RSS-lovers. Old hands in the Press conferences say that when Mrs Gandhi was in power, the same fellows stood firmly behind her and pounced on anyone who dared criticize her. There are some people, it seems, who will never be on a losing side.

SETTLING OLD SCORES



Idi Amin

A MILITARY ATTACHE OF the Uganda High Commission in Delhi had a tough time saving his skin at a party in a Golf Links house to celebrate the overthrow of dictator Idi Amin. It was, in fact, very stupid of the Attache to turn up at the party, as he was a noted figure in the Idi Amin Army: Major Okele (that is his name) was hated by the local Ugandan students for his behaviour when Amin was in power. With Amin Dada thrown out of Kampala, the students let Major Okele have it: they beat him up severely before he was rescued. The High Commissioner was not present at the party as he was in Kampala for consultations with the new Government of Professor Yusuf Lule.

PATNAIK'S WOE

THE STEEL and Mines Minister, Mr Biju Patnaik, has been privately complaining against the Prime Minister, Mr Desai's, "uncooperative" attitude. He alleges that Mr

Desai is encouraging the tirade against him. Mr Patnaik does have a point. Mr Desai these days is sending any paper, sensible or not, or photostat regarding the Ministry of Steel and Mines to Mr Patnaik marked, "for your comments".

POLITICAL 'AKHADA'?

ON APRIL 25, when the former Chief Minister of Bihar, Mr Karpoori Thakur, met Mr Raj Narain, the latter was in very good mood. Mr Raj Narain told Mr Thakur, *Mainay Sanghion kab diya hai ki apne Karpooriji ko hara kar hamara kya bigada? Pahalay to ap longon nay unhey hamari gardan par baita rakha tha. ham apni munda bhi idhar udhar nahi hila pa rahay they. Apnay kandhay say utar diya. Ab kachcha pahana kar lada daingay —maidan main.* (I have told the Jana Sanghis that they have not done any harm to us by removing Karpoori Thakur. Earlier you had loaded him on us, we could not do anything. Now we will use him to fight you openly). This incident was related to newsmen by Mr Karpoori Thakur himself.

GOENKA'S POWER

CONSTRUCTION workers working on the extension of *The Indian Express* group's building on Delhi's Bahadurshah Zafar Marg one day mistakenly damaged the underground power cable leading to the press. The damage was such that the Delhi Electricity Supply Undertaking expressed its inability to set it right on the same day. Under normal circumstances the newspaper could not have come out that night, but *The Indian Express* is no ordinary newspaper these days and its owner, Ram Nath Goenka, is no ordinary man! The newspaper did come out despite the disruption in power supply. All that Mr Goenka had to do was to tap the power lines of one of the tenants in the Express Building, the public sector firm, Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation. It is interesting to note that Mr Goenka left the power lines of the other tenant, Hindustan Lever, untouched. Perhaps it was felt that with his connections with top Janata functionaries, Mr Goenka could easily browbeat a public sector firm, but the story might be different when it came to tackling a multinational.

D E. NIZAMUDDIN

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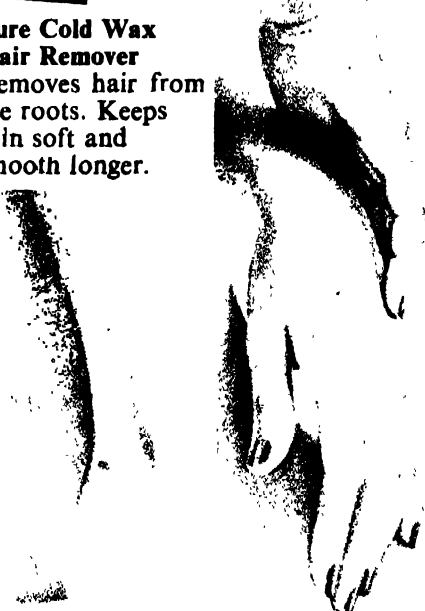


Lure Almond Hair Oil
Nourishes and strengthens the hair. Keeps it soft and gleaming.



Lure Cold Wax Hair Remover
Removes hair from the roots. Keeps skin soft and smooth longer.

Lure



Defining the amorphous

By VIVEK SENGUPTA

AN aspect of Hindu thought that has come in for perennial attack from the West or West-oriented Indians is its insistence on the goal of human life as release from the cycle of birth and death, which, it is said, is bound to produce either a self-deceptive dichotomy in belief and conduct or a feeling that all things temporal are so fragile and fleeting that they are hardly worth our serious attention. The Hindu emphasis on inner life is regarded as a sheer waste of time on a philosophical quiddity and its insistence on selfless non-attachment to action—thou hast right only to thy action not to the fruits thereof, enjoins the Bhagvat-gita—is described as thoroughly unrealistic, uninspiring and unsuitable as work ethos in the modern world.

One therefore approaches Dr Pratima Bowes' *Hindu Intellectual Tradition* with not a little cynical curiosity. But going through it one admires the author's attempt at pro-

viding sharp contours to the amorphous aspects of Hindu traditional thought without appearing ridiculous in either trying to defend the indefensible or by quoting from foreign scholars—the bane of Indian writers—who, as solace either to themselves or to us, set high values on some of its unique features.

But is there such a thing as "Hindu intellectual tradition"? Dr Bowes says yes, but within the premises of its own values of thought and reason. The Hindu tradition did not make any clear cut distinction between the religious and the non-religious—a distinction that is based on the 'either/or' logic of the Western tradition—and therefore the fact that certain observations appear in religious books or in mythology does not *ipso facto* mean that they have no intellectual content and are mere matters of faith and emotion. Dr Bowes shows that Hindu values—religious, philosophical, social, moral, political and aesthetic—are based on a particular intellectual attitude to the world which combines the perception of the unity of all existence at one level with re-

lativism—pluralism at another. It also uses conceptions of knowledge, methodology and logic to suit its own perception of the world.

The author discusses quite at length how far scientific socialism is compatible with the traditional Hindu view of life and if Gandhism could be an alternative remedy for the social ills of presentday India.

The book will commend itself to every intelligent lay Indian—Hindu or non-Hindu—who has no specialised knowledge of Indian philosophy, religion, or culture not only because it is handy but also because it is very largely free from jargon, quotations and references. Book prices have escalated so much in recent years that lamentation about high price has become a cliché in reviews but even so one feels compelled to add that only libraries can afford to pay Rs 48 for a 210-page volume. Which, plainly, is not how things ought to be.

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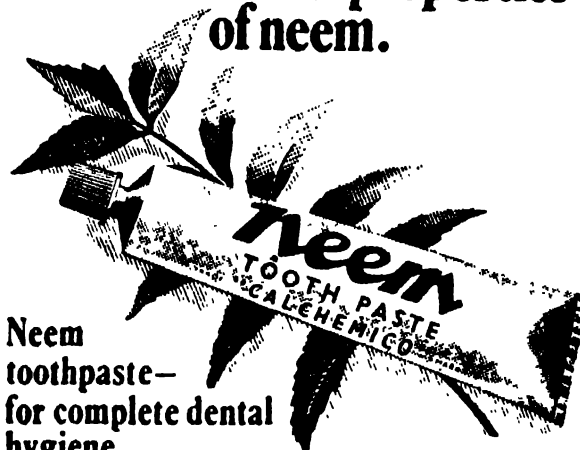
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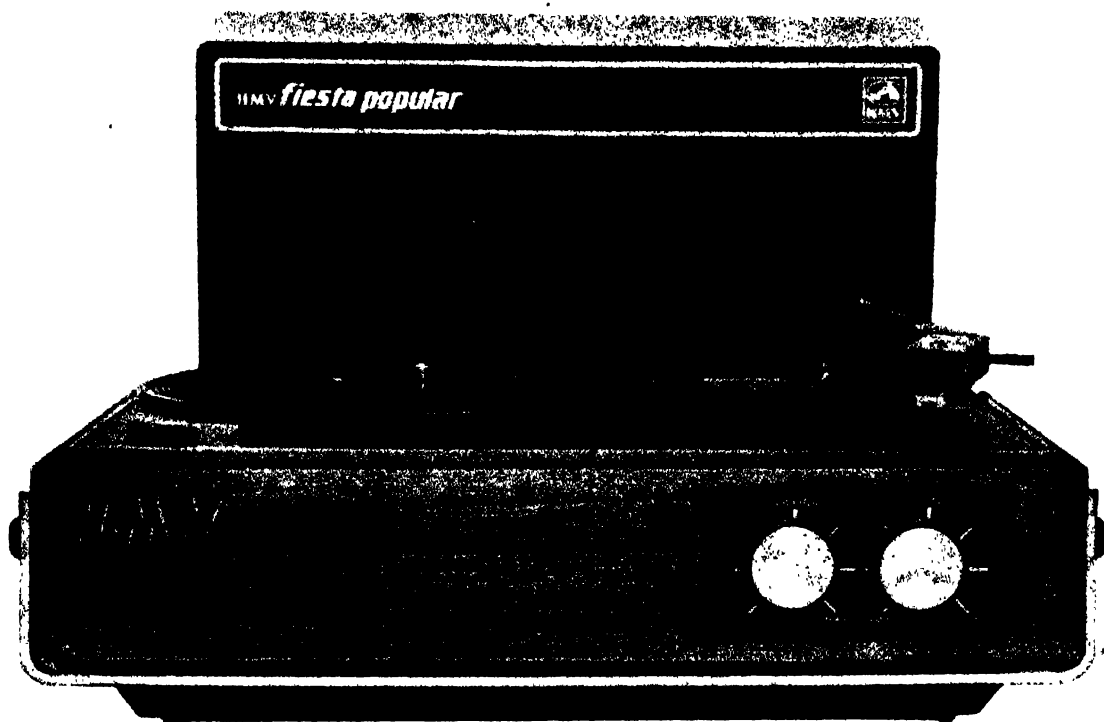
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Back-tracking on human rights

By A. G. NOORANI

WHAT is one to say of a Government which comes to power pledging restoration of human rights, acts creditably enough in that regard domestically, but willfully delays ratification of UN Covenants on Human Rights for two years and then ratifies them half-heartedly with reservations that do it little credit?

On March 16, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr Samarendu Kundu, informed the Rajya Sabha that the Government of India had decided to accede to the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights but with certain reservations which, he claimed, were required by India's constitutional and other legal provisions. Mr Kundu proceeded to reveal that the Government had decided not to accede to the Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which confers on the Human Rights Committee, set up under the Covenant, the jurisdiction to receive complaints of breach of human rights directly from *individuals* in a State which accedes to the Protocol.

Mr. Kundu's silence on another crucial provision is no less discouraging than his elaborate announcement. India will not make a declaration under Article 41 of the Covenant, either. Such a declaration enables the Committee to hear complaints from States that a State has failed to fulfil its obligations under the Covenant. An essential precondition is that, both the complainant and the defaulting States must have made the requisite declarations under Article 41.

The net effect of the refusal to accede to the Optional Protocol and to make the declaration under Article 41 is that, despite the Covenant, there is no international enforcement of human rights. All that a State is required to do is to submit to the Human Rights Committee reports on "the measures they have adopted which give effect to the rights" recognised in the Covenant and "on the progress made in the enjoyment of those rights". The Committee will consider such reports and make "such *general* comments as it may consider appropriate". It all adds up to no more than self-policing. The Committee's "general" comments, made after an elaborate procedure, can be of little help. India has, thus, shut out effective international scrutiny of its observ-

ance of human rights as contemplated by the Covenant. Worse still, it has made certain reservations which detract from the ratification.

One can understand our reservation in respect of the right of self-determination which clarifies the scope of the right to make it available only to nations under colonial domination. This is designed as a protection against Pakistan's invocation of the right whenever it chooses to revive the dead issue of Kashmir. Nor can exception be taken to a reservation which exempts our system of reservation of public posts for scheduled castes and backward classes.

But, what is one to think of a reservation which excludes two vital aspects of the right to liberty and security of person. One is the right to be informed at the time of arrest of the reasons for arrest and "to be promptly informed of any charges against him." The fact that Indian law enables arrest for a cognisable offence without warrant or intimation of the charges is irrelevant. The law should be amended to accord with the Covenant, not the other way around. The same holds good for the right to compensation to one who has been "the victim of unlawful arrest or detention". The Government of India does not accept this because, in its view, the Indian law recognises no such right.

Another reservation would affect a whole set of rights such as freedom of movement, of expression, of peaceful assembly and of association (Articles 12, 19, 21 and 22) because the grounds on which they can be restricted under the Covenant are narrower than the grounds under which they can be restricted under our Constitution (Art. 19). In some respects the grounds are identical, in others not. After all, which international document would sanction restriction on the right of free speech "in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States" as our Constitution was amended by Mr Jawaharlal Nehru to permit? So the grounds of restriction of the rights in India will be those under the Constitution because they are wider and not the more limited restrictions permitted by the Covenant.

Doubtless, India is not the only offender though its reservations are more extensive than those of most, if not any. Thus, Britain made the following reservation while ratifying the Covenant on Political and Civil Rights in 1976: "The Government of the United Kingdom reserve the right to continue to apply such *immigration legislation governing entry into, stay in and departure from the*

United Kingdom as they made deem necessary from time to time and, accordingly, their acceptance of Article 12.4 and and of the other provisions of the Covenant is subject to the provisions of any such legislation as regards persons not at the time having the right under the law of the United Kingdom "to enter and remain in the United Kingdom".

The USA's attitude is least defensible. The two Covenants were adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966 and came into force in 1976 after the requisite minimum number of States had ratified them. President Carter signed the Covenants on October 5, 1977. They are yet to be ratified by the Senate. However the "reservations, declarations and understandings" to the Covenants, recommended by the Carter Administration to the Senate on February 23, 1978, ill accord with its professions of respect for human rights and interest in their international enforcement.

An excellent study on US ratification of the Human Rights Covenants in Minnesota Law Review by Prof. David Weissbrodt concludes that the reservations and "understandings" proposed by the Carter Administration "overreach requirements imposed by the Constitution, violate principles of international law, and are more protective of present domestic practice than the reservations attached by any other nation". This was written before the Indian reservations were revealed.

Two reservations deserve particular mention. Art. 9(5) of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights enjoins that "Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation". This right would be the best deterrent to arbitrary arrest. Both, India and the USA reject it. Article 10 (2) & (3) of the Covenant says: "Accused persons shall, save in exceptional circumstances, be segregated from convicted persons and shall be subject to separate treatment appropriate to their status as unconvicted persons. The penitentiary system shall comprise treatment of prisoners the essential aim of which shall be their reformation and social rehabilitation. Juvenile offenders shall be segregated from adults and be accorded treatment appropriate to their age and legal status." But the U.S. considers these minimal rights "as goals to be achieved progressively rather than through immediate implementation". India with its hideous jail conditions has not made any reservation on this right. Is it through sheer oversight? One wonders.

PROFESSIONALLY they could not make much of a success together, as their films have proved, right from their first *Zehreela Insaan* down to the latest *Jhoola Kahin Ka*, with the mild exceptions of *Rafoo Chakkar* and *Kabhi Kabhi*. Let's hope they make it in real life, now that they have taken the first step and got engaged. Typical of *Rishi* to have it differently: he could have had a grand affair in Bombay, but instead, he preferred to do it the simple way, in Delhi, where his family members had gathered for the engagement of Rajendra Kumar's daughter. It was all a kind of family thing, with Dimple, Rajendra's daughter, engaged to Mr Nanda, Raj Kapoor's daughter, Ritu's brother-in-law. If it was to have been a double engagement-event, one wonders why *Rishi* couldn't have had it with the recent Rima-Gaurav ceremony, which was a much discussed topic! Unless, as I said, he likes to be different and quiet. Anyway, he and *Neetu* have put an end to all speculation about their getting married.



Rekha: living in an ivory tower?

LIKE Shakti Samanta, who says quite modestly, that he always made films with unknown stars, who have subsequently become popular, from Shammi Kapoor to Vinod Mehra and Moushumi Chatterji, Dulal Guha, another Bengali producer making it big in Bombay, also claims the same. His success is more recent and it started with *Dushman* and *Dost*. Now he is directing a film for his

son Gautam, and has declared that his hero *Mithun* might become as big a superstar as Rajesh Khanna. That reminds me, *Mithun* was supposed to have made it big a long time back, but the break doesn't seem to be forthcoming!

INSPITE of the big hit that *Muqaddar ka Sikander* has proved to be, and the resounding popularity with which Amitabh Bachchan has

been accorded (he has won two major Best Actor awards this year), one wonders if *Rekha* is going to be paired with Amitabh much longer. If rumours about their personal association coming to an end are to be believed then it follows that they won't do films together. In fact, I overheard that the great actor is not going to sign any more films with his film steady of recent times. The question is, what is she going to do now? She had just built an ivory tower for herself by not talking to anyone and even cutting off relations with her old friends and co-stars. She's going to find it tough now getting back her easily won friends, contacts and contracts.

WHEN villain *Ranjeet* returned from one of his foreign trips, he brought back a naughty little novelty from one of the sexshops he visited. He used to take this little thing along with him to work and show it (a little animal) to his co-stars. Needless to say, he wanted to study individual reactions to this thing, rather than anything else. He collected two very interesting reactions. One, Zeenat Aman, who held it in her hand and sportingly laughed, said she found it very cute! Two, Miss Asha Sachdev, who shrank away from it and was scandalised said, "Chee! How awful!"

THE Mahesh Bhatt-Parveen Babi link-up was the shortest one the Babi has ever had. I mean, she has never had stray flings, Danny and Kabir being proof enough. Mahesh is nowhere on the Babi scene, so either she has gone on for greener pastures as rumoured, or she is just being twice-bitten!

AMJAD's recent accident and hospitalisation (not for the resetting of his earlier accident as was mentioned in *Khaas Baat*) has a dramatic little story to it. Behind his crash on the highway, it seems there was a little misunderstanding with a lady. A sudden cold shoulder from her after a fairly comfortable friendship, drove him to such preoccupation, that it led to his second car accident in three years! ■



Neetu and Rishi: making it together.

MOVIE DIRECTORS down South have a peculiar enchantment for displaying their university degrees. Even the posters and boardings of films proudly advertise the educational qualifications of their directors. And now stars seem to be eager to acquire degrees. Some of the "ancient" stars have acquired honorary doctorates. But the younger ones who haven't had a formal education seem to be making an effort to acquire the status symbol of a degree. Shoba, who has been facing the studio cameras from the age of three, is going to acquire a degree from Benares. And Deepa, who made her debut in *Arangetrām* a couple of years ago did her matriculation examination in Kerala recently. Incidentally, Deepa is known as Unni Mary (her real name) in her home State. And unlike in Tamil films, where she often plays the vamp, the Malayalam producers regularly feature her as the heroine.

EVER since *Sivaji Ganesan* portrayed nine roles in *Navarathri*, which created a box-office record, other South Indian heroes have tried to play a number of roles in a single film, though hardly anybody has succeeded in matching *Sivaji's* performance. Most of them are content with double roles—and a constant change of costume. MGR played a double role in *Enga Veetu Pillai* and *Nale Namadhe*. Though the film crashed at the box-office, ardent MGR fans believe that the film could have smashed all records if only MGR had played all the three male leads!

AND now Telugu actor and film-maker N. T. Rama Rao has just completed a new cinemascope venture, an episode from the *Mahabharata* in which N.T.R. plays five roles including Krishna and Arjuna. And Balakrishna, his son is also featured in the film. NTR has made many mythological and religious films as well as semi-historicals. In spite of his steady popularity at the box-office, some of the home products have earned huge losses. *Salim Anarkali* flopped in the first week although the music was by C. Ramachandra, whose

tunes in the Hindi version *Anarkali* are still remembered.

IN her successful days actress Sowcar Janaki, an extremely popular artiste, didn't mind receiving innumerable awards. But she is annoyed, and she makes no bones about it, that *Sarada* should have been singled out to receive the national award for the third time. Jayalalitha

musicians, with plenty of pop music thrown in. But the formula somehow doesn't work out and despite heroic efforts by Kamalahasan to save the film, it disintegrates fast.

SARITA, heroine of *Maro Charitra* and *Thappu Thalagal*, both very successful films, is not as successful as she should be. She has six assignments, but that isn't very much considering

expected to contain plenty of titillation and may break the box-office records of many other softporno Malayalam films.

THE up-coming Malayalam hero Jose is yet to acquire expensive habits. He still stays in the comfortable but simple room of a lodge off Nungabakkam High Road whenever he's in Madras. Four years ago, Jose started staying there soon after he made his debut in Ramu Kariyat's colourful flop, *Dweep*.

FOR two years now the super star from Kerala Jayabharati has been waiting for director I. V. Sasi to begin work on the Hindi version of the Malayalam money-spinner, *Rathi Nirvedham*. The producer of the film, Harry Pothan, even made arrangements to have Hindi taught to Jayabharati, but for some reason or other, mostly because Sasi is tied up in so many films, the Hindi version of *Rathi Nirvedham*, a story of a teenager's sexual affair with an older woman, has remained in the cold storage. In the meantime, there's some consolation for Jayabharati—one of her popular Malayalam movies has been dubbed into Hindi.

JAYANTHI, the buxom star, who migrated to Telugu and Kannada films, when her Tamil market was dull, is trying to rehabilitate herself once again in Madras. She has a meaty role in *Devatai* opposite Siva Kumar. The film directed by P. N. Menon, is expected to be released in June.

M.G.C. SUKUMAR'S career is warming up in spite of the disastrous debut he made in *Kunkumam Kathai Solkirathu*. He has managed to reduce a bit, and actress Jayalakshmi is believed to be doing PR work for him. And Sukumar's brother Balu is shopping around for singing assignments. M. S. Viswanathan has already got a couple of songs recorded by Balu. Father M. G. Chakrapani would have loved to feature Sukumar and Balu in a movie, but for his ill health.

PIOUSJI



Unni Mary : progressing in degrees

too has been critical about it. But *Sarada* says she's least worried about these remarks; awards are welcome she says, but she gets the maximum amount of satisfaction by performing well in movies. That she feels is the greatest award.

KAMALAHASAN and *Rajnikant* play the roles of singer and musician in K. Balachander's *Nimithale Inikkum*, a film about four

the fact that people with a couple of hits, sign contracts for a dozen movies in a matter of a couple of hours. But *Sarita* doesn't seem to be unduly perturbed. Though she speaks Telugu at home, she's quite familiar with Tamil.

SHEELA, *Padmapriya* and *Reena* play the main roles in *Pativrata*, a recently launched Malayalam film that's dedicated to prostitutes. The film is

The Sikh in life and death

In the second part of our extract from "The Sikhs" by W. OWEN COLE and PIARA SINGH SAMBHI (Vikas, Rs 85), the authors decode the religious meaning of Sikh marriage and cremation rituals, and explain the Sikh concepts of birth and death.

THE four verses of the *Lavan* (circling) hymn have a double significance. They provide the couple advice but they place the union within the deeper context of union with God. The first verse reads, "By the first circling the Guru has shown the duties of the householder life. Sing the *bani* instead of the Vedas and hold fast to the faith which they reveal so that God may free you from evil inclinations. Hold fast to righteousness and contemplate the name of God. Fix the *smirti* in your mind, they too contain God's word. Devote yourself to the true Guru and all evil will depart. Those minds are blessed indeed which are filled with the sweetness of his name. To them bliss comes without effort. God's servant, Nanak, proclaims that in the first circling the marriage rite had begun."

The significance of the verse is first the affirmation that the householder (*grihastha*) stage of the four Hindu ways of life is the proper one for the Sikh. In it he can become liberated through being filled with the knowledge of God (*Brahm gyani*), which must be the basis of family life, without passing along the progressive path laid down for Hindus from student through householder to ascetic and recluse. Second, this is done through meditating upon nam and knowing the *bani* which is clearly set out in this verse as the teaching of the Guru and the undefined *smirti* or devotional books to the specific exclusion of the Vedas. The verse may therefore be regarded as constituting part of the third and fourth Guru's attempt to establish a coherent Sikh community. Here it is being done not only through the provision of an alternative form of marriage to that of Hindu tradition but by including in it injunctions which are specifically Sikh.

In the second stanza the God, the true Guru, is commended as the dispeller of fear, the soul of the universe, all-pervading but particularly present in the *sangat*: "In the second circling you are to recognise that God has caused you to meet the true Guru. By holding him in reverent awe and singing his praises self-centredness is washed away. I stand in his presence, face to face, with reverence. The Lord God is soul of the universe, there is nothing he does not pervade. He is both within us and outside us, the only one. Songs of rejoicing are heard in the company of the saints. The slave, Nanak, proclaims that in the second round the divine music is heard."

"IN the third circling longing for the Lord and for detachment from the world wells up. By our good fortune, in the company of the saints, we encounter the Lord. He is found in all his parity through praising him and singing his hymns. Good fortune has brought us into the saints' fellowship in which the story of the ineffable Lord is told. The Lord's love fills our minds and absorbs us, as we have been blessed with a good destiny which is recorded on our foreheads."

In the third circling, the slave Nanak says, God's love is awakened in the heart.

In the third stage of life a Hindu detaches himself from his householder obligations and business interests to attach himself to God. The third circling reminds the Sikh of detachment but it is found through fellowship, the company of the *sangat*. This fellowship meant a great deal to the Fourth Guru who did much to weld the Sikhs into a cohesive *panth*. Here he suggests they should be grateful for a birth and destiny which has resulted in them coming within the sound of *gurbani* so that the longing for eternal bliss is awakened.

The final verse describes the conclusion of the journey of the soul to God. The devotee becomes filled with divine knowledge (*brahm gyani*) so that *sahaj*, perfect bliss, is attained. The word is difficult to explain. Its Sikh meaning is brought out by this stanza better than any prosaic discussion. Guru Ram Das, commending married life, is quite prepared to regard it as analogous with the relationship between God and the devotee, one which in this life outwardly seems that of two distinct souls but one in which the devotee is aware of a deeper union which death will perfect: "In the fourth round the mind attains divine knowledge and union with God becomes complete. Through the Guru's grace this blissful state is attained. The sweetness of the beloved pervades our souls and bodies. The Lord is dear to me and I am pleasing to him. Day and night my mind is fixed on him. By exalting the Lord I have attained him, my heart's desire. The beloved has completed the union. The bride's mind has blossomed with the Lord's name. The Lord is united with his holy bride. Says the slave Nanak, in the fourth circling I have become one with the eternal Lord".

Sikhs share the view of many inhabitants of hot climates that the funeral should take place quickly, normally on the day after death. They also practise cremation. Burial at sea is permitted and inhumation is not considered wrong but cremation has been the tradition of five hundred years and any other method of disposing of the dead is psychologically undesirable. The ashes may be buried—this has obviously happened in the cases of many *sants* as their shrines (*samadhis*) testify—but normally the remains are put into the nearest river. The building of funeral monuments is not regarded as properly in keeping with Sikh beliefs. The Gurus forbade them in the case of themselves, though the sites are now the locations of *gurdwaras*.

The cremation ceremony is a family occasion. The body will have been washed and clothed by members of the family who have been careful to ensure that it is wearing the symbols of the faith (the Five K's). It is then taken to the cremation ground outside the village in a solemn procession. During the journey the mourners sing hymns. The funeral pyre is lit by a close relative and the evening hymn (*Sohilla*) sung during the cremation. Prayers, concluding with the *Ardas*, are offered.

When they return to the home of the deceased the mourners wash their hands and faces and it is customary for the complete reading of the Guru Granth to begin, though on this occasion it is more likely to be done intermittently over a period of about ten days rather than continuously for forty-eight hours. Before taking leave of the bereaved, family mourners will receive *karah parshad*. The sharing of food at this time is particularly meaningful. It symbolises the continuity of social life and normal activities as opposed to isolation from human contacts, fasting and other ritual manifestations of grief.

Birth into the Sikh faith is the result of a good *karma*. It has provided the soul with an opportunity to come within the sound of *gurbani* and so to receive liberation. Death is the removal of the last obstacle to complete union with God, if one has been a sincere believer. It is common for Guru Arjan's *Sukhmain* (Hymn of Peace) or a similar *sabad* to be read in the presence of the dying person. From such words as these everyone derives encouragement: "Let your heart sing praises of the formless One; this should be your righteous course. Keep your tongue pure by the touch of his nectar-name; it will give you peace of mind. With your eyes behold the splendour of God's presence. The company of the faithful will banish every other presence from your sight. Walk in the way of God. With every step you take you will be treading down evil inclinations. With your hands do God's work and with your ears listen to his instruction. Thus your life will be rounded off by God's approval which will be reflected in your face" (AG 281).

Death is a very strong and frequently recurring theme in the hymns of Guru Nanak and his successors. This is not because of morbidity nor yet because death has always been a very noticeable aspect of the Indian scene. It is because death is the reminder par excellence of man's self-centredness: "His step has become ugly, his feet and hands slip, the skin of his body has shrivelled up. Eyes have become dim, ears deaf, but the self-centred man still does not know the Name. What have you gained by coming into this world, blind man? You have neither enshrined God in your heart nor have you served the Guru. You are departing having lost even the accumulation of good works which you have brought into the world." (AG 1126).

"Death does not wait for auspicious days or ask whether it is the light or dark side of the month. Some people are harshly treated, others are well cared for. Some leave armies and mansions to the sound of drums. Nanak the heap of dust is returning to dust." (AG 1244).

"In food, drink, enjoyment and sleep death is forgotten. Forgetting the Lord is to make life a heap of ruins. There is nothing that can survive from such a life." (AG 1254).

SIKHISM'S emphasis upon finding God through the householder life could well explain the warnings in

the *Adi Granth* against clinging to the world: "Affections are dead, love is dead, hatred and wrangling are dead too. Colour has faded, beauty is gone and the body rolls in agony. Whence did he come, where did he go. what wasn't he, what was he? The self-centred talked incessantly and enjoyed their pleasures enthusiastically. But, says Nanak, without the true Name their honour is split from head to foot" (AG 1287).

"They cry 'alas, alas', and wail for the dead. They beat their cheeks and pull out their hair. Did they but cherish the name and practise it, Nanak, it would be a sacrifice for them" (AG 1410).

The Sikh is called upon to remember that "The dawn of a new day is the herald of a sunset. Earth is not your permanent home" (AG 793).

The vesper hymn, which many know by heart, encourages them to use the opportunity well of being able to hear the *gurbani*: "Know the real purpose of being here and gather up the treasure under the guidance of the Sat Guru. Make your mind God's home. If he abides with you undisturbed you will not be reborn" (AG 13). The passing of an old person who is believed to have lived according to these precepts is no cause for grief. The cortege may be accompanied by a brass band and the rites followed by a feast. Presents may be given to the grandchildren. Whether the deceased be old or young relatives will usually make gifts to the poor, to the *gurdwara* or to a charity.

Having described the family ceremonies we now turn to the one specifically religious rite, initiation. It is not birth which makes a Sikh but illumination, and in consequence a way of life which Bhai Gurdas defined thus: "Dead to the world a Sikh lives in the spirit of the Guru. A man does not become a Sikh by merely paying him lip service. A Sikh dispels all doubts and fears and lives a life of deep patience and faith. He is truly a living sacrifice, a loving slave of the Lord".

"He does what the Lord wills. He forgets hunger and sleep in his love. His hands are busy helping the needy and comforting the weary. His hands are busy washing their feet. Magnanimous, tolerant, and serene he lives to serve mankind. In glory a Sikh does not laugh. In suffering he does not weep. He is a seer living



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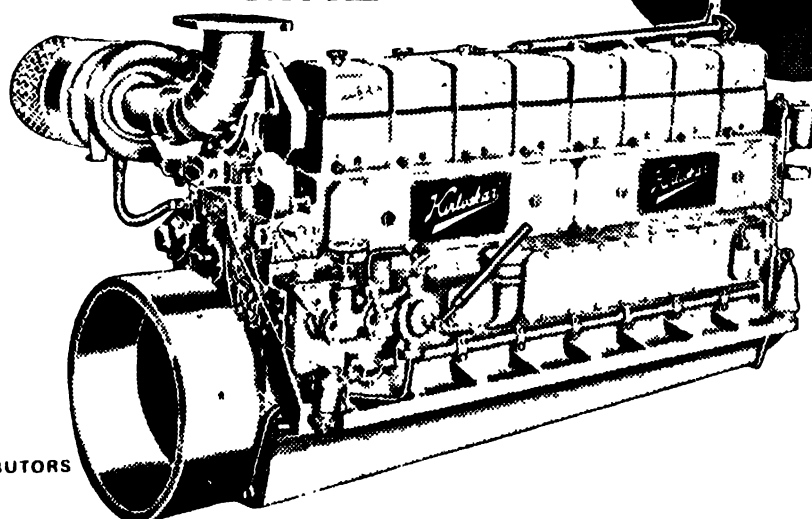
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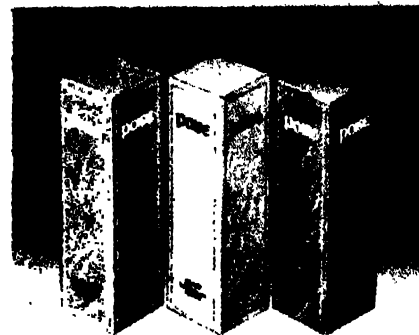
in God's presence; he is a devotee imbued by love. He steadily grows into perfection and is blessed and adored like the new moon on the Muslim day of Eid" (Var 3, *pauri* 18).

Initiation into the Sikh *panth* was by *Charn amrit* received from the Guru himself from the days of Guru Nanak until 1699: "Only on receiving initiation from the Guru (*gurdikha*) can a disciple call himself a Sikh" (Bhai Gurdas, Var 11, *pauri* 3). *Charn amrit* literally means foot-nectar and was prepared by pouring water over the Guru's feet and catching it in a bowl. The nectar was then drunk by those wishing to receive initiation. The Indian practice of showing respect to a person by claspng or kissing his feet is very ancient. Touching the feet of a saintly person is considered to be a way of receiving a blessing and one calls to mind the footprint of the Buddha at Bodh Gaya and the sandals of people such as Kabir which are preserved as relics. The survival of the practice of *charn amrit* or *charn pahul* (literally foot-bleaching) into the time of Guru Gobind Singh and its replacement by *khande ka pahul* is witnessed in a story in which a young Sikh paid homage to Guru Gobind Singh and said, "O true King, I am the son of Manula. We are both initiated Sikhs. My father became a Sikh by *charn pahul* while I was initiated by the double edged sword (*khande di pahul*)" (Sau Sakhi 25). There is also an account of Rattan Rai, an Assamese prince, receiving *charn pahul* from the Tenth Guru.

Details of the early form of initiation are not available but the new members must have taken certain vows on joining the *panth*. Again Bhai Gurdas provides the evidence: "He initiated his disciples with *charn amrit*, water sanctified by the touch of his lotus feet, and gave a new code of conduct as the highway to the path of truth" (Var 23). From an examination of the *Vars*, a convenient quarry, these would seem to have included spiritual and moral injunctions as well as community rules. Sikhs were told to bathe daily early in the morning and then spend time in meditation. They were encouraged to treasure seeing the Guru (*darshan*) and opportunities of touching his feet, but more important was obedience to his teaching. They were to read the *gurbani* with understanding and preach it. Presumably this is the origin of a Sikh concern for literacy and education; to see the Guru and hear him was not enough, they should be able to read his hymns and be sufficiently conversant with the faith in order to be able to communicate it to others. At this time, early in the seventeenth century, Sikhism would seem to have been a missionary faith. *Gurpurbs* are also mentioned; these are festivals associated with anniversaries of the Guru's birth and death. These were now being observed as well as Baisakhi and Diwali which the disciple was ordered to keep in the Sikh as opposed to the Hindu way, that is by assembling wherever the Guru happened to be. Despite this command Bhai Gurdas says the six systems of Hinduism should be regarded as one and should be seen as emanating from the one light. The advocate of Sikhism should not attack the fundamentals of other faiths, and a scrutiny of the *Adi Granth* shows that it is ritualism and claims to exclusiveness, which are seen to obscure the principles of Islam and Hinduism even in its yogic form, which come in for criticism rather than their basic concepts. The sacred thread and the *Vaishnavite* hair lock are specifically rejected. Renunciation is commended but defined as being like the lotus in water; worldly activities should be pursued but with detachment. Thus the Sikh should work hard and earn an honest living but also be generous and give to charity. Celibacy is similarly commended and defined. He is celibate who is married to one wife only and treats all other women as sisters and daughters. Both these important aspects of Hinduism are thus reinterpreted in the context of the householder (*grihastha*) form of life. Respect for another person's possessions is inculcated in a telling metaphor, "as beef is to the Hindu and pork to the Muslim so other people's property should be to a Sikh" (Var 6, *pauri* 8). From Bhai Gurdas it is even possible to discover the approved Sikh form of greeting; disciples should bow low to one another and touch each other's feet, so demonstrating humility and respect. This greeting was changed by Guru Gobind Singh to *Waheguru ji ki fateh* (The Khalsa are the chosen of God, the victory is God's).



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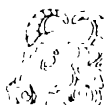
SYLVANIA
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Beginning May 13

This week the Sun, Mercury, Mars and Venus are conjoined in Aries. Jupiter alone is in Cancer, Rahu and Saturn are in Leo, Uranus is in Libra, Neptune is in Scorpio and Kethu is in Aquarius. The Moon will be moving through Sagittarius, Capricorn and Aquarius from Scorpio.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) Stellar portraits are good. This week you will make rapid progress in your career. An old friend will help you. Take advice of elders. Your financial position will improve. However, avoid extravagance since medical expenditure as regards your family is in the offing. A short journey is forecast. This promises to be a good week for love and matrimony. **Good dates:** 13, 14, 16 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) This week new friends enter your life and will contribute to your happiness. Financially, this week is good. Do not be careless in business dealings and correspondence. Children and women may cause some anxiety as regards their health. Some amount of unnecessary expenditure is in the offing. Do not strain yourself. **Good dates:** 16, 18 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 10. **Favourable direction:** North.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) A sudden, unexpected reversal is likely this week. Avoid speculation and extravagance since severe losses are expected. Old suits and debts will cause annoyance. Do not be worried if progress in professional matters is slow; it will all pass. Your health will not be good. All dealings with property, legal affairs and courtship should be postponed if possible. **Good dates:** 16, 17 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) Some good fortune will come your way this week. Happiness is forecast through young people. However, elders will cause anxiety regarding health. Your health, too, might not be perfect. Exercise discretion in all dealings with authority and employers. A sudden change of place or transfer is likely. Disappointments in love are in the offing. **Good dates:** 13, 14, 15 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) This week brings you mixed fortunes. An unexpected sudden upheaval or illness of a female elderly relative is forecast. However, this will pass and brighter fortunes will follow. You are advised to keep a strict watch on your finances. Courtship should be pursued. This week favours those seeking legal jobs, the military services and engineering. Some travel is foreseen. **Good dates:** 14, 16, 18 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 7. **Favourable directions:** West and North.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) A busy, active and successful week. Your fortunes show a marked improvement. Health improves. Notwithstanding some trouble through property matters, this week will be generally one which will bring you happiness. Romance and courtship is in the offing. Be careful since there are chances of fraud in business deals. **Good dates:** 13, 14, 15 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 7. **Favourable direction:** East.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) Avoid extravagance. Some good fortune will come your way this week, provided hasty decisions are avoided. Do not quarrel with elders and those in authority. Children and young colleagues bring you luck. Be content to wait patiently as regards changes in profession. Your domestic life proceeds harmoniously. **Good dates:** 16, 18 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



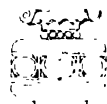
SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) Be prepared for many disappointments in business and domestic affairs. Defer changes. Safeguard your own health and that of family members, especially youngsters. Do not take needless risks since accidents and quarrels are forecast. Medical expenditure is forecast. Push your affairs to the utmost and do not be afraid to take chances. **Good dates:** 14, 15 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-east.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) Mixed fortunes are in the offing this week. Avoid unnecessary expenditure. In spite of all your problems you will have your desires fulfilled. Children contribute much to your own happiness. Avoid long journeys. Do not neglect business. Some social activity is forecast in the weekend. **Good dates:** 13, 15, 17 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 8. **Favourable direction:** West.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) This week your friends will prove helpful in your new business ventures. Try to keep your promises and be a little careful in your dealings with those in authority and elders. Don't depend on others. Journeys will have to be postponed due to unavoidable circumstances. Your health will not be good. Children and youngsters will prove helpful. **Good dates:** 13, 14, 16 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North-east.



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) Your domestic problems are nearing solution. Do not indulge in vain talk. In general this week will be a lucky one. You will gain in speculation. The period is good for signing contracts and negotiations in business partnerships. You will have to meet your business associates for settling an important matter. Some of you will change your place of residence. **Good dates:** 14, 15, 16 and 18. **Lucky number:** 1 and 3. **Favourable direction:** North-east.

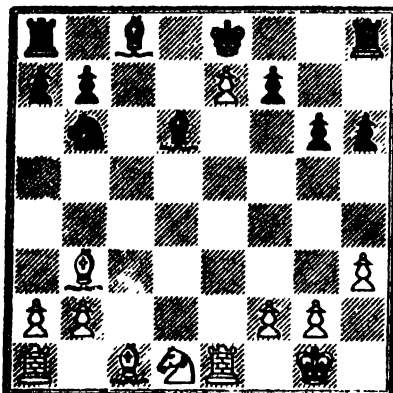


PISCES (February 20 — March 20) This period is a good one for love and matrimonial affairs. On the other hand, it promises to be a troublesome one for businessmen and politicians. On the domestic front, everything will be pleasant. For some, new partnership ventures are in the offing. Meet influential people. Your pending financial problems will gradually be solved. **Good dates:** 13, 14, 15 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 9. **Favourable directions:** South and West.

M. B. RAMAN

chess

Position No. 6



White to play—how should the game go?

Continuation of Position No. 4

This arose in a game Lutikov-Malich, played at Leipzig last year 2r5, 5Q1p; 3kp2P, 4p2B, Np2b3, 1P6; 2q2Pr1, K2R4.

Black won by 1... QxR ch, 2. BxQ, R-N8; 3. K-N2, or 3. N-N2, R-B8 ch, 4. K-R2, B-N8 ch, 5. K-R1, B-N3 dis ch and wins.

3. RxB, 4. N-B5, R-Q7 ch, 5. K-R1, RxN; 6. Q-B8 ch, K-B3; 7. Q-K8 ch, if 7. Q-R8 ch, K-N3, 8. Q-N8 ch, B-N2, 9. K-N1, R(B4)-Q4; and the threat of mate by 10... R-Q8 ch; 11. K-B2, R(Q4)-Q7 is not to be averted.

7... K-N3; 8. QxP ch, R-B3; White resigns.

World Chess Championship match books

The Karpov-Korchnoi world championship match at Baguio City in the Philippines last year provoked almost as many books as its celebrated predecessor at Reykjavik in 1972 between Fischer and Spassky. That match had the supreme advantage of possessing in Bobby Fischer a player who was obviously of great world championship category. The one lesson that one can learn from the Baguio City match is that neither player, on the day, was of high world championship calibre.

Reading between the lines it is possible to perceive that all the authors of the English works on the 1978 match are of the same opinion. Karpov never aimed at playing the best move and Korchnoi committed too many blunders.

But the match was exciting and each of the three English books I have seen on the subject brings out the drama that this contest contained. The best annotated is that by Raymond Keene, *Karpov-Korchnoi 1978, The Inside Story of the Match* (Batsford, 150 pages, £1.50). Since Keene was also Korchnoi's official second there is too more of the inside story of the match in this book, as its subtitle implies.

Another book in which one of Korchnoi's seconds was concerned was that written by the Danish grandmaster, Bent Larsen, *Karpov vs. Korchnoi, World Chess Championship 1978* (Unwin Paperback, 143 pages, £1.95). I was a little disappointed in Bent Larsen's notes since I had expected more from a person of his calibre. But the introductory material by Michael Stean, Korchnoi's other second, is first class and the fact that the book went to press even before Korchnoi's resignation was announced, explains why Larsen was so superficial in his analyses.

The third English book, W. R. Hartston's

The Battle of Baguio City, Karpov-Korchnoi 1978 (Hutchinson, 121 pages £1.95), is even more lightly annotated. Like the others it is very readable but has perhaps less genuine local colour than the other two. It claims to have Karpov's exclusive mid-match interview; but neither this book nor the other two mention a revealing interview he gave on the day Korchnoi conceded the match. It was in fact a press conference given on the day Korchnoi's resignation was announced and was illuminating rather for what he did not say than for what he actually said.

The plain fact is that the match was won by the player, who, on the day, was the worse.

HARRY GOLOMBEK

bridge



The competition for the Lederer Cup has taken many forms in the past. This year the LCCBA achieved an ambition by assembling perhaps the best six teams in the country. There were many adventures on the following deal.

Dealer, East N-S vulnerable			
♠ K J 3			
♥ —			
♦ Q J 9 7 5 4			
♣ A K 3 2			
♠ Q 10 8 2	N	♠ 7 5 4	E
♥ K 9 6 5 4	W	♥ 10 8 3	
♦ 2	S	♦ 10 8	
♣ 10 7 4		♣ J 9 8 6 5	
♠ A 9 6			
♥ A Q J 7 2			
♦ A K 6 3			
♣ O			

Of the four who reached the grand slam in diamonds, only one had a clear run. Greenwood and Priday bid as follows.

SOUTH	NORTH
1♥	2♦
3♦	4♦
4♦	5NT
7♦	No
South's Three Spades confirmed diamonds and showed a singleton club.	
At the corresponding table the bidding went	

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
Goldberg	Rose	Shenkin	Mahmoud
1♥	1♠	2♦	No
2♠	No	3♠	No
4♦	No	5NT	No
7♦	No	No	7♥
dbie	No	No	redble
No	7♠	dbie	No
No	No		

This fun and games ended in a useful gain for East-West, who conceded 1900 to set against 2140.

The Sharples brothers had to cope with equally determined opposition.

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
J Sharples	Dilks	R. Sharples	Butland
—	—	—	1NT
dbie	2♥	3♥	No
4♦	No	4♥	No
4♦	No	6♦	No
7♦	No	No	No

At the other table in this match Beardon and Thompson bid 7♦ after South had opened with a conventional One Club and West had overcalled with Two Hearts. You don't get many easy rides these days!

TERENCE REESE

stamps



A landscape of a rugged lava field near Mount Hekla forms the design of a new 1,000-krona stamp from Iceland. The work of Jon Sturlansson (1881-1962), a civil engineer turned artist, the picture is now in the Reykjavik Art Gallery. Steep inflation is reflected in the face value of the new stamp, equal to about £1.35 sterling, which is unusually high for Iceland. Since 1972 the postage on an ordinary inland letter has risen from 7 krona to 70 krona. During the same period the British first class letter rate has risen from 3p to 9p.

C.W. HILL

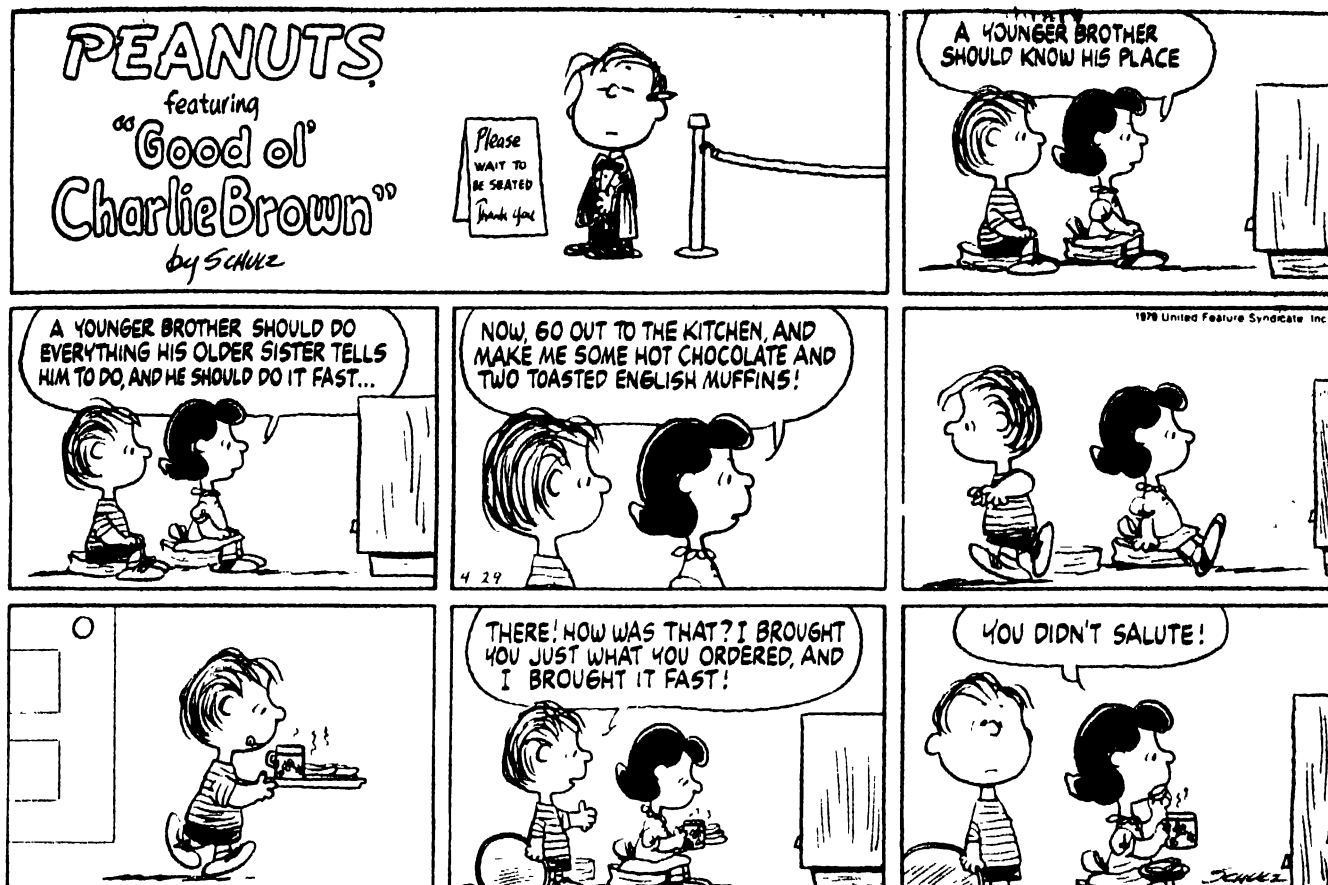
quiz

QUESTIONS

1. What is the Harest Moon?
2. Who invented the Hovercraft or the AVC (air-cushion vehicle)?
3. Which is the most voluminous man-made reservoir?
4. When is Halley's Comet next due to appear?
5. Which is the shortest known river?
6. What is coryza?
7. What is the weight of the brain of an average adult male?
8. What is the Heimlich Manoeuvre?

1. The full moon nearest the autumnal Equinox when the moon rises soon after sunset for several successive days. It gives extra hours of light to farmers to harvest their crops.
2. Christopher S. Cockerell, a British engineer.
3. Bratsk reservoir on the Angara River, USSR, with a volume of 137,214,000 acre-feet.
4. February 9, 1986 at 9.30 p.m. GMT.
5. D River in Lincoln City, Oregon, USA and is 440 feet long at low tide.
6. The common cold.
7. Varies from 2 lbs. 4.31 oz. to 3 lb. 1.73 oz.
8. It is a method of first aid for removing a piece of food lodged in the throat, which makes it impossible for the victim to breathe or speak.

ANSWERS



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VARANASI : Muslims of the city offered namaz in the Ram Mandir at the Godowlia crossing here. The namaz was arranged by the eastern India organiser of the RSS, K. S. Sudarshan. The Muslims had come to attend a meeting arranged by the RSS in the temple. As the meeting went on discussing various aspects of Hinduism and Islam, the time of the daily namaz was up. Mr Sudarshan, who is also a member of national executive of the RSS, immediately asked his volunteers to arrange for namaz in the temple premises itself — *Hindustan Times* (Vidya Sagar, New Delhi)

THE proprietor of a cloth shop in central Calcutta was allegedly cheated in a novel manner. He alleged that a man had come to him and requested him to give change for a Rs 50 note. When the proprietor opened the cash box, the man allegedly stood in front of it and moved his fingers in a peculiar fashion. After the man left, the proprietor found that Rs 900 was missing from the cash box — *Statesman* (Biswa Ranjan Sarkar, Calcutta)

DEHRADUN : A 'dead' man came to 'life' giving a fright to a police constable momentarily. The constable poked the 'corpse' with a pointed stick, it acted like a magic wand; the 'corpse' stood upright. The constable, for a moment, was mortally afraid but the onlookers had a good laugh.... A smuggler at Dehradun piled 60 bottles of liquor on top of his car to be taken to Hardwar. To conceal the bottles he put the 'corpse' on top and merrily was on his way to the holy city.

But there being no mourners with him the constable got suspicious and stopped the car for they know the ways of the smuggler. One poke of the pointed stick and the corpse 'moved' a little. Another poke, this time harder, and the 'corpse' stood up — *Northern India Patrika* (Rajneesh Batra, Allahabad)

VIJAYAWADA : The tenth class Physical Science question paper which was distributed in the examination centres had been published by a local evening daily. The daily carried the question paper as if to challenge the Education Minister's claim that it was a travesty of truth to say that the tenth class public examination papers had leaked out at several places. The daily sold for as much as Rs 2 a copy and the Press had to work overtime to meet the demand from students, parents and teachers. The same issue also published the Natural Science paper — *Hindu* (Rajendra Misra, Hyderabad)

KOLAR : Ever heard of the presiding officer of a court being paramour of the litigant outside? This unusual romance has come to light and the District Judge of Kolar will inquire into this affair and forward his findings to the High Court. Sometime ago the Law Minister received a petition in which it was alleged that a woman, who instituted a case in the court of a particular judge, used to visit that court frequently. The judge was attracted towards the woman and this grew into intimacy — *Indian Express* (M. N. Gopal Rao, Bangalore)

SAMBALPUR : An observer appointed by Sambalpur University to maintain vigil in examination centres adopted the "tit for tat" method when he found a candidate cheating. When the observer detected a candidate at the Jharsuguda centre cheating, he was threatened with a dagger. The observer, a member of the syndicate of the University retaliated by pulling out a revolver — *Statesman* (Sunil Mantri, Calcutta)

MADHO SINGH, a former dacoit, now serving his sentence in Mungaoli jail in Madhya Pradesh, has sought permission from authorities to act in films, according to official sources. Madho Singh once carried a reward of Rs 1.5 lakhs on his head. He is reported to have given Rs 5,000 to a documentary maker to produce a film on his gang. The sources said, "Madhya Pradesh authorities are considering Madho Singh's request" — *Times of India* (H. P. Jaggi, New Delhi)

I AM afraid India is fast slipping into obscurantism, superstition and communal fanaticism — Janata MP Madhu Limaye.

IT must be held that RSS activity is akin to a work for a political purpose though as an organisation the Party eschews participation in active politics of power — Affidavit filed by Balasaheb Deoras in Nagpur

IN any democratic Party throughout the world such a leader (as Balasaheb Deoras) would have been disowned and overthrown overnight by his followers — Deputy Prime Minister Charan Singh in a letter to Chandra-shekhar.

WE (in the Janata Party) do not stand for a Hindu *rashtra* — Deputy Prime Minister Jagjivan Ram.

WE are not prepared to treat the cow as our mother — West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu.

IT wasn't our idea (of giving money); it was theirs (the Congress and Mrs Gandhi). I don't think they were very wrong to do it. Democratic Parties around the world have done things like that — US Senator D. P. Moynihan

IF a Minister wants the public to agitate against the Government, he should resign — Prime Minister Morarji Desai (referring to the dissent of Industries Minister George Fernandes).

humour in real life



A HAIR-CUTTING saloon in a temple town proclaims: "Shop open day and night. Save your head for Rs 1.25 and avoid delay" — A. Rameswary, Palani

SEEN on a College notice-board: "Admission strictly on Marx basis" — Rashmi Singh, Jamshedpur

india abroad

INDIAN immigrants to Britain are more stable and adjust better than Irish people from urban areas who settle in this country (Britain), according to a survey on immigration by Dr

Raymond Cochrane of Birmingham University.... Indians had low rates of mental illness and tended to move upwards in social and economic terms — *Daily Telegraph*

word or two

THE expression *dead as a herring* is of Shakespearean vintage. Back in the 16th century it probably started as a variation of *dead as a door nail*. Both the expressions mean simply: quite dead. Dead fish left exposed even for a short while soon acquires a pungent odour but the odour of a dead herring is noticeably more so. Which explains why herrings are used, by dragging them over a track, in the training of dogs to follow a scent. Shakespeare used the expression in *The Merry Wives*



of Windsor where in Act II scene 3, Doctor Cains, jealous of the curate Sir Hugh Evans a fellow suitor for the favours of Mistress Anne Page, threatens, to kill him in a duel; however, as is customary in a Shakespearean comedy, the assembled parties are not likely to have this duel.

Caius (to his second, Jack Rugby): Vat is de clock, Jack? Rugby: 'Tis past the hour, sir, that Sir Hugh promised to meet. Caius: By gar, he has save his soul, dat he is no come; he has pray his Pible, dat he is no come: by gar, Jack Rugby, he is dead already, if he be come Rugby: He is wise, Sir; he knew your worshp would kill him if he came. Caius: By gar, de herring is no dead so as I vill kill him.

WORDSPINNER

stranger, as we were telling you, than fiction



ASSASSIN (n) means "one who undertakes to kill treacherously; (Hist.) Moslem fanatic in time of Crusades, sent by the Old Man of the Mountains to murder Christians. (Latin *assassinus*, Arab *hashshash*, *hashshiriy*, *hashsh-eater*.)" This definition from the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* not only contains some factual inaccuracies, it also reveals a blatantly occidental bias. Over the years, popular misconceptions about the influence of drugs on violent human behaviour have remained despite scientific researches seeking to prove the contrary.

Their story for Hasan-i-Sabha, the "Old Man of the Mountains", was first chronicled in the writings of Marco Polo, after his travels through Persia in the late 11th century. Marco Polo's account was based on hearsay because by 1272 AD the sect of the *hashshichins* had been annihilated completely and their spectacular mountain fortress at Alamut (established in 1090) razed to the ground by Mongols and local forces.

The dictator, Hasan, would pick out the nubile young men of his tribe and take them to his hidden "Garden of Paradise". The heady delights of the garden — wine, women and song, coupled with the charms of rich, flowering greenery in a region of arid, mountainous wastes — were used to manipulate the behaviour of the mercenaries. The pleasures of "paradise" was the reward promised to the young assassins of Hasan if they would readily go on murder missions whenever willed. Arab chroniclers of the time wrote that Hasan sent his assassins not only against the Crusaders, but also against his secular and religious kin and was a generally despised ruler of the time.

The story of the *hashshichins* has been used till very recently as an example to spearhead legislative and political propaganda against cannabis. Yet, Marco Polo never actually referred to hashish in his writing. Besides the conduits of wine in the paradise-garden, the only other drug mentioned in his tale is some sort of an intoxicant which was used to render the young men unconscious while they were being taken to and from the secret garden. Dr Brian Wells (*Psychedelic Drugs*, Penguin, 1973) writes: "It seems reasonable to discount the popular etymological speculations of the 19th century and subsequent corruptions of this tale in favour of the more parsimonious conclusions of the distinguished Arabic transla-

tor, Edward Fitzgerald, who thought that the name of the sect was most probably derived from the name of their leader Hasan."

Viking folklore speak of a mighty hero, Berserk, (from *ber sark* or wearer of bear-skin) and his followers who were men of excessive ferocity, even by the norms of the Dark Ages. One theory to explain their violent behaviour is that they were driven to murderous frenzy after drinking potions containing the psychedelic *Amanita mushroom*". In India the Sikh sect of Nihangs, are supposed to indulge in energetic dancing after consuming *sukhi* or charas. The unbridled exuberance, tending towards violence, of people celebrating Holi in parts of India has been attributed to the effects of drinking bhang.

Doctors R. N. Chopra and I. C. Chopra, who conducted surveys on *cannabis sativa* in relation to mental diseases and crime for the *Indian Journal of Medicine*, wrote: "The result of continued and excessive use of these drugs (*ganja*, charas and bhang) in our experience in India is to make the individual timid rather than lead him to commit violent crimes." M. L. Chatterjee (*Mind Expanders*, *Journal of Indian Medical Association*, Vol 53, 1969) contrasted the state of affairs in India with that in USA noting that though the West was reporting that cannabis users were becoming violent, brutalised and criminal, this was not the experience of oriental countries.

In the American youth counter-culture movement of the late '60s, marijuana-smoking hippies were usually associated with pacifist, anti-war slogans. On the other hand, groups like the leather-clad, motorbike-riding, Hells Angels were known to use amphetamines or "speed" to provide the energy and confidence needed for their violent way of life. Regarding alcohol and psychedelic drugs like LSD, it has been difficult to establish scientific, medical connections between their use and violent human behaviour. However, with reference to cannabis, Dr Wells concluded: "No one doubts that some criminals do use cannabis but whether this promotes crime or violence, reduces it, or has no effect still remains an important issue for debate but the current consensus would seem to be that its criminogenic potential has certainly been overstressed in the past."

PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

Hindus are the nation

The Hindu Mahasabha is among the oldest of political Parties based on Hinduism. It is the product of a long movement, called the Hindu Sabha movement, the first stirrings of which were felt in Punjab in January 1907, when the Punjab Hindu Sabha was founded by a group of religion-conscious Hindus with the passing of a resolution which said: "The Sabha is not a sectarian nor a denominational but an all-embracing movement, and while meaning no offence to any other movement whether Hindu or non-Hindu, it aims to be watchful in safeguarding the interests of the entire Hindu Community in all respects." S. R. DATE, president of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha, the present-day standard bearer of the movement, spoke to K. S. R. MENON about the Party's attitude to minorities, reservations and the concept of Hindu nationhood. Despite his over sixty years of age, Mr Date spoke with conviction, without once being perturbed by the sensitive questions.



S R Date

Q: Would you give a short account of your organisation?

A: The Hindu Mahasabha was formed in 1915 at Hardwar. Mahatma Gandhi was present on the occasion. At present, the Sabha has over one lakh members and offices in 13 States including Delhi. During the last Lok Sabha elections, we approached Mr Morarji Desai for electoral adjustments. But he refused to co-operate. He said the Sabha is a communal Party like the Muslim League and that he would ban it if he had the power.

Q: What does the Hindu Mahasabha stand for?

A: The Sabha believes in Hindu nationhood in India, and wants its Hindu character to remain a permanent feature. Hindus constitute 85 per cent of our population and as such they are the nation. In respect of economic matters, we believe in national coordination of class interests and not in class conflict theory.

Q: If you go ahead with the objective of establishing a Hindu "Rashtra", what would be the fate of minority communities?

A: We do not recognise the existence of any minorities in India. Even according to the UN Charter, there are no minority communities in India as they are all less than 20 per cent of the total population. We demand that the Minorities Commission be scrapped.



Vir Savarkar: one of the founders of the Hindu Mahasabha

Q: What is your view on reservation?

A: The Hindu Mahasabha is opposed to giving special rights and any kind of preferential treatment including reservation in legislatures, services and educational institutions to any section of caste or community.

Q: Do you enrol Muslims and Christians as members?

A: No. We do not.

Q: Do you demand that cow slaughter be banned? What would you do in respect of Kerala and West Bengal, who have declined categorically to impose the ban?

A: We have always clamoured for the ban on cow slaughter. We would continue to agitate on this issue but would not resort to extra-constitutional means. We wholeheartedly support Vinobaji's fast to persuade the above States in this matter.

Q: How are you connected with the RSS?

A: The Hindu Mahasabha started the RSS. On Vir Savarkar's advice, Hedgewar started the RSS. He was secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha in Nagpur.

Q: Are you a member of the RSS?

A: Yes I am.

Q: Was Nathuram Godse a member of the Hindu Mahasabha?

A: Yes. He was a member of not only Hindu Mahasabha but also the RSS. He left the RSS in 1941.

Q: Is Mr Gopal Godse, brother of Nathuram Godse, a member of the Sabha? Was he a member of RSS?

A: He has been associated with the Sabha throughout. But he could not join RSS as he is a Government servant. He was in the army.

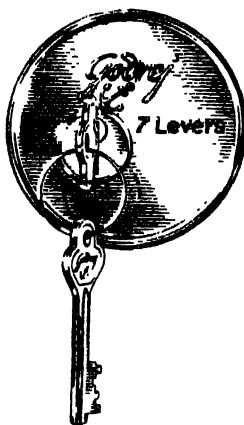
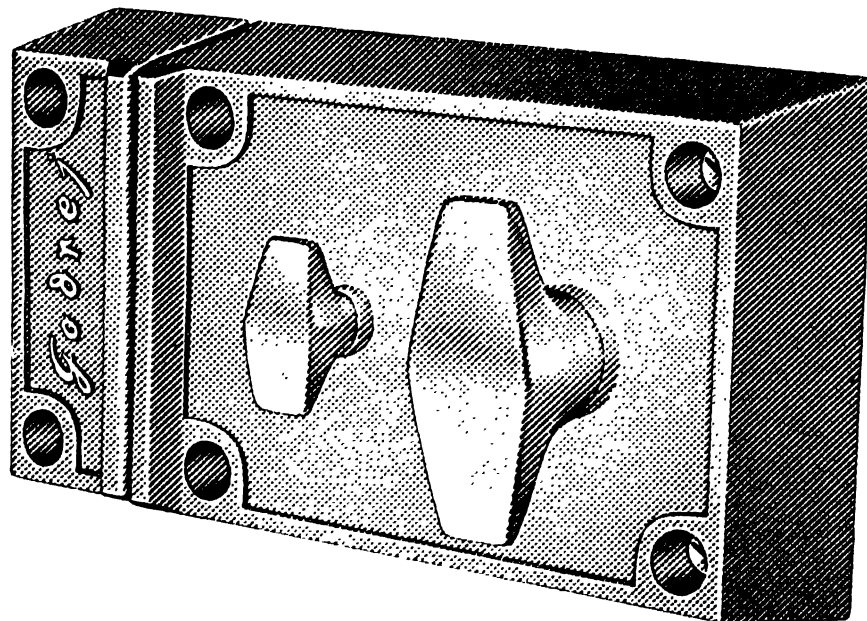
Q: Are the Hindu Mahasabha and RSS linked with the Jana Sangh, the erstwhile constituent of the Janata Party?

A: Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, who founded the Jana Sangh was a member and active leader of the Hindu Mahasabha. I do not know whether he was a member of the RSS at that time. But he had all sympathies for them. Thus the Jana Sangh was formed with the blessing of the Sabha. In 1952, I stood for the State Assembly election from Pune and the Jana Sangh supported me.

Q: Among the leaders of the Janata Party, would you name those who were members of the RSS and Hindu Mahasabha?

A: Many of the former Jana Sangh leaders including the External Affairs Minister Mr Vajpayee, Information Minister Mr L. K. Advani and Nanaji Deshmukh were members of the RSS. Umteen others are also members. Ninety nine per cent of the Jana Sangh have been or are members of the RSS, which is a Hindu organisation. They now fight shy of the Hindu Mahasabha because they are afraid that the Godse connection would adversely affect their political stakes.

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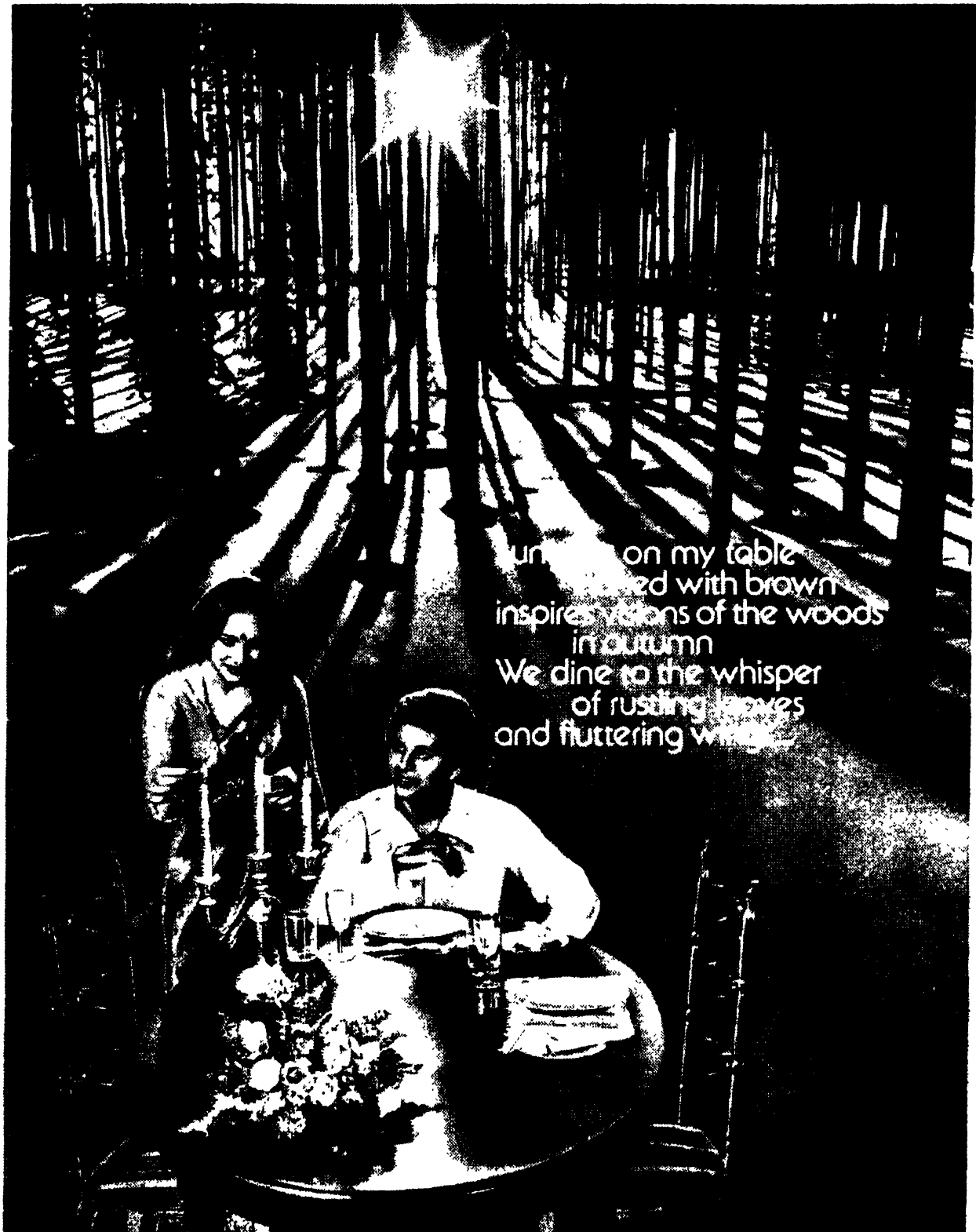
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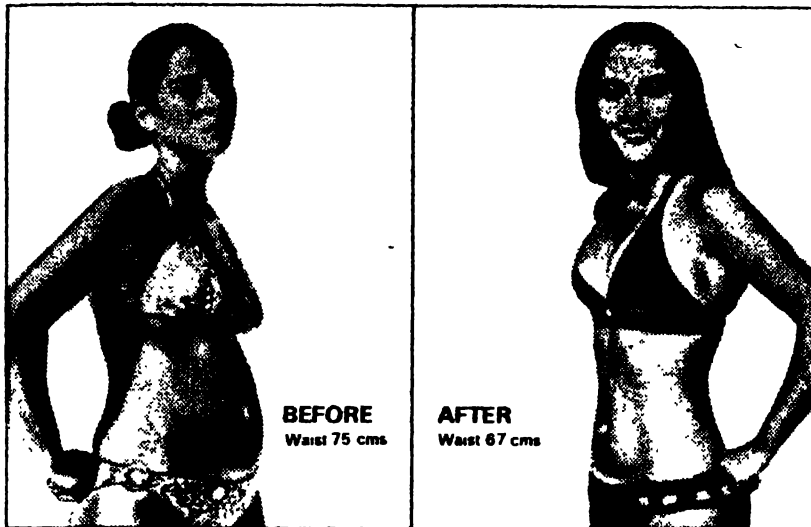


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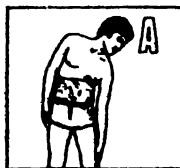
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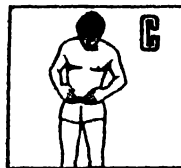
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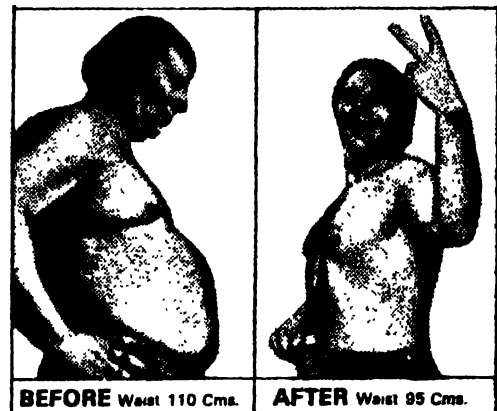
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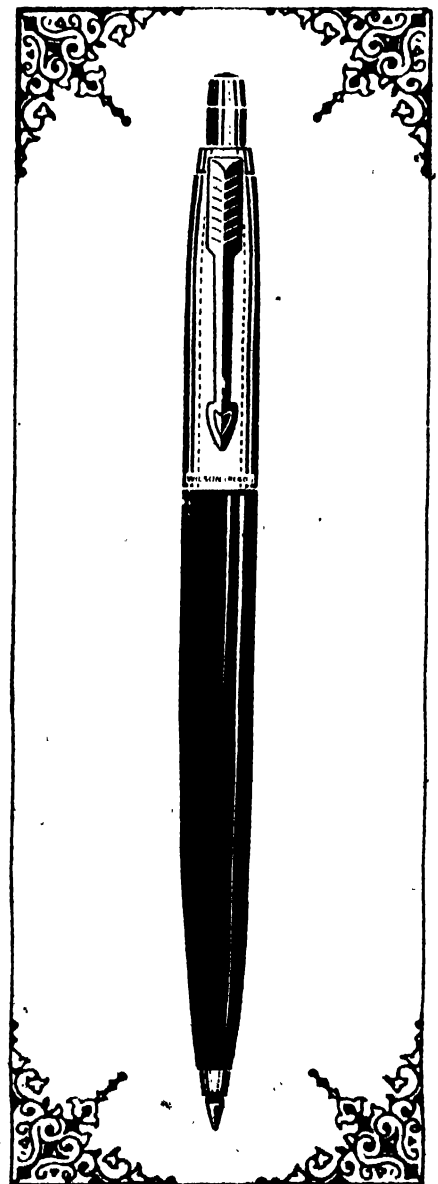
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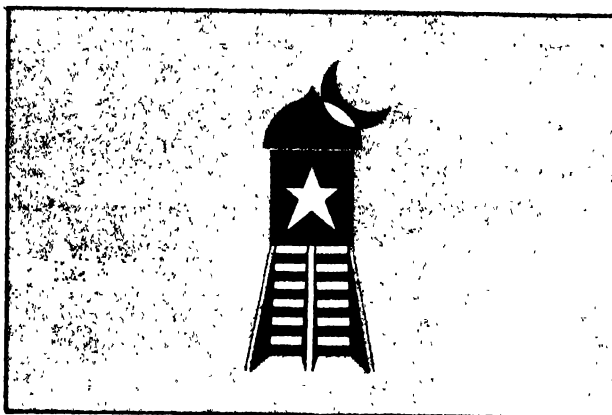
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Pakistan does not yet have the bomb, but now it is only a matter of time before it produces one. Thus a long-standing Indian nightmare begins to acquire the shapes of reality. How Pakistan virtually "stole" the bomb under the noses of the sanctimonious Super Powers is an astonishing story, told by KEWAL VARMA.



Mrs Gandhi, the President of the Congress (I), and her most important Party-man, Mr Devraj Urs, Chief Minister of Karnataka, seem to be heading for a parting of ways: SUBIR ROY queried Mr Urs at length on his understanding of our various problems and his plans for the future.

Indian-born Swami Omkarananda and five of his disciples are on trial in Lausanne in what must be one of Switzerland's most sensational court cases. SHASHI THAROOR, from Geneva, details the gory accusations of black magic rites with chicken blood, far-out sex and poisoning attempts that have emanated from the prosecutor and points to the crusading angle some of the local reporters are taking in covering the case.



The long-standing grievances of Punjab's police constables came to a boil on May 7 when a constable on traffic duty was accused of drunkenness as he did not salute a passing MLA. This sparked off a historic police revolt that spread into Haryana and led to armouries being taken over by the Army and the BSF. A pay hike has put the lid temporarily on the unrest, but how long will it be before the next revolt, asks AJAY BOSE, who went to Punjab to investigate.

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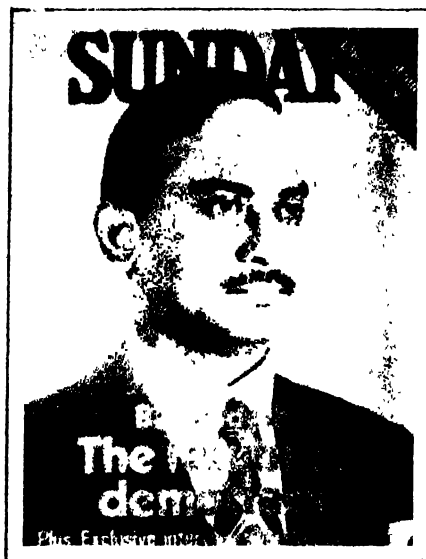
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Editor M. J. Akbar

Assistant Editor Subir Roy Editorial Staff Shubhabrata Bhattacharya,
Nirmal Mitra, David McMahon, Saumitra Banerjee, Tirthankar Ghosh,
S. N. M. Abdi Delhi Correspondent Ajay Bose
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Retrieving Bangladesh

M. J. AKBAR, in his article "Bangladesh: the return to democracy" (April 22) traces rather well, the events that have taken place in the relatively newly formed State. Sheikh Mujib's dream of a "Sonar Bangla" was shattered by the way he ruled. Had it not been for the army coup, the nation would still be the playground for the big powers to play their political games. General Zia's success in pulling the country out of this chaos is commendable. Though he still has many hurdles to cross, the sincerity of his efforts to make Bangladesh a stable and prosperous country cannot be denied at all.

Prahlad Ghosh, Calcutta.

THE report was an unprejudiced and almost unparalleled commentary on the politics of Bangladesh.

B. Uma Gowri, Madras

KUDOS for the excellent interviews with President Zia and Foreign Minister Prof Samsul Huq of Bangladesh. The questions were bold, pertinent and investigative. It would, however, have been more interesting and comprehensive had you interviewed, apart from the authorities, common people

P. K. Chakravarty, Calcutta

THE cover story does not give any information or details about the forces that have been responsible for the ruthless assassination of Sheikh Mujib. It is difficult to believe that Mujib had become an enemy of the people within a period of three years after the liberation of Bangladesh. One is more inclined to believe that his political opponents, opportunists and agents of foreign powers had combined together to bring about anarchy in Bangladesh and wrest power from him.

K. Govind, Kuttippuram

Controversial mess

CONGRATULATIONS for taking up the case of the exploitation of Muslim students at IIT Kharagpur in David McMahon's report, "Messing around" (April 22). It shows how our administrators, in their blind zeal to keep the atmosphere in academic institutions secular, overstep their authority. I am not advocating that various religious groups should be encouraged to foster religious fanaticism inside campuses but the intransigence, on the part of authorities, on such innocuous issues as the serving of zabeeha meat, etc, would only alienate the minority groups and aggravate the situation.

Anil Bhandari, Calcutta

I UNDERSTAND that controversy is the motto of SUNDAY and has proved to be a success. But at what price has this been achieved? David McMahon's article did not warrant even a paragraph, but instead one and a half pages have been devoted to it.

Shur Kumar, Bombay.

IT IS unfortunate that superstitions and religious customs still get the better of scientific reasoning and logic even among the students of IIT, Kharagpur.

B. P. Ghosh, Calcutta

I FELT sad after reading the report not because Anisur Khan has been denied his piece of chicken, but because the education he has received does not appear to have taught him anything beyond what was written in his textbooks. I have been a student of IIT, Kharagpur for the past nine years and I can proudly say that our Institute has been devoid of communal and religious feeling of any sort. Unfortunately, a piece of chicken has changed the atmosphere. As an educated person, I am perfectly willing to accept the halal chicken if having that can do me more good. There is no need to publicise such an issue through the media.

D. Chandiramani, Kharagpur

I AM writing this letter as a citizen of a democratic country where equal rights are given to everyone, irrespective of caste or religion, to practise their faith freely. In Islam, unless a fowl or goat is properly slaughtered, zabah, the flesh is considered to be haraam i.e., that which is not permitted, like pork and wine. As such it is blinding upon all Muslims to zabah the animal. Mr McMahon however, seems to be confused about this particular practice. Unlike what he has stated, the windpipe is completely cut and not partially, but care should be taken so as not to completely sever the neck from the body. Besides, the arguments put forward by Mr B. R. Gupta and Mr B. G. Chatter-

jee lack credence. They have said that if Muslims were granted zabeeha chicken then it would be within the rights of the Hindus to refuse food cooked by Harijans. But the fact remains that some Hindus do not accept food cooked or served by anybody other than a Brahmin or a high caste Hindu. These people consider their religion and faith to be ruined (dharm nush) if Harijans cook or serve their food.

My final argument is that if zabeeha cannot be permitted, then the whole hostel should turn vegetarian in order to respect the beliefs of the vegetarians living in this hostel. If

RAW deal

THE recent Press report in which the director of Bharat Coking Coal Ltd (BCCL) has disclosed that the intelligence agency RAW is engaged in studying the labour situation in the collieries around Dhanbad sounds very ominous. According to him this study was undertaken because of the "organised and planned attacks with the blessings of some political leaders" on BCCL officers. He identified the leader as a "member of Parliament belonging to the Marxist Coordination committee". Obviously, these operations are directed against Mr A. K. Roy and his Colliery Kamagar Majdoor Samity (CKMS).

The reports in your paper, sometime ago (SUNDAY, March 11) clearly suggest that the CKMS is one of the mass-based trade unions which is putting up a fight against the mafias of Dhanbad. That the Janata Government at the Centre has chosen to engage its prime intelligence organisation against this particular union may speak of its commitment to democratic rights, but this kind of a move raises far more important questions about the relationship between the Government and the people.

RAW itself has earned notoriety during the Emergency about which the Janata Government didn't even bother to appoint an enquiry commission. And now comes the news that it is directed against the legitimate interests of the workers movement.

We demand that the Central Government should immediately give an explanation to the people about the BCCL director's statement and announce the functions and limitations, at least theoretical, of its intelligence agencies. We appeal to all democratic forces to realise the long-term implications of this move.

Dr Sudesh Vaid, Secretary, Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights

communal discrimination of this nature is allowed to proceed, it may lead to graver problems.
Md. Khadil Shamim, Calcutta

Not my words

MY attention has been drawn to "PF depositors' woes" by Nantoo Banerjee (March 4). To my utter surprise I found that in the last paragraph certain statements were attributed to me. They run as follows: "They are like a flock of crows eating their own flesh." That was how Dr Kanailal Bhattacharya, West Bengal's Industry Minister, once described the PF office staff. Dr Bhattacharya told this correspondent that they tried to get something from him while he was representing a case on behalf of certain workers." These statements are absolutely false and baseless. I never said this to your correspondent. Dr Kanailal Bhattacharya, Minister-in-charge, Departments of Commerce and Industries, Public Undertakings and Closed and Sick Industries, West Bengal.

Job robbers

WITH reference to Ajoy Bose's article "Want a job? First pay up" (April 22), I would like to say that in Nagaland also, when posts are advertised they are actually filled up by Ministers' candidates. What is the use of advertising the post? Maybe just to collect revenue for the Government through application fees.
M. Odyuo, Kohima

CONGRATULATIONS for the report by Ajoy Bose. It is quite deplorable that some banks and organisations collected abnormal fees from unemployed youths and made payments to their employees with the money collected. Will the Government set up an enquiry commission to bring the erring men to book?

K. P. Andavan, Gobichettipalayam

Nothing spectacular

KUDOS to the Detective Department of Calcutta Police and Mr Ain Rashid Khan, the versatile D.C.D.D., personally, for the 'spectacular recovery' ("Robbed of the loot" by Tirthankar Ghosh, April 22).

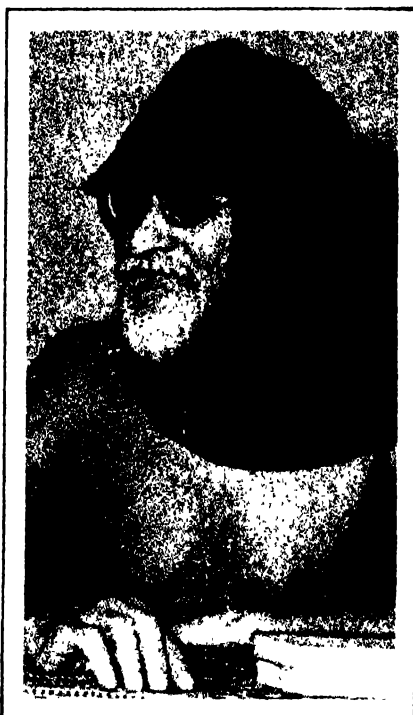
But where was the thrill? The D.C.D.D. might delve into the past records of crime detection by Calcutta Police and I am sure, he will find records of equally speedy, if not speedier, detection, recovery of booty and apprehension of the criminals. I refer to the van robbery, which took place in the Burtala Police Station area, near the Goabagan C.I.T. Park, few weeks before the puja festival in 1973. A lone police Sergeant, with minimum resources at hand, and jeers from his colleagues instead of support, no encouragement from his superiors, and the help of two constables, Ashique Khan and Jainuddin, a home guard, Chhoto Rabi and a dummy S. I. of Police, void of preliminary

legal knowledge, did the dirty work. Though the amount involved was much smaller, the magnitude of a case of robbery should not be graded by the sum of money involved, but by the robbers' modus operandi, and plans, among other factors.

In the case of the Burtala P.S., the criminals left no clue behind. But only an exceptional flair and acumen for crime detection enabled the small team to bring the criminals to the dock. It had more thrilling phases of investigation, and daring. But the heroes of the recovery, being low in rank, have not been rewarded with either recognition or publicity.

A. K. Sen Gupta, Madhyamgram

Fast forgotten



AFTER Acharya Vinoba Bhave's fast to compel the Governments of Kerala and West Bengal to ban cow-slaughter, it is time to go on fast to ban manslaughter: When the people of Aligarh and Jamshedpur were massacred, Vinobaji said nothing. This shows he has no sympathy for human beings. And how can Vinoba Bhave tell us what to eat and what not to?

Mohd Asim Siddique, Ferozabad

Global realities

ONE wonders how men of Madhu Limaye's political experience and sophistication could be so naive ("We have no China policy", April 22) about nations' relations as to discover a collapse in our China policy. Mr Limaye has laboured to show that self-interest and staunch nationalism are inescapable realities in the dealings of modern nations but he has conveniently slurred over the equally obvious fact that nations evolve their

policies to profit and protect themselves on the one hand and to contain the influence of big powers on the other. Any realistic assessment of the perilous state of the Far Eastern countries must include the strange long-arm tactics of the super powers—in this case Vietnam is the clenched fist of Soviet Russia as much as Israel has been that of the USA. China's attitude to Vietnam is fully understandable. Even granting that China has its own expansionist designs, it is no comforting idea for that country to have a hostile hand at its neck, as it has been no delight for the Middle Eastern countries to have Israel in their midst. In spite of Vietnam's protestations of neutrality and sovereignty, it is no secret that Russia is deeply involved in this area and it gets agitated by even the minor moves of China.

P. Lankesh, Bangalore

Bat business

I READ P. N. Sundaresan's interview with the chairman of the Indian Cricket Control Board, Mr M. Chinnaaswamy ("Packer treats cricket as a business", April 22). I do not appreciate Mr Chinnaaswamy's claim that all players intending to join Packer's camp want to make money at any cost, although they are well paid and have remunerative jobs. Does Mr Chinnaaswamy not know that Packer holds a monopoly over the best cricketers today? Moreover, how can we hope to improve our style of cricket without allowing our players to face the world's best cricketers, who are already with Packer? The organisers of the Packer circus have already agreed to allow all players to play for their respective countries.

Gautam Kumar Sinha, Calcutta

IS NOT Test cricket also business? All cricketers play for money and fame, whether in the Packer circus or in a Test series. The difference is only in the degree of gain.

A. P. Aryan, Gurgaon

Barely any

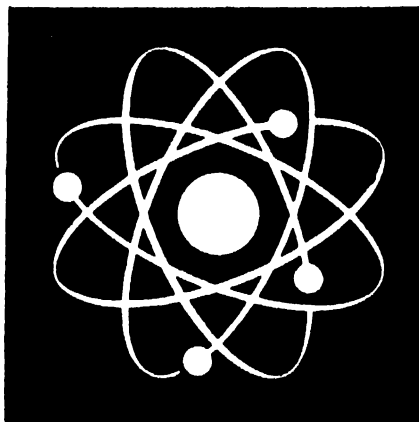
WHAT K. R. K. Pillay has written in "Opinion" (April 1) is astonishing. His statement: "However, it may surprise your readers to know that even today Nair men and women serving in Namputirilloms (feudal estates) are not allowed by custom and convention to appear before male adult Namputiris with clothes" is absolutely wrong, and I am sure such a thing has not happened in a quarter of a century. There are no more such feudal estates in Kerala and no Nair woman is bound, by custom, to appear before Namputiri males with uncovered breasts. After the land reforms, there are only a few Namboodiri Iloms who can afford a servant. I am sure, since I myself hail from a Namboodiri family of the Trichur district, that Namboodiris are aware of the changing times.

K. A. Vasudevan, New Delhi

HOW PAKISTAN 'STOLE' THE BOMB

The world is full of hypocrites and blackmarketeers

BY KEWAL VARMA



Within a few days of the "leak" that President Jimmy Carter had decided to write a "cold and blunt" letter to Prime Minister Morarji Desai informing him of the US decision to stop the supply of enriched uranium, an international wheeler-dealer approached the Government of India. He offered to supply "any quantity" of enriched uranium of any "specification" at a "price to be negotiated". And there have been other offers to supply material and equipment to set up facilities in India for enrichment of uranium.

But this wheeler-dealer is an Indian. His principals are stated to be in France. During the Emergency this gentleman was lodged in Tihar jail, and this jail term under MISA bestowed on him both martyrdom and enabled him to make friends with some top Janata leaders. In the good old days, before he had become a powerful operator, he used to be the messenger boy of a top RSS leader in Delhi. Today he lives in a posh Delhi colony, and owns a manufacturing unit. Intelligence enquiries about his "offer" reveal that he was perfectly serious when he made it: he could have delivered the goods.

International blackmarketing in nuclear material has become a billion-dollar business, and among other things makes nonsense of the fuss that the USA makes about safeguards for nuclear installation. The Americans say that they are not prepared to relent in the case of India, and will deny us uranium even at the cost of Indo-US friendship. But the USA tends to wink at the blackmarketing when its allies indulge in it. Our God-fearing, self-righteous Prime Minister has rejected such underhand deals, but other leaders have shown less qualms. General Ziaul Haq is one of them. A look at the international underworld market in nuclear materials will provide an idea of how Pakistan managed to smuggle in

the ingredients for her "Islamic bomb"—how Pakistan virtually "stole" the bomb under the nose of the pious superpowers who want everyone else to lay off the bomb while they continue spending billions of dollars and roubles to destroy the world many times over.

The end has justified the means for Pakistan. The US Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Thomas Pickering, in a testimony before a US Senate subcommittee, said that two to five years would be a "fair estimate" of the time needed by Pakistan to produce atom bombs. What is most astonishing is that Pakistan is setting up a plant with the most advanced technology, with the gas centrifuge for the enrichment of uranium (India is nowhere near acquiring this process). This means that Pakistan will have continuous supply of uranium to produce nuclear weapons—and will not have the problem that we are facing today, that is, the shortage of uranium.

The conventional method of enrichment of uranium in the diffusion technology, a process which consumes a large amount of electricity. China is reported to have set up a one-million kilowatt power station only to enrich uranium, which makes it a very costly way to do so. The new, cheaper, commercial route to enriched uranium, known as the gas centrifuge process, was established by the joint efforts of Britain, West Germany and Holland. The three countries have set up a secret plant in Almelo on the Dutch-German frontier. Dr A. Q. Khan, one of Pakistan's most brilliant nuclear scientists has worked at this plant for years, and he is today supervising the construction of Pakistan's secret nuclear plant, located at Kanuta, to the southwest of Islamabad. Near this site is also Pakistan's small research nuclear reactor.

How did Pakistan get the material to set up this plant? According to the open hearings of the Senate subcommittee, Pakistan could have imported some of the "inverters", or the highspeed motors which drive the gas centrifuge plant, from the United States. These inverters have wide application in industry—particularly

All this works out to a truly international deal—a brilliant one, as far as Pakistan is concerned. Not only were Americans, British, Germans and Dutch involved, but also the Swiss. Claude Zangger, director of the Swiss Federal Economy Energy, recently said that some Swiss companies have been selling potentially illegal material to Pakistan. Last year a Dutch scientist displayed at an international atomic energy commission conference in Vienna, a photograph of huge orders placed by Pakistan for “martensitic ageing steel”. It is a hard, strong and very expensive alloy. Apart from gas centrifuge plants, it is used in jet engines. Since Pakistan does not manufacture jet engines, it was obvious that this alloy was being bought for the centrifuge plant.

this bomb: Libya alone is reported to have offered at least 30 million dollars. According to information available with India, Saudi Arabia has offered its vast deserts for testing the explosion. But the motivation for the Arabs is not Pakistan's hostility to India, but their hostility to Israel. They are convinced that Israel has the bomb; and they know that the USA connived in getting Israel a secret nuclear weapon.

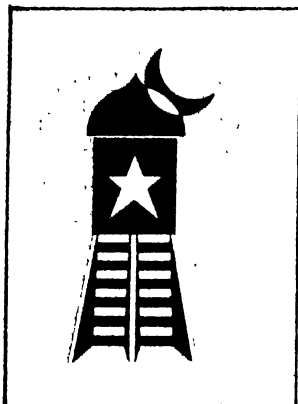
Under the Freedom of Information Act, one enterprising American journalist, David Burnham, in 1976, extracted this bit of news from the American Government that a total of 8,000 pounds of highly enriched uranium and plutonium could not be accounted for over the years. This amount of uranium and plutonium is sufficient to make lots of bombs. Burnham, after thorough investigation, discovered that the CIA and several Congressional committees were convinced that in at least one instance, a foreign Government obtained from an American plant,



illegally, enough highly enriched uranium to produce nuclear bombs. Burnham reveals that "the single case of what may be the world's most important theft in the last two decades involves Israel and a company called Materials and Equipment Corporation". This company was unable to account for 200 pounds of highly enriched uranium.

The company was set up by a Jewish chemist-businessman. It had hired an Israeli metallurgist, and had an agreement for cooperation with Israel under which it was serving as the technical consultant and training and procurement agency for Israel in the United States. The company had also secured contracts from the US Government to transform highly enriched uranium into fuel for naval reactors and experimental space rockets. Investigations by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission revealed a cumulative loss of 361.6 pounds of enriched uranium by the company. The company's management suggested that the material was lost when it was burying scrap. Even accepting this explanation, the Commission estimated that whereabouts of approximately 200 pounds could not be satisfactorily determined: this quantity is enough to produce more than five atomic bombs.

After processing, enriched uranium takes the form of grey powder or small grey pellets. The material is very heavy and 200 pounds of it can easily fit into a



Last year, a Dutch scientist displayed a photograph of huge orders Pakistan had placed for "martensitic ageing steel". This alloy is used for jet engines and the gas centrifuge plants.

five-gallon can: in other words, transportation is not a problem. More light on the destination of these 200 pounds of uranium was shed by Carl Duckett, deputy director of the CIA. He told the Nuclear Regulatory Commission that Israel had manufactured the bomb a little after the "theft" took place.

Later, a page from Duckett's interview fell into the hands of an environmental group in the USA. The "theft" had taken place when Lyndon Johnson was US President and this extract from the interview said: "He (Duckett) showed to Mr Helms (then head of the CIA). Helms told him not to publish it and he would take it up with President Johnson. Mr Helms later related (to Duckett) that he had spoken to the President, that the President was concerned and that he had said, 'Don't tell anyone else, even (Secretary of State) Dean Rusk and (Secretary of Defense) Robert McNamara'."

This establishes beyond doubt that there was connivance by high US officials in seeing to it that Israel got a secret bomb. There are strong suspicions that South Africa may have a bomb as a result of clandestine help rendered by western nations. Six countries already have nuclear bombs: USA, USSR, the UK, France, China and Israel. South Africa might have it already, or will have it soon. Pakistan is near it. India has shown by the Pokhran test that she has the capability. At present the world has 150 nuclear reactors, and another 450 reactors are either under construction, or there are orders for them. All these are potential mills for the production of nuclear weapons. In this situation, when those who claim the burden of being the world's policemen follow double standards, and when there is no dearth of merchants of death who will do anything for money, the so-called US safeguards are only meant to work against those who are honest, or those who can succumb to US bullying.

Among the many factors which have influenced the course of international politics and diplomacy in the last four decades, the most crucial has been the nuclear

one. Ever since the advent of nuclear weapons, whose destructive power was so convincingly demonstrated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, they have become a symbol of power and prestige among the nations of the world; and possession of nuclear weapons has been given special status in international power hierarchy. Of late, however, the world has witnessed the emergence of another powerful force, not yet manifest in such forceful terms as nuclear weapons but one which nevertheless affects one-seventh of the world's population directly and even a larger proportion indirectly. This new force is the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism.

Islam has shaped the history of the nations of Asia, Africa and Europe since its birth in the seventh century; and West Asia, the heart of Islam, was not only the birthplace of three religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—sharing certain common perspectives, but also the arena of intense and continuous struggle between them.

In the first volcanic outburst of Islam immediately following the death of the Prophet, its power and influence swept over Africa, across Spain and into southern France. In central Europe the flag of Islam reached the gates of Vienna before it was repulsed. From the seventh to the seventeenth century Islam spread to new areas in the Orient. While militant Islam spread the message up to the banks of the Indus, a more persuasive and gentler Islam won over Malaysia, Indonesia and East Bengal to its faith. However, from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-twentieth century the power of Islam declined: barring Saudi Arabia, Iran and Yemen, the entire Islamic world was colonised by European colonial powers.

Unlike Christianity or Hinduism, where the church and the state are separable and religion is a private affair of the individual, Islam—very much like Judaism—claims that it embraces every aspect of a man's life: personal, spiritual, political, social and religious. Hence, when the Muslim nations lost their political power, this had an impact on all other aspects of the Muslim's life. In the post-colonial era, the resurgence of Islam is to be primarily attributed to Islamic countries being freed from colonial bondage.

Although the decolonisation of Islamic countries started in the 1940s and proceeded to its completion in the 1960s, the Islamic world suffered successive humiliations at the hands of Israel during these years—in 1948, 1956 and 1967. The Islamic reaction to the creation of Israel and the Palestinian diaspora were two-fold. Radical and secular Islamic States attempted to meet the challenge of Israel (which was regarded as an extension of American power into the region) through Arab nationalism and Arab socialism. The conservative Islamic States, on the other hand, tried to win over the United States to the Arab cause and bait it with promises of assured oil supply. These two categories of Islamic States were themselves at loggerheads because the conservative States feared radicalism and nationalism more than they did Israeli expansionism.

Following the defeat of Egypt by Israel in 1967, the conservative Islamic nations were able to capture the leadership of the Arabs and build up Islamic solidarity on the platform of anti-Zionism and Islamic fundamentalism. At that time King Faisal of Saudi Arabia was the acknowledged leader of the Islamic world and over a period of time he patiently devised the oil weapon, so effectively unleashed against the West at the next Arab-Israeli war. He also assisted in building up the Egyptian war machine which eventually enabled President Sadat to launch his offensive across the Suez Canal on 6th October, 1973.

Although the war gave initial victory to the Arabs,

These extracts are taken from the book PAKISTAN'S ISLAMIC BOMB by Major General D. K. Palit and Mr P. K. S. Namboodiri published by Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, New Delhi.

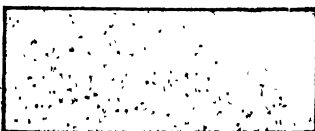
ISLAM AND THE BOMB

Pakistan may want to fight India, but the Islamic world is challenging Israel

BY MAJ. GEN. D. K. PALIT AND P. K. S. NAMBOODIRI

the final round went to the Israelis, who succeeded in crossing the Suez Canal and encircling the Egyptian Third Army, besides seizing strategic territory in Syria. The oil weapon too was found to be of limited value, even though the crisis was exploited by the Shah of Iran and other OPEC countries to push up the oil price more than four-fold. The oil rich Arab countries started piling up enormous wealth but could not use it effectively to put pressure on the United States and West European countries. Arab petrodollars began to be recycled within the Western monetary system; and so their newly gained wealth made the Arabs a kind of hostage to the West. In these circumstances it appears that conservative Islamic leadership decided to build up influence in the international system by forming an Islamic bloc of 43 nations, and to use their oil wealth to acquire sophisticated arms, mostly from the Western powers. From there it would only need an articulate advocate to lead them to a nuclear ambition—especially as they had come to realise by then that Israel had already built up a nuclear arsenal with fissile material clandestinely obtained from the United States and France.

It was beyond doubt that Israel had developed nuclear weapons, though it had not demonstrated its capability by a test explosion. (In the 1973 war, it was reported that Israel had in fact ordered assembly of their nuclear weapons before the United States intervened and dissuaded them from further nuclear action). The ideology of Zionism, the militant character of the Zionist State and the continuous flow of Western arms into Israel are all considered potent challengers by revivalist Islam, just as the occupation of Jerusalem and the burning down of Al Aqsa Mosque were regarded as deliberate humiliations inflicted on Islam. The unilateral peace treaty concluded by Egypt with Israel under the auspices of the United States has further deepened this sense of frustration and hurt the pride of Islamic nations. It must be borne in mind that underlying this peace treaty was the Egyptian recognition that Israel had gone nuclear and that a nuclear Israel was unbeatable in war.



Israel, in many ways, is an extension of the United States. In other words, the Zionist state is only the front line of a powerful Zionist lobby in America.

Therefore the real power of Israel, both economic and military, lay in the United States. Furthermore, the Arabs know all about the American role in the nuclear arming of Israel. In this situation, it had become a necessity for the Arabs to reach out for the symbol of power in the international system—namely, the nuclear weapon.

Various reports in recent years suggested that Arab leaders had for some years been looking for opportunities to develop a nuclear option. Colonel Gaddafi of Libya naively sent his Prime Minister, Major Jalloud, to China in 1971 on a special mission to buy nuclear bombs from that country. Earlier he had approached President Pompidou of France for the same purpose. Colonel



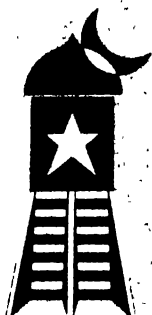
Underlining Egypt's unilateral peace treaty of 1973 with Israel was the Egyptian recognition that Israel had gone nuclear and a nuclear Israel was unbeatable in war.

Gaddafi in his frantic search for nuclear weapons even sought India's assistance. Egypt also had sought Indian help in manufacturing nuclear bombs for the Arabs. The Arab quest for nuclear weapons has to be understood in this context—that the Middle Eastern military balance, which had always been predominantly in favour of Israel, was further tipped in the latter's favour by the introduction of the nuclear factor.

The Arabs had adequate money. On the conventional front, there was no problem in acquiring sophisticated weaponry from the West, since the West was only too eager to recycle some of the mounting reserves of petrodollars by selling back arms. But now conventional weapon superiority was not good enough though even this has persistently eluded them, because the United States has ensured that Israel would always have superiority in this respect: and the nuclear ambition could only be a dream.

Two developments turned this dream into a foreseeable reality. One was the emergence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the dynamic Pakistani leader, as a champion of the Islamic cause. It could not have been difficult for the flamboyant Mr Bhutto to convince the leaders of the Arab world, particularly Saudi Arabia and Libya, that it was possible to develop an Islamic nuclear option. Secondly, the Pakistani civilian nuclear programme had by then reached such a level of sophistication that it was possible for Pakistani scientists, with the facilities available to them, to embark on a weapons programme, if only it could be supported financially by the oil rich Arab countries.

There is no direct evidence of either Saudi Arabia or Libya or any Arab country having actively collaborated with Pakistan on the nuclear project; in any case they possess neither the manpower nor the industrial infrastructure to participate directly in a nuclear weapons programme. However, Saudi Arabia and Libya have been the major financial supporters of Pakistan in this venture. Both countries have a common though not necessarily a shared interest in nuclearising the Arab world. The Libyan leader is noted both for his fanatical anti-Zionist fervour and for his claim to the leadership of the Arab world; and Saudi Arabia considers itself the rightful



Washington is now engaged in an attempt to obfuscate the anti-Israeli, Islamic motivation behind the Pakistani effort to acquire the bomb and thus the American responsibility for Israeli proliferation.

guardian of a future Islamic bomb because, after all, it exercises guardianship over Islam itself.

The other major development which nurtured the idea of an Islamic bomb was the global proliferation of nuclear technology, materials and components. Most of the components for the fabrication of fissile material are now available in the open market thanks to the loopholes in the Non-Proliferation Treaty in which the sponsors, the nuclear weapon powers, exempted themselves from all nuclear safeguards. Pakistan, through its nuclear scientists abroad and its covert industrial connections, and the Arabs through their oil and money connections have considerable leverage in the European nuclear markets to get access to the required materials.

In a parallel effort Iraq appears to have launched a nuclear weapons programme of its own. Although Iraq has signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Iraqis were reported to have bought a swimming pool reactor from France which would have enabled them to produce weapons-grade plutonium. However, on 12 April 1979, the equipment for that reactor, while stored in a warehouse in a southern French port awaiting shipment, was mysteriously blown up, presumably by Israeli agents.

Let us consider how an Islamic bomb could be manufactured under present circumstances. The bomb could be either a plutonium device or a uranium one. Recent evidence shows that Pakistan has been simultaneously pursuing both routes. Although Pakistan's attempt to get a nuclear reprocessing plant from France for chemical separation of plutonium from spent fuel has been temporarily halted, it has come to light that Pakistan had also been buying components for a uranium enrichment facility. It may also be looking for clandestine means to acquire fissile material by sale or theft, so that it could be readily fabricated by Pakistani scientists into some kind of a crude explosive device. It is not unreasonable to assume that Pakistan has been keeping all the three options open and may be pursuing them all at the same time: (i) a plutonium device with fissile material obtained by means of a separation plant, (ii) a uranium bomb through an enrichment facility, and (iii) fabrication of a bomb with fissile material obtained through clandestine channels.

A Pakistani Islamic bomb will have the following repercussions: (i) Israel would be deterred from carrying out a fullscale invasion and occupation of Arab countries; (ii) A nuclear reprisal by Israel to a concerted Arab offensive would also be deterred; (iii) Oil rich Arab States armed with nuclear weapons would be able to withstand American and other external threats and pressures more easily; (iv) The possibility of sub-national organisations like the Palestine Liberation Organisation (P.L.O.) getting access to Islamic nuclear devices might create enormous uncertainty in the minds of the Israelis which, of course, would be of advantage to the overall Arab cause; (v) A Pakistani nuclear weapon would not only deter India from considering a conventional attack on Pakistan, but it might even deter India from taking any retaliatory conventional action against Pakistan's offensive moves, say for instance in Kashmir. (vi) Nu-

clearisation of Islam would strengthen the Islamic solidarity of Muslim populations all over the world, whether they are in Soviet Central Asia, Sinkiang, in the Indian sub-continent or elsewhere.

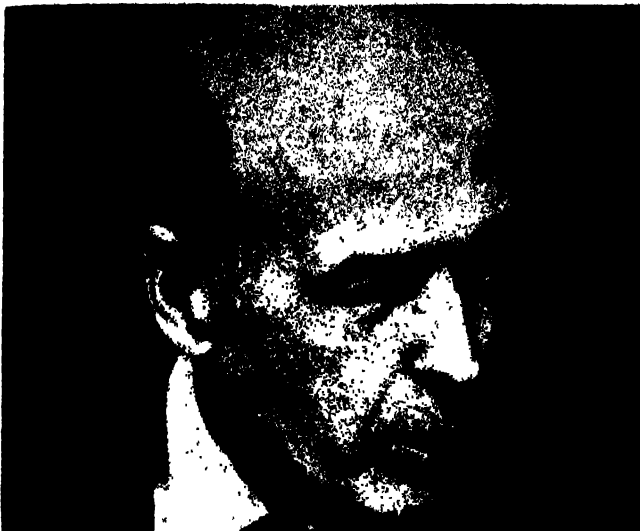
Capability-wise, Pakistan has for long been considered a potential nuclear weapon power; and policywise, it has kept out of not only the Non-Proliferation Treaty, but also the Partial Test Ban Treaty. As was to be expected, Pakistan has always created an image of having linked its nuclear policy with that of India. It was easy for Pakistani leadership to convince the Western world that for them keeping the option open was a justifiable reaction to India's nuclear policy. For the United States and its allies this Pakistani reaction became a convenient leverage to apply pressure on India. The advocates of the Non-Proliferation Treaty felt that if India were restrained, both India and Pakistan would remain non-nuclear military powers.

The war of 1973 and the accumulation of petrodollars changed the scene in West Asia and provided a ready-made opportunity for Pakistan. Bhutto was already convinced that his and Pakistan's destiny lay with the Arab world. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, Pakistan's economic and military connections with the Arab world had been developing significantly even before 1973; and the phenomenal rise in oil prices opened up new opportunities for Pakistan to offer its goods and services to the oil rich Arab states. Secondly, the Pakistanis have always aspired to identify themselves with Islamic West Asia; indeed this was one of the basic underlying reasons for the alienation that developed between the east and west wings of the United Pakistan.

Bhutto pursued this Islamic connection vigorously after 1973. He expected a great deal of financial support from the oil rich countries and also possibly expected, through association with them, to gain international political stature. More than that, Bhutto aspired to a leading role for Pakistan in the Islamic world, for which in fact Pakistan was eminently suitable. After all, industrially and technologically, Pakistan had been in the forefront of Muslim countries. Militarily, the Pakistani armed forces had a high professional reputation, better organised and armed than most Arab armies. Now Bhutto brought in an additional dimension. He became the most articulate spokesman for the Islamic countries in the councils of the world.

he genesis of the Islamic bomb can be traced to the vision of Bhutto, for whom it would serve a dual purpose. If Pakistan were to mother an "Islamic" bomb (as distinct from a purely national "Pakistani" bomb) the wrath of the rest of the world would not be directed against Pakistan alone. The Islamic connection would come to the help of Pakistan. Of the five nuclear weapon powers, three (the United States, Britain and France) are critically dependent on Arab oil, and, therefore, could not risk antagonising the Arabs. Of the other two, Russia and China, the latter would not oppose the idea of an Islamic bomb because it would also be a Pakistani bomb to act as a check against India and help in countervailing Soviet influence among the radical Arab States. In any case, Pakistan can hope to survive any embargo or other punitive measures the international community can mete out, if it were assured of assistance and cooperation from oil rich Muslim countries.

Observers of the Pakistani nuclear scene were not surprised, therefore, when the Indian Foreign Minister revealed in Parliament in March 1979 that the Government of India had learned through its own sources that Pakistan's nuclear intentions were not entirely peaceful, though this was the first ever official admission by the Indian Government that Pakistan was seeking a weapons option. It will be recalled that in November 1978, a British Labour Member of Parliament asked his Prime Minister for information regarding supply of certain materials by a British company to Pakistan. These components, he alleged, could be used to build a gas centrifuge plant for uranium enrichment. Pakistan was reported to have offered the excuse that these

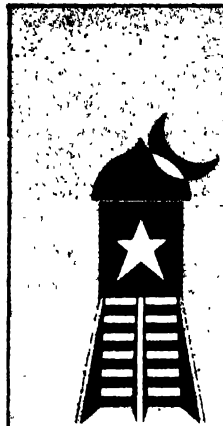


President Giscard d'Estaing

components, called "frequency inverters", were bought for use in a textile mill. The Indian Government also revealed that it had come to know about certain clandestine purchases by Pakistan of other nuclear related equipment in Europe. Prime Minister Morarji Desai had earlier written to both President Zia-ul Haq of Pakistan and Prime Minister Callaghan of Britain about these matters, though to no satisfactory purpose. President Zia promptly replied to Desai reiterating that Pakistan's atomic energy programme was peaceful. The British Prime Minister replied saying that such transfers of equipment had been banned. Meanwhile, reports indicated that Pakistan had already bought the required components and was in the process of setting up a uranium enrichment plant at Kahuta near Rawalpindi as a military project, independent of their Department of Atomic Energy. The United States, which had been in the forefront of the crusade against proliferation, could not but react to Pakistan's clandestine attempts to acquire nuclear bomb once it had come out into the open. This they did in April 1979.

The Islamic background of the bomb is particularly important. The Pakistani Press and Government officials have accused the Jewish lobby in the United States for putting pressure on the US administration to twist Pakistan's arm, and have characterised the move as one directed against the Islamic nuclear capability. The United States knows full well that its decision to cut off economic aid, amounting to a paltry \$85 million in two years, was not going to restrain Pakistan, which would promptly be compensated by its Arab financiers and indeed, this is exactly what happened. So the American gesture was merely a token. The United States also renewed the earlier Kissinger offer of modern fighter aircraft to Pakistan if it gave up the bomb option and opened up all its facilities for international inspection. However, the motive for this American move is to be traced to their obsession that all Pakistani moves are related to its fear of India and an inadequate appreciation of the Islamic nature of the effort — that is, to countervail the Israeli nuclear capability. The way in which the American Press has managed this news would tend to indicate that Washington is now engaged in an attempt to obfuscate the anti-Israeli, Islamic motivation behind the Pakistani nuclear effort and thus the American responsibility for proliferation to Israel.

Ever since Pakistan started negotiating for the reprocessing plant, it was obvious to knowledgeable observers that such a plant was not needed for peaceful uses of atomic energy. Plutonium is needed for peaceful uses for a mixed oxide fuel in place of enriched uranium fuel in a reactor or to fuel a fast breeder reactor. The Pakistani atomic energy programme has not reached a stage where it could undertake such programmes: nor does Pakistan have a reactor that uses enriched uranium fuel. Therefore the only con-



Bhutto's letter to the French President shows that Bhutto was fascinated by Napoleon and de Gaulle—the first the conqueror of Europe who attempted to unify it; and the second, the inspirer of the independent French nuclear deterrent.

clusion possible was that Pakistan was intending to use the reprocessing plant to extract plutonium to fabricate weapons. In his death cell testament Bhutto has indicated that such was indeed his intention.

he Pakistani concept for their role in the Islamic world is somewhat analogous to the Israeli concept of their role in relation to the Zionist movement. Pakistan,

like the Zionist state of Israel, was created for purely religious considerations. Just as the Zionists refused to accept the concept of a federal Palestine, the Pakistanis rejected the idea of a federal India. Just as Israel invoked the Zionist idea and claimed that it represented the Jews all over the world, Pakistan claimed that it spoke for all the Muslims of the subcontinent. Liaquat Ali Khan even claimed, in his speeches in the United States in 1949, that Pakistan was the "heart of Asia". Even from those early days Pakistan had an eye on the leadership of the Islamic world. This was the reason why Pakistan found no rapport with Nasser, who developed as a natural and charismatic leader of the Arab world. Nor could Pakistan get along with Sukarno or the Shah of Iran, except during the years of their decline; whereas Pakistani allegiance to Saudi Arabian leadership is based on the consideration that while Saudi Arabia could exercise its spiritual and financial leadership, Pakistan, because of its armed forces and its reserve of trained scientists, other skilled manpower and its population would be able to emerge as the leading military and technological Islamic State.

Bhutto was quick to perceive the implications of the dismemberment of his country in the context of the power balance in the region. He vowed to revive Pakistan from the ignominy of 1971, firstly by building the Pakistan Army into "Asia's finest fighting machine" and secondly, by finding for Pakistan a major place in the Islamic comity of nations. In one of his broadcasts, immediately after the formation of Bangladesh, Bhutto said that Pakistan should now on look to the West (meaning West Asia) rather than towards the East (India and Bangladesh).

What Mr Bhutto meant by this was that Pakistan had to discover a new identity for itself in the Islamic group and turn its back on the Indian sub-continent. So long as the two wings of Pakistan had been tied together, Pakistan remained an Indian Islamic country. It was only by casting East Bengal away that Pakistan could embark on its quest for identity and leadership in West Asia. Furthermore, Bhutto realised that a Pakistan fabricated Islamic bomb would become an important factor in striving for this leadership. Being the only Islamic country with a relatively well developed nuclear technology it was easy for Pakistan to cast itself in the role of a leader in technology. Therefore, as soon as Bhutto came to power he instituted an intensive

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programme of nuclear development. In his own words, Pakistan was on the verge of "full nuclear capability" when he was removed from power.

In fact Bhutto has charged that his pursuit of an ambitious nuclear programme was the main cause of his downfall. In his testament, Mr Bhutto has said that "foreign forces" determined to deny Pakistan the reprocessing facility, conspired to overthrow him. Yet, according to him, if there was one act for which he would be remembered, it would be the agreement with France for the reprocessing plant. He wrote: "After three years of intense negotiations, the nuclear reprocessing plant agreement was signed between France and Pakistan in March 1976. France was fully satisfied on the safeguards The International Energy Agency (IAEA) at Vienna confirmed the agreement. The United States representative on the Commission voted in favour of the approval". Bhutto was convinced that France drew back on the agreement because of the weakness of Pakistan's new military rulers, and that had he been there to negotiate the deal he would not have allowed this to happen: "After tantalizing the people of Pakistan for fourteen months, and keeping the armed forces on tenterhooks, at last General Zia-ul Haq, had to mention in his Press conference in Rawalpindi on 23 August 1978, that he had received a very polite letter from the President of France; but it did not serve the purpose. He said ominously that France wanted modifications in the contract through negotiations. So that is it, The President of France has offered a face-saver, but has not saved the plutonium separating capacity of the plant. This means the end of the saga. In changing its position, the French Government has evoked the doctrine of *Rebus sic Stantibus*. The French Government concluded the agreement with a civilian and Constitutional Government, not with a military and dictatorial regime. The agreement was concluded with an elected Prime Minister of international stature who had earned the respect and the confidence of three successive Presidents of France.....and not with an incredible Chief Martial Law Administrator who keeps breaking his promises to his own people".

In July 1978, from his death cell in Rawalpindi Jail, Bhutto wrote a letter to President Giscard d'Estaing of France thanking him for his intercession to try and save his life. The French President's office released the letter after Bhutto's execution. Bhutto implied in his letter that France, through its technology and techniques, had been able to face up to the challenges of Communism directly. The implication was that Pakistan too was attempting to follow the French example and through its nuclear capability face the international ideological challenges. The letter shows that Bhutto was fascinated by Napoleon and de Gaulle—the first, the conqueror of Europe who attempted to unify it; and the second, the inspirer of the independent French nuclear deterrent. Although many heads of State pleaded for Bhutto's life, it is of interest to note that he chose to write only to President Giscard d'Estaing to thank him for his intercession.

In his testament Bhutto rightly claims that he had been actively associated with each and every development in Pakistan's nuclear programme. As Foreign Minister, as Minister of Fuel, Power and Natural Resources and as Minister in-charge of Atomic Energy, and finally as Prime Minister, Bhutto's contribution to the Pakistan atomic programme was significant. "Now we have the brainpower, we have the nuclear power plant in Karachi. All we needed was the nuclear reprocessing plant," he wrote, implying that he intended to get the reprocessing plant, then to violate the IAEA safeguards, reprocess the fuel and fabricate a nuclear explosive device.

As far back as 1965 Bhutto had said: "If India builds the bomb, we will eat grass or leaves, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own. We have no alternative". At that stage India was not even thinking of a nuclear programme. In fact India was seeking nuclear guarantees from the great powers. Bhutto's statement was a reaction to the commissioning of the plutonium reprocessing plant in India. After 1974 he was convinced that India was on her way to getting the bomb.

The constables represent an almost total waste of resources. They are not respected by the public nor by their own superiors. They are wretchedly paid, poorly housed and work long hours in depressing conditions. They have little pride in themselves or their occupation. Beyond felching and carrying, their only function is being seen in the hope that it will deter crime: Prof. David H. Bayley, police systems expert of Denver University, USA in his report on the Indian constable to the National Police Commission.

PUNJAB'S POLICE REVOLT

"You can go back and tell your masters that policemen are no longer going to be slaves," a Chandigarh policeman told AJOY BOSE, who went to Punjab to cover the recent uprising.

It is past midnight. As Chandigarh sleeps, about 400 men huddle closely together in the darkness on a barren piece of land on the outskirts of the city. Their voices are muted but they are discussing something furiously and loud abuses often rend the quietness of the night. There is a momentary hush at the sound of a passing vehicle.

As I approach this mysterious midnight meeting, a heavy hand falls on my shoulder. "What are you doing here, son," a hoarse voice asks me in Punjabi. I wheel around and am faced with a giant Sikh in police uniform. Within moments I am surrounded by about a dozen men, some wearing police uniforms. "Sala, Khufia (informer) Hai," growls one of them. I hastily produce my Press card and explain that I have come from Delhi to cover the police uprising. A torch is produced and the card is examined minutely. Then, one of the policemen, evidently their leader, says, "Okay, we believe you are a genuine Pressman. But just in case you are one of the CID it does not matter. I myself belong to the CID. We have no fear of the CID. You can go back and tell your masters that policemen are no longer going to be slaves."

The mood at the meeting is tense and angry. "We are treated like dogs. They, the officers and politicians, think we can be ordered about at will. They abuse us like we are illiterate buffoons. I am a graduate. I won't be treated like a village idiot," fumes one constable.

"They tell us to be disciplined. I ask you whose discipline? Why should we accept the discipline of these bastard officers and politicians. The officers are spineless creatures at the beck and call of the politicians. And the politicians are crooks, opium smugglers, thieves and burglars. You name any crime and they have done it. We are policemen, we know," sneered another constable.

The abuses (in choicest Punjabi) grow filthier and the complaints louder till the constables burst out into slogans of "Police ekta zindabad", "Police union zindabad" and "Punjab Government hai hai" and the meeting disperses. Before I leave, one of



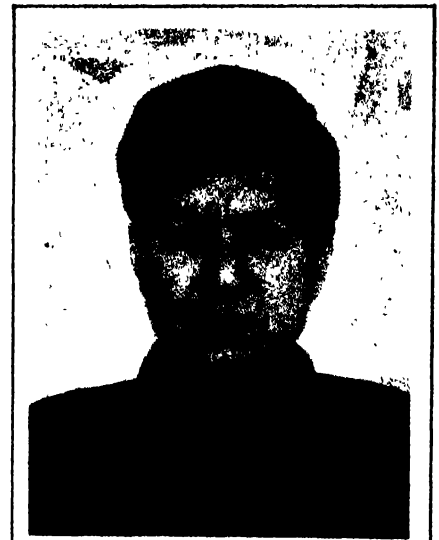
the constables tells me. "Write in your paper the truth. Tell your readers that we will struggle for our rights till we die."

"And if you are a CID man," another pipes up, "file a full report. Don't miss out details. This Government is hard of hearing."

THE Government is indeed hard of hearing. In Punjab, the rumblings of a revolt among the constabulary started over one year back. The earliest incident took place in March 1978 at Patiala when the First and Second Reserve men refused to take their lunch to protest against the behaviour of a local police officer. A series of similar incidents were reported from Amritsar and Bhatinda districts in September and October. Posters appeared in several districts spelling out various demands of the constabulary like

an eight hour day schedule, overtime payment; revision of pay scales and residential accommodation. The poster campaign spread all over Punjab by the end of the year and posters demanding a police trade union appeared in most of the major towns.

On 6 April, Baisakhi day, a police constable recited a poem highlighting the police demands at Ludhiana. So far the main cause of the police frustration and anger had been their own officers and poor working conditions but the assault of a police constable by the close relatives of an Akali MLA in Patiala on 14 April gave a new colour to the situation. The constable was beaten up by the relatives of the MLA, Sardara Singh Kohli, at the instance of a drunken friend who had picked up a quarrel with the constable when he tried to sort out a quarrel between the MLA's friend and a rickshaw puller.



R. C. Kapila

Was the police revolt a communist plot?

WAS the police uprising a deliberate Communist conspiracy hatched by the three communist parties? While the Punjab Chief Minister, Mr Prakash Singh Badal, has indicated that the State Government has received information that communists have instigated the revolt in the police, Communist Party workers as well as the agitating policemen strongly deny a Communist hand in the uprising.

"If Indian communists could organise a police revolt, then revolution is at our door step," scoffed a senior communist politician. According to him, the revolt had taken the communist parties completely by surprise and although later their workers had moved into the field, the situation was too big for them to control. According to a secret Intelligence Bureau report compiled after interrogating hundreds of policemen and people all over Punjab and Haryana, there seems to be little indication that the communist parties had initiated the uprising. The report, however, says that once the revolt had spread, workers of the communist parties, particularly the CPI(M), have been reported to encourage the police constables to carry on their struggle and not lose heart in the face of Government repression.

While communists might not have initiated the police revolt, communist politics and the trade union movement have played a role in the police agitation. The main affected areas of Sangrur, Bhatinda and Patiala are part of the Malwa belt known as the 'red belt' which was the scene of

Naxalite activities in the early Seventies.

Another factor which has spread communist or leftist politics among the police is the large number of educated unemployed who are seeking jobs in the constabulary for want of something better. Most of the leaders of the police revolt belong to this category who are very conscious of their rights and resent being treated as mere chattels of their superior officers and politicians. Quite a few of them were in the armed constabulary doing punishment postings. The armed constabulary is the worst off among the police since they do not have the privileges and 'fringe benefits' of the district police like petty graft and power over local shopkeepers. Their duty hours are also not fixed and sometimes during riots extend more than even 16 hours, for which they are not paid anything extra. Consequently, most policemen hate to be posted in the armed constabulary which contains the most disgruntled elements of the police.

The repression let loose on the agitating policemen in Punjab is likely to further drive the constables into the arms of the communists. Already the number of arrests have crossed 1,000 and most of the 6,000 policemen who had actively participated in the revolt are facing either discharge orders or criminal prosecution by special courts located in prisons. This could well turn them into hardcore communists.

A.B.

The assault immediately sparked off great resentment among the local constabulary, who held a demonstration in front of the Deputy Commissioner's office. The DC relayed to Chandigarh the disaffection in the police but little was done about it. In fact, the Government later even denied that a police demonstration had taken place.

On 7 May, Akali MLA Dalip Singh Pandhi was passing through Mandi Govindgar in Patiala when to his great surprise he found the traffic constable busy directing traffic and not saluting him. The incensed Akali MLA immediately pronounced the constable "dead drunk" and directed that he undergo a medical examination. In spite of the constable's protests that he was ill, he was forced to go for a medical check-up which revealed that he actually had a temperature and was certainly not drunk. Further enquiries revealed that the constable had a very good service record and had come to duty in spite of being ill. This was the last straw for the Patiala constables. The same

B. S. Danewalia



night they held a meeting and decided to go on a protest demonstration on the next day. They also painted slogans in tar criticising the Punjab Government and their own officers for not taking action against the erring MLA.

The next morning about 200 policemen marched down the main Mall Road shouting slogans against the Government and the bureaucracy. Many of them carried lathis and wore their police uniforms. "I was absolutely non-plussed," said the Deputy Commissioner when he recounted the scene later. "I had never seen the district police behave like this". He immediately informed the Inspector-General of Police, Mr Bhagwan Singh Danewalia, who within a few hours reached the spot.

Mr Danewalia's arrival, instead of improving the situation, worsened it considerably. Known for his rough and haughty manner, the IG sought to browbeat the police demonstrators. "Fall in line, fall in line," he shouted repeatedly. His words fell on deaf ears as the demonstrators ignored him and continued shouting slogans. Angered, Mr Danewalia snatched away the mike from one of the leaders of the demonstration. At



once, all hell broke loose.

The IG was showered with the filthiest of abuses and some of the demonstrators pushed him around. Mr Danewalia retreated hastily from the spot after no policeman was keen to protect him from the wrath of the demonstrators. The demonstration continued till 5 p.m. in the evening when the demonstrators dispersed after negotiations with the Deputy Commissioner who promised to look into their problems.

News of the Patiala demonstration spread like wild fire all over Punjab. The demonstration had proved two points. The IG's highhanded manner had revealed the Government's unsympathetic attitude towards the constables and his hasty retreat in front of the demonstrators had been a crucial victory for the constabulary. The next day, the police revolt had spread to three other districts of Punjab. Policemen took out processions and shouted slogans in Bhatinda, Sangrur and Sunam districts against the Government and in support of their colleagues in Patiala.

Within 24 hours, the revolt had crossed the Punjab border into Haryana where more than 500

Haryana armed policemen shouting slogans squatted on the Grand Trunk Road blocking traffic for more than three hours. Rumbblings were heard from Himachal Pradesh that the constabulary there was also dissatisfied and a statement by an unofficial Himachal Police Union spokesman extended full support to the Punjab policemen. Police constables of the Union Territory of Chandigarh also staged a demonstration in full uniform in the city at night.

On 11 May, the police unrest assumed ominous proportions and panic struck the Badal Government

which alerted the army and instructed Border Security Force troops to move into the districts. All arms were removed from police stations and stacked at central points under the supervision of deputy superintendents of police. The intelligence branch chief, Mr I. B. Mathur, himself was camping at Chandigarh where he held consultations with both the Punjab and Haryana Chief Ministers. Intelligence Branch officials spread out in the various districts of the State interrogating people to find out the leaders of the revolt. Meanwhile demonstrations continued in Punjab and Haryana; 200 Haryana armed police

'We are not scared'

(The constable's name cannot be revealed because of reasons. A day after the Patiala demonstration on 5 May he deserted the police line and went underground. According to reports, he has been discharged and efforts to track him down and arrest him are going on. He is a graduate of the Punjab University and had joined the constabulary because of family problems and an acute need of a job.)

Q: What caused the constabulary of Punjab to suddenly revolt?

A: The revolt has not started today. Everyday, for so many years individual policemen have shown their protest and resentment but nobody paid them any attention. It is only now when there is a collective protest that the authorities are waking up.

Q: How did left organisations like collectives protest? Was there any political party which helped you organise?

A: There was no political party. We don't believe in politicians. The policemen themselves organised the protest demonstrations.

Q: But there must be a coordinating leadership. You must have a central organisation in Punjab which is running the revolt.

A: I can't tell you everything but let me assure you that no politicians are involved. Yes we have some link with some trade unions. They have taught us a lot about how to fight for our rights. In fact, our main demand is the right to have union.

Q: The Punjab Chief Minister has said that the Communist Party are behind the police revolt. CPI and CPI(M) leaders have also addressed some of your rallies. How do you explain that?

A: I am telling you no communist or any other political leaders have any connection with the police revolt. We are glad for

their support and we have no objections to their leaders addressing us. But that does not mean they are controlling us. The Punjab Government has brought this Communist bogey to crush our revolt.

Q: How much support do you have among the police officers?

A: If we are slaves, the officers are "double slaves". Many of them secretly support us since they themselves are humiliated by politicians everyday. But they are just too scared to show openly their support.

Q: What support do you have from the constabulary in other States? Do you think that a nationwide police revolt is in the offing?

A: You have seen the protest demonstrations in Haryana, Himachal and Chandigarh. We have also received letters and verbal messages from Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar that the policemen there are with us.

Q: Do you realise that the Central and State Governments have taken a very serious view of the revolt and there might be stern measures taken against all agitating policemen?

A: Let me ask you something. What happened during the Sepoy Mutiny? Ultimately the British had to go, didn't they? We will fight to the last whatever they do to us. There is no stopping now till they accede to our demands.

Q: But don't you think that the hundreds of policemen being arrested and discharged from duty will scare others away from the agitation.

A: We shall not be scared. We have already decided to give every discharged and arrested policeman a promotion. A constable will be given the pay of a head constable and a head constable the pay of a sub-inspector. We will look after their families.

A. B.

One of the posters which appeared during the police revolt

personnel stationed at Rohtak refused to take lunch in support of their fellow constables in Punjab.

By 12 May, the Government began to show its teeth. In a pre-dawn swoop about 100 so-called leaders of the revolt were arrested from various districts in Punjab and demonstrations at Muktsar in Faridkot were forcibly stopped. The Government, however, ran into a major problem. Of the 28,000 force in Punjab, while only a few thousands were actually taking to the streets, more than 90 per cent were silent sympathisers who refused to take action against the agitating policemen.

In Haryana, the Devi Lal Government had taken stern measures against those policemen who had agitated. The Haryana IG, Mr Dharam Singh, was himself supervising their punishment. They were made to stand in two rows facing each other and then ordered to slap each other as hard as they could. "This should break their comradely spirit," one of the senior Haryana

police officers is reported to have said.

The repression in Haryana managed to break the back of the agitators. However, resentful constables swore that one day they would take revenge. "*Babuji, hamara bhi time ayega.* (Our time will also come) We won't be crushed so easily," said a constable who had been put through the punishment drill. Most, however, refused to talk since they said Intelligence Branch people were all over and they were afraid of being overheard.

In Punjab, however, the repression only added fuel to the fire and a giant rally was held at Sangrur where nearly 4,000 constables from all over the State attended. Demonstrations were also held in various towns in the districts. At midnight, in a top secret operation, the army took over the armouries of the Punjab Armed Police at Bahadurgarh and Jullundur. The Punjab Government was obviously not taking any chances. Meanwhile, there was

serious division of opinion in the bureaucracy itself on how to deal with the situation. While Home Commissioner R. C. Kapila, a dapper young IAS officer known for his eccentricities like cycling to office from home, urged that the Government try and win over as many police men as possible, the IG, Mr Danevalia, insisted that a tough line be taken and no concessions made to the agitators.

The next day, when a police demonstration was held at Ludhiana the demonstrators were told that prohibitory orders had been declared. For the first time, policemen were openly arrested in public in the State. Meanwhile, in Bahadurgarh where the armoury had been taken over, about 70 policemen deserted the lines and walked out of the fort. According to the constables who remained, police officers came in the morning to the fort and tried to arrest some constables. The officers were pushed aside and the men simply walked out. "The officers looked such fools," laughed one of the constables.

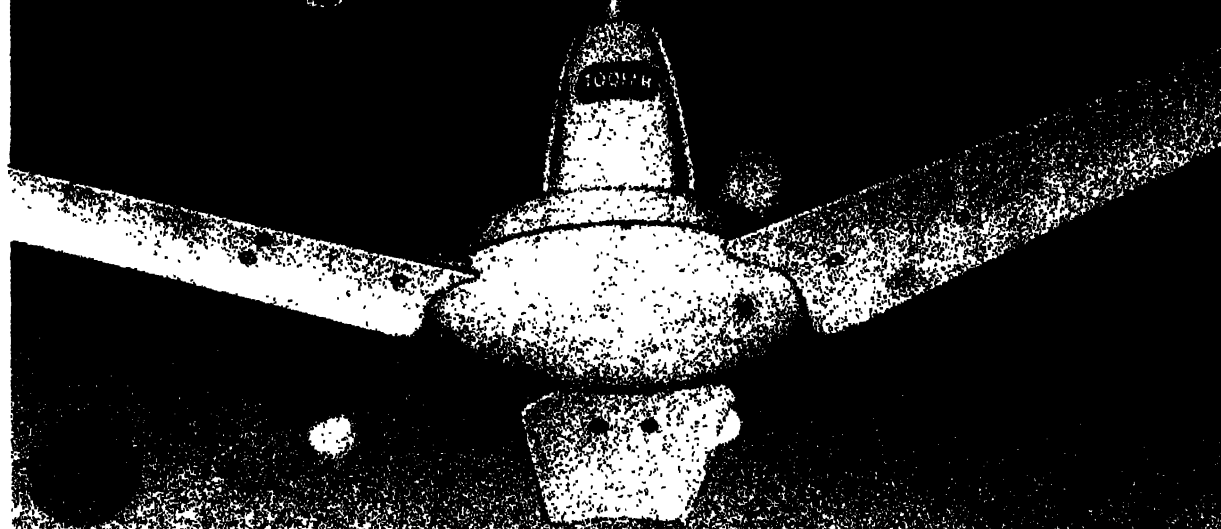
The attitude of most of the so-called loyalist policemen was surprisingly unanimous in support of the agitating policemen. "I have not joined them because there are some difficulties in my family right now. Otherwise I would be out on the streets with them," said a constable in Patiala. "I might not have joined them but I will never participate in any action against them. They are fighting for my rights. What have I against them?" asked a police constable on duty outside the Patiala Secretariat in full earshot of his superior officer who desperately tried to look away. In Punjab the police officers seemed to be terrified of the situation, while the constables strolled about confidently.

While the Punjab Government's announcement of pay hikes and widespread repression have stifled the police revolt for the present, it is highly unlikely that this is a long term solution to the problem. First, the pay hikes still fall far short of the demands of the policemen. The most pressing problem of the Punjab policemen, like his counterparts in most other States is housing. In Punjab, of the 8,575 constables in the districts, hardly 1,350 have been provided with houses, and of the 2,347 head constables only 385 live in Government accommodation. The condition of the armed police is even worse.

Second, the revolt by the police is, almost all of the scores of constables I met told me, for self-respect and not merely for more money. The repression and humiliation of their leaders will hardly contribute to a sympathetic attitude towards the Government among the constabulary. Third, and the most important, is the fact that the Punjab Government's hasty announcement of pay hikes while not satisfying the constables will convince them of a moral victory which might prompt them in the near future to test their strength again.

GEC TOOFAN

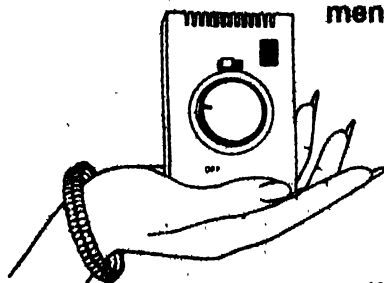
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The constable's lot: frustration, bitterness

ON A sunny October morning, constable Raghur Singh was on guard duty in the Srinivaspuri Police Station in South Delhi. He had reported for work at 6 a.m., picked up his .303 musket, and stood to attention in front of the lock-up which he was to guard for the next three hours. But around 8.35 a.m., with less than half an hour to go for his shift to end, the unpredictable happened. Constable Raghur Singh ran amuck. After firing a shot from outside the lock-up, the constable moved into the nearby 'Reporting Room', jerking the trigger of his rifle repeatedly. Complete panic gripped the police station. Policemen and civilians alike ran for their lives, while the constable kept shooting. Some could not escape, like 22-year-old biscuit factory worker, Gyan Chand, who was instantly killed and five others, including a policeman, who received gunshot wounds. It was only after a fellow constable pounced upon him and grabbed his rifle that the demented constable relented.

Why did a constable with decades of good service behind him, no record of any mental ailment whatever and in fairly good physical shape end up shooting at his colleagues and innocent civilians? The police have not been able to trace any abnormality in the 52-year-old constable who hails from Raj village in Sonapat district although he has been kept under observation in the Shahdra Mental Hospital for over a month. What will happen to Raghur Singh, his wife and family of five daughters and a son, now that a case of murder and attempted murder has been registered against him?

The roots of constable Raghur Singh's insanity lie perhaps not in any physical or mental ailment but the abominable working conditions of the police constable in India today. "The present working conditions of the Indian police constable are likely to make him sullen, tired, brusque and discourteous. He is treated like a raw, illiterate peasant and made to do the most mechanical jobs. And his low wages are tailor-made to make him corrupt," said Mr Dharam Vira, Chairman of the National Police Commission which was set up last year by the Janata Government to investigate for the first time the failures and shortcomings of the Indian Police.

"The first report deals exclusively with the Indian Police Constabulary. 'The constabulary constitutes as much as 90 per cent of the police and if we have to effect reforms in the police we have to do so in the constabulary first,' Mr Dharam Vira said. According to

statistics compiled by the commission, of a total police force of 5,82,729, there are 5,36,152 constables and 42,437 sub-inspectors and inspectors. In the armed police, of a total force of 1,70,938, constables number 1,64,858 and sub-inspectors and inspectors 5,307. The majority of the constabulary are bitter and frustrated people who draw meagre salaries for the most difficult of jobs. They are miserably underpaid: "The salary of the police constable in most States is lower than that of an unskilled worker," averred Mr Dharam Vira. The commission's findings show that most constables draw a salary of less than Rs 300 and in some States less than Rs 250. Significantly, one of the richest states, Haryana, pays its constables the lowest (see chart). No wonder the Haryana

Tapan Das



constable has the reputation of being the most brutal and unscrupulous policeman.

THE low salary of the constable seems even more inadequate if one takes into account some of his little-known duties, which involve spending out of his own pocket. The commission's tour of different States has revealed a wealth of information on the lopsided manner in which the police works—at the cost of the constable.

Take for instance the problems of a post-mortem operation. The constable is ordered by his superiors to get a post-mortem done on a body. In major metropolitan cities, of course, this is not much of a problem since there are doctors within easy reach. What happens when the

body is found in a village is another matter. The nearest doctor might well be 20 miles away at the district hospital. It is the constable's responsibility to take the body to a doctor for which there is no provision of payment. He can't take a bus or truck since dead bodies are not allowed on these vehicles. He also cannot possibly carry the body and walk 20 miles. The members of the commission were astounded to hear that the constables had no other recourse but to request private tempo owners to transport the bodies. The payment for this is invariably in the form of some favour shown by the constable to the tempo owner, since there is just no way he can hire a tempo with his own money. "The endemic corruption in the Indian constabulary is obviously not by accident".

Dead bodies create other problems for constables too. In case there is an unclaimed dead body lying on the road, it is the duty of the constable to see to it that the body is cremated or buried. For this he is given a sum of Rs 8 by the Government. The actual cost, however, is 10 times the amount given to the constable. Commission members were told that it was very difficult to get any labourer to carry a rotting corpse to the cremation grounds unless he was paid an extravagant amount. In some remote areas, the police constable uses his *lathi* to force poor Harijans to carry the bodies free of charge, but in most areas they have to hire labourers at fantastic rates to do this loathsome task. Apart from cash the constable has also to ply the labourers with liquor so that he is drunk enough to ignore the stench from the bodies they carry. The new prohibition orders have made the constable's task more difficult.

Another little known fact about the functioning of the Indian Police is the diet allowance for prisoners given to the Thanedar of a police *chowki*. The sum of Rs 1.50 is given to the Thanedar for the daily diet of a man. Even this amount is not given immediately, but has to be collected from the District Magistrate, the whole process usually taking nearly a year. During this period the Thanedar has to pay from his own pocket for the upkeep of the prisoners. If in the mean time, he is transferred to another district, he is very likely to lose the whole amount. Little wonder that people hate to stay in police lockups for a considerable period of time.

In addition the constable has to pay for the conveyance, in case he is taking prisoners to court. While in cities, he can take a bus, the rural constabulary has invariably got to take a lift from a friendly truck driver. This friendship is, of course, based on favours shown to the truck drivers.

Another drain on the constable's pocket is caused by the constant shortage of writing paper in the police station. There is an 'oil and stationery allowance' allocated to

every police station. But this sum, varying between Rs 6 and 8 is hardly adequate to cover the reams of paper required by the officials there to register cases—some of which run into full exercise books. It is common for most duty officers at police stations to ask complainants to bring their own writing paper with them.

The second major problem for the constable is housing. Although the Government is supposed to provide him with a house, more than half the constables in the country have to find their own accommodation (see chart). With their low salaries they can only afford squalid rooms, usually located in suburban slums. This is perhaps one of the main reasons for vested interests of the police in landlord-tenant disputes in most slum areas.

Besides, there is little incentive for the constable. Promotions are rare, however good their service record may be. He is given the most dirty jobs and he works an average of 12 to 16 hours a day for seven days in the week. While senior police officers are often allowed to take leave, the constable finds it difficult to get even a day off. This is evident from the fact that on Sundays and second Saturdays, police officers can stay home unless something major is happening, but the poor constable has to work.

The Commission in its report has suggested a number of changes in the present working of the police. "Firstly, we have to guarantee the police constable a decent pay and living conditions", said Mr Dharam Vira. "We have also recommended that promotions for the constables be made easier and he should at least be able to climb to the post of a Deputy Superintendent," he added. The Commission has also suggested that the training programme of the constable be changed, so that he may exercise mental faculties more instead of doing a purely mechanical job.

The major change that the Commission has suggested is the right for the lower ranks of the Indian Police to form an association through which they can ventilate their grievances. "Even if full trade union rights cannot be granted to the police, they should certainly be allowed to freely associate and put forward their demands to the government," Mr Dharam Vira said. At present, the constable has no forum at all to air his problems. The Commission has asked the Government to allow them to do this as in the case of Class IV employees. Another suggestion put forward by the Commission to the setting up of a neutral arbitration body if no agreement is reached between the Police Association and the Government. The decision of the arbitration body will be binding on both parties. "We should not push the policeman to a situation, where he has to go on strike," Mr Dharam Vira concluded.

A.B.

INVESTIGATION

Aligarh : Back to violence

VIVEK SENGUPTA visited Aligarh to report on an endemic problem : communal clashes. This time, an attack on a train was followed by violence on the campus.

THE city of Aligarh, so close to the hearts of the Muslims of India, is jinxed. First, there were the riots of October last year. They were followed by another round of violence in November. The two together took a toll of at least 30 lives, a few hundred were injured and property worth several crores of rupees was destroyed. Again recently, on the night of 10-11 May the Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) campus was the scene of violent clashes between the police and the students; 31 shops and a state transport bus were burnt, stabbing and shooting accounted for the death of at least five persons. Indefinite curfew was clamped on the city and on 12 May the University was closed down till June 1, and hostel residents were asked to vacate the halls of residence immediately. No incident has been reported thereafter.

The nocturnal orgy of violence was a sequel to the incident at the Dadri station on the Aligarh-Delhi line on the morning of 9 May when AMU students travelling to Delhi to join a Boat Club rally against the recently moved AMU (Amendment) Bill, were involved in an unfortunate fracas with fellow commuters. Seventy of them were injured and 27 of them had to be hospitalised with fractures and head injuries. The official version disseminated by anyone having anything to do with the administration is that it was purely a "law and order" problem which was subsequently given a communal colouring by "interested parties". The AMU Students' Union, however, maintains that it was a planned and organised attack on them.

A certain degree of credibility is added to the students' version when it is recalled that in recent history the AMU campus has been significantly peaceful even while in the rest of the town armies of the two warring communities have clashed by night and day. In fact, in last year's rioting, the students, who maintained

absolute communal harmony, made a signal contribution to relief and rehabilitation work.

Driving down from Agra, as we approached Aligarh, the first thing we noticed was the scanty traffic on the normally busy highway, and even that traffic was largely one-way. A trickle of vehicles came down from Aligarh but none, save an occasional cyclist who might be going to the next village, went towards the town. Inside Aligarh, which was still under 24-hour curfew, the streets were deserted. The intense heat had brought a lot of people out-of-doors, but no one dared to step out of the sidewalks. The only vehicles visible were patrol jeeps. Every 50 yards posses of jawans belonging either to the State Police, the Central Reserve Police (CRP) or the Border Security Force (BSF), armed with rifles and stenguns, stopped us, questioning the purpose of our visit, the "press" stickers on our car notwithstanding, and after we had explained, demanding to check our identity cards in the absence of curfew passes, which we were going to collect from the Kotwali.

Wending our way through the circuitous streets of old Aligarh, we proceeded to the AMU campus. To get to the Civil Lines-university area, one has to go over the railway tracks, which last year served as the great divide separating the riot-torn town from the peaceful campus. Today, the campus wore a haunted look, the town had been almost entirely free of trouble. The hostels had been vacated the previous day and there remained only a few girl-students and the 300-odd students from 33 different countries who naturally could not be summarily thrown out. We gathered at the bungalow of a senior faculty member and spoke to a variety of people including senior professors, members of the administrative staff, local politicians.

THE genesis of this round of disturbances in Aligarh lies in the controversial AMU (Amendment) Bill 1978, which was moved in Parliament on 30 April by the Union Education Minister Dr P. C. Chunder. Making a reference to the various legislations relating to the AMU, Dr Chunder said that in 1951 certain changes were made in keeping with the secular Constitution adopted by the country. But in 1972, the previous regime had abridged the rights of the University and the present

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Bill sought to restore its autonomy, which it had enjoyed after the 1951 amendment. So far as the controversial minority character of the AMU was concerned, the Government considered itself bound by the Supreme Court ruling that the University was not a minority institution under Article 30 of the Constitution.

The Government's view was that the aims and objectives of the establishment of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College — later incorporated as the AMU in 1920 — included, among other things, the pursuit of oriental studies as distinct from Islamic studies. Said Dr Chunder: "It would not be right to say that the University was confined to the minority community.....a narrow view cannot be taken as to make it a communal University.....(the Bill) will actually ensure the minority character of the institution in the true sense of the term".

Such a restricted exposition of the term is anathema to most Muslims. To understand Muslim sensitivity about AMU one must realise that the AMU has never been treated as merely an institution by the Indian Muslims. As Dr Rahman Ali Khan, reader in the law faculty of AMU, pointed out, "It started as an educational movement for the Muslims, and has remained so to this day." When Sir Syed Ahmed Khan founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1875 he wanted to bring western education tempered by Islamic studies to the unwilling Muslims of the country. But despite the initial lack of enthusiasm, there soon came the time when almost every Indian Muslim, educated in the western sense of the term, had ipso facto to be an alumnus of AMU. Dilution of the minority character of such an institution is seen by Muslims as an attempt to stifle their aspirations, and is bound to be resisted.

It was to protest against the unpopular AMU (Amendment) Bill that the AMU students' union organised a rally on 9 May at Delhi's Boat Club. Though most of the students had proceeded from Aligarh in chartered buses, a few hundred took the early morning Aligarh-New Delhi passenger train.

The trouble began even before the train had started from Aligarh station. It got detained for a while because so many boys were travelling ticketless. Some of the banners that they were carrying were allegedly torn by fellow commuters who also taunted them. Students claim that a black Ambassador car drove along with the train — the railway track and the Aligarh-Delhi road run parallel for long stretches — upto Dadri station. No one cared to note down its registration number, but the car might well have been an IB vehicle engaged in routine surveillance. From Vair station the train started filling up. There was an altercation about seating which was amicably resolved but a few commuters disconnected the hose pipes of certain carriages. By the time the train got to Dadri, there were as many non-

AMU commuters as the students. Some AMU students claim that a lot of these passengers were students of a few Aligarh colleges which are affiliated not to AMU but to Agra University. These are Dharam Samaj, Bara Samaj, Government Inter and Tika Ram Women's college. There has been debate on this point.

If these colleges are affiliated to AMU, then the number of Hindu students in AMU will outnumber the Muslims, and the Muslims have been resisting the move to affiliate these colleges with AMU. A section of the AMU students who described themselves as "minority students of AMU", (meaning, they are Hindus) support this demand. Said a leader of these students to a Press conference on 15 May: "Once these are affiliated to the University (AMU), our numerical strength would be the same as of the majority students and we will be able to participate fully in the affairs of the University." It need scarcely be mentioned that once the minority character of AMU is restored, the question of such an affiliation will not arise.

However that may be, at Dadri, a rumour spread that some of the AMU boys had teased a young bride. A few students were detained on this account, but the train moved out of the station. It had travelled hardly a kilometre when it was stopped by chain-pulling at the outer signal.

While most of the AMU students remained in their coaches the other boys disembarked and were allegedly joined by at least a hundred men armed with canes and iron rods. A couple of them even carried firearms. They called out to the non-AMU passengers to get off lest they should be harmed, and tried to detach the bogies carrying the AMU boys. It was at this point that the belabouring of the AMU boys began. The assault continued for an hour. At least 70 boys were injured.

The train eventually started, and while the majority of the students, including those that were injured, proceeded to Delhi, some headed back to Aligarh. The woeful tales that they told in the campus and the accounts of the other boys who returned from the rally in the evening inflamed passions and by night the situation was tense. The next day (10 May) the students demanded withdrawal of the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) contingents posted on the campus after a roadways bus had been set on fire. In Aligarh, for that matter in the entire State of UP the PAC is a hated and mistrusted force. After much persuasion the district administration withdrew the PAC but only to the outskirts of the campus.

The students say that throughout the day they were continually provoked by the PAC men. Around half past seven some students attacked the hydel inspection bungalow in the campus, where a wedding was on, but not much damage was caused. At eight, the hostel sirens were sounded which brought the boys rushing out,

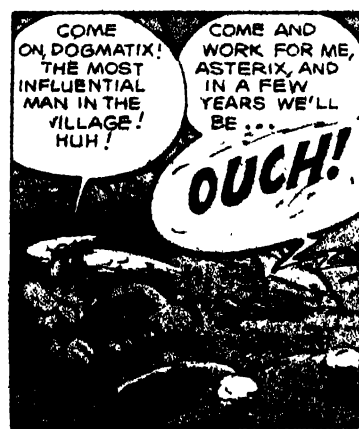
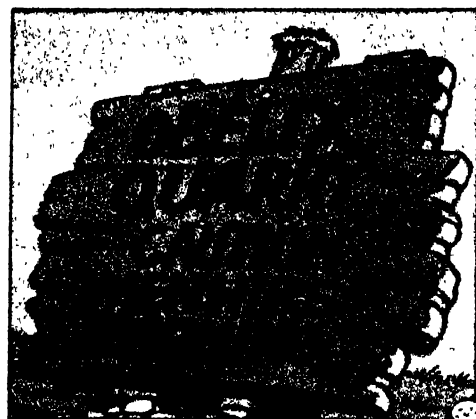
and soon they were battling the police at the Shamshad market on the main thoroughfare of the campus. Barricades were made of stacks of furniture and set on fire, the radio colony was attacked, 31 shops, mostly belonging to Hindus, were set on fire in the Shamshad and Zakaria markets.

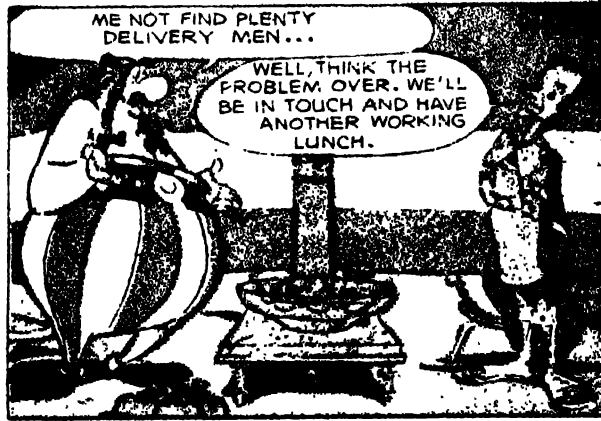
Even as the students were battling the police, as many as five persons — four of them Hindus — were killed on the campus near the Medical College. The orgy of violence continued till 11, when indefinite curfew was clamped on the city.

Those whom we met on the AMU campus were extremely apologetic about the behaviour of the boys. Prof. Rahman Ali Khan repeatedly said, "I don't hold any brief for these silly boys". The boys, they said, were mostly Pre-University and First Year and being relatively immature got carried away by mob fury and in the process the proud record of AMU as a citadel of communal harmony was tarnished. Said a senior faculty member: "Hamari ankhein sharam se jhuk jatin hain ... hamara sab kuch kho gaya" (we are ashamed of ourselves; all that we were proud of is lost). Fazlur Bari, the Muslim Majlis MLA suggested that the University community should itself raise funds to compensate for the losses suffered by the Hindu shopkeepers of Shamshad and Zakaria markets.

The faculty members we met were highly critical of the Vice-Chancellor Dr A. M. Khusró. He was roundly blamed for the present lawlessness of the students. The discipline for which AMU used to be famous faded away after this VC began to admit students and sometimes even appointed people at the instance of the student leaders. His sole aim has always been to gain cheap popularity with the students, they said. Moreover, they thought that he had needlessly acquiesced to the district authorities' advice that the University be closed and the hostel vacated. Aside of greatly inconveniencing the students, the loss in academic terms was immense considering that a lot of invaluable time was lost during last year's rioting. Even so, it cannot be disputed that by shutting the University and sending the boarders home the authorities totally defused the situation which might well have gone out of hand had the students been around after 12 May.

Chief Minister Banarsi Das, along with Piloo Modi, was made life member of the AMU students' union in 1972 (in the same year the memberships of Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Nurul Hasan were revoked). He has gone on record in the Rajya Sabha calling for the restoration of the minority character of AMU. He may not be very popular with Muslims today for dealing with the situation strictly, but at least he brought the situation under control. But can he ensure peace in Aligarh after July 2, when the University is scheduled to reopen?





POISONED CHOCOLATES. Tomatoes injected with chemicals. Acid poured into milk jugs. Wax figures with needles stuck into vital organs. Midnight rituals involving bloody sacrifices and nude women. An explosion destroying the bedroom wall of a Swiss legislator's villa. Dramatic revelations by a female witness—after falling in love with an investigating officer. These are only some of the ingredients in what has become Switzerland's most sensational case in decades—the Divine Light Centre scandal.

On trial at the penal court of the Swiss Federal Tribunal in Lausanne are the leader of the Divine Light Centre of Winterthur, the Secunderabad-born Swami Omkarananda, and five of his disciples. They have been charged with attempted murder and the violation of Swiss laws against the possession and use of explosives. But the accusations that have already come out at the trial (which began on Monday, April 24) go far beyond the formal charges. Whatever the ultimate verdict, the case of the Divine Light Centre, with its tales of witchcraft, poisoning and sex, will not easily be forgotten.

The story begins in 1966 when the Divine Light Centre was founded at the affluent residential township of Bruhlberg in the Swiss canton of Winterthur, not far from Zurich. It came as an early response to the Western need for spiritual succour from the Orient, and its statutory objective was "to engage in spiritual and religious work in favour of all suffering and unhappy people." To help attain that lofty end the centre established an institute "to synthesise the sciences," which devoted itself primarily to meditation. Under its spiritual leader, Swami Omkarananda, the centre rapidly acquired followers. The 10 to 15 members who helped found the centre in 1966 quickly swelled to over 80; on occasion, the centre had some 100 to 120 participants in its activities. As occurred elsewhere in the West, the sect's devotees manifested their disenchantment with material possessions by offering most of them to the centre. Money flowed, and the centre soon bought several other buildings in Bruhlberg as well as three more across the border at Stuhlingen in West Germany. All these they proceeded to paint blue—the colour of serenity and therefore of the order to the undisguised annoyance of their neighbours.

Before long, tensions developed between the inmates of the centre and the local inhabitants. No one is very precise about the reasons for this, but then no sect, not even the Krishna Consciousness group in Mayapore, has gained easy acceptance from its neighbours. The affluent and conservative citizens of Bruhlberg evidently resented seeing their neighbourhood being taken over by a free-spending set of un-Christian eccentrics. Nor, perhaps, did the members of the sect make a great effort to win over the community. Soon, complaints about the behaviour and habits of the devotees reached the police, who in turn sent a warning to the Swami threatening his expulsion from the country if his centre was the subject of any further complaints. The Swami responded by nominally surrendering the presidency of the Divine Light Association, but the situation continued to worsen. The centre's opponents in the area began to criticise the Swami and his followers in the Press and local legislature. The Swami responded with a campaign of his own: a flurry of legal actions (nearly 200 of them) against his detractors. All the cases failed. The Swami then decided to tackle his enemies more directly.

SO FAR IT HAD not been entirely clear who was more responsible for provoking the hostility—the centre or its neighbours. But from mid-1975 on, it was clearly the centre which took the offensive. Early in the autumn, it is alleged, the Swami's followers tried to cast a spell on their enemies by smearing their houses with blood and burying "magic objects"—crushed powders, fruits mashed with their roots and an assortment of similar concoctions—in their gardens. When these didn't work the centre searched for specialists in sorcery: experts from England, led by a magician with the exotic name of "Madame Zorn" arrived. A delegation was sent to India to look for astrologers and tantrics...this unearthed Marayana Baba, whose sordid rituals we shall describe later.

When magic failed to have the slightest impact on their opponents, the cultists allegedly turned to poisons. Cobra venom was obtained and put into hot drinks destined for their enemies; poisoned almond chocolates aimed at a neighbour's children were dropped into his garden. But the drinks and the chocolates

were not actually consumed by the intended victims. A centre disciple on a ladder squirted a large amount of anti-cholera and smallpox vaccine through an open window into the kitchen of State Councillor Jakob Stucki, an uncompromising critic. It didn't start an epidemic. Acid was injected into a tomato left on a window-sill. The victim tasted it, thought it had gone bad, spat it out and rinsed her mouth—inadvertently saving her own life. Door-handles and bells were treated with an ointment designed to burn the hands of the householders touching them; acid was poured into a jug of milk. Wives of Swiss officials looking into the centre's affairs received visits from "beauticians" who tried to splash corrosive liquids on their faces. No serious damage was, however, done in any of these situations.

Matters finally came to a head on the night of October 7-8, 1975, when Divine Light disciples deposited cases of explosives on the approaches to the homes of Councillor Stucki and another leading opponent, their neighbours' lawyer, Mr Willy Hauser. The cases contained homemade shrapnel bombs. Only one of them exploded, near (the Stucki villa.) It tore a hole in the bedroom wall—adjoining, as the outraged prosecution stressed, the "Conjugal bed"—but though the damage was estimated at 40,000 Swiss Francs (nearly Rs 2 lakhs) no one was hurt. The police didn't have a long list of suspects. They raided the offices of the Divine Light Centre and unearthed enormous quantities of chemical products and poisons; wax voodoo dolls of Divine Light's opponents with needles stuck into eyes, hearts and other organs; ten kilos of the lethal combat gas Phosgene; several types of munitions; and an arsenal of firearms, some stolen. A cellar on the premises had evidently been used for target practice. Several Divine Light members were arrested on the spot. After further investigation, the police concluded that Swami Omkarananda had participated actively in the planning of the bomb attack. He was taken into custody on the night of July 9, 1976 and has been in preventive detention since.

That put an end to the incidents, but another drama was yet to unfold. This was the courtroom trial in Lausanne, presided over by veteran Federal Judge Adolf Leuchinger (and still in progress at the time of writing). The five accused of participating in the crimes have eight lawyers between them. Two of the defendants—both women have turned State's evidence and become bitterly hostile to the Swami. One of them, Verena Plein-Schob (29), is a slim and frizzy Swiss in large glasses who, since her arrest, has left

SEX AND CHICKEN BLEND



the order and is now married and a mother of a 14-month-old baby. The other, Katherine Bingham (also 29) is a tall, red-haired Australian nurse who provided the trial with its first sensation by falling in love with the policeman who was interrogating her—and then deserting her Divine Light comrades.

The male defendants are still loyal to their Swami, in varying degrees. Johannes Scheben and Theodore Diem (both 20) are German youths who were barely 16 when they allegedly committed the crimes they are accused of. They now deny the ladies' accusations, though they had earlier admitted to most of the offences. Joseph Melchtry (35), a lanky radio-electrician and chauffeur with prominent eyebrows, who allegedly designed the home-made bombs, protests his innocence and disclaims any knowledge of what others may have been up to. A sixth accused, a young Frenchwoman named Martine Hochedez has disappeared and, despite the efforts of the Swiss police is still underground.

The Swami himself—a swarthy, somewhat overweight, slick-haired Andhraite in his fifties—is trying to keep his distance from all his co-defendants. Whatever they may or may not have done in his name, he declares, he was not responsible for any of it. The Divine Light, to him is represented only among the

crowds of his devotees in the public galleries, not by the accused. On his first appearance in court, noted journalist Jean Ryniker of the *Tribune de Genève*, "he acted perfectly the role of a man who does not know why he is there."

THE TRIAL ITSELF has been an extraordinary affair. On the morning of Monday, April 24, devotees of the Swami crowded outside the doors of the Mon Repos palace in Lausanne well before the hearings opened. Many were denied entrance by the guards who crowded the entranceways. According to the peons on duty, never have similar precautions been taken in the history of the Federal Tribunal—not even during the celebrated trials of the Jura rebels. One loose count of the gendarmes milling around at the bottom of the grand stairs in the front of the court hall. As you enter, civil police in dapper grey-green uniforms minutely check your possessions—including the contents of ladies' handbags. Visitors then pass through a metal-de-

A crowd at the gates of the Federal Tribunal



Alain Gasparini

DOD The Scandal of the Swiss Swami

SHASHI THAROOD reports from Geneva

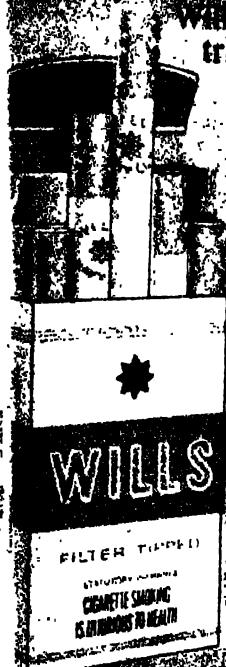
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tection device: the authorities are taking no chances. The galleries overlooking the court are fronted by bullet-proof glass to discourage spectators who might still have hoped to disrupt the proceedings.

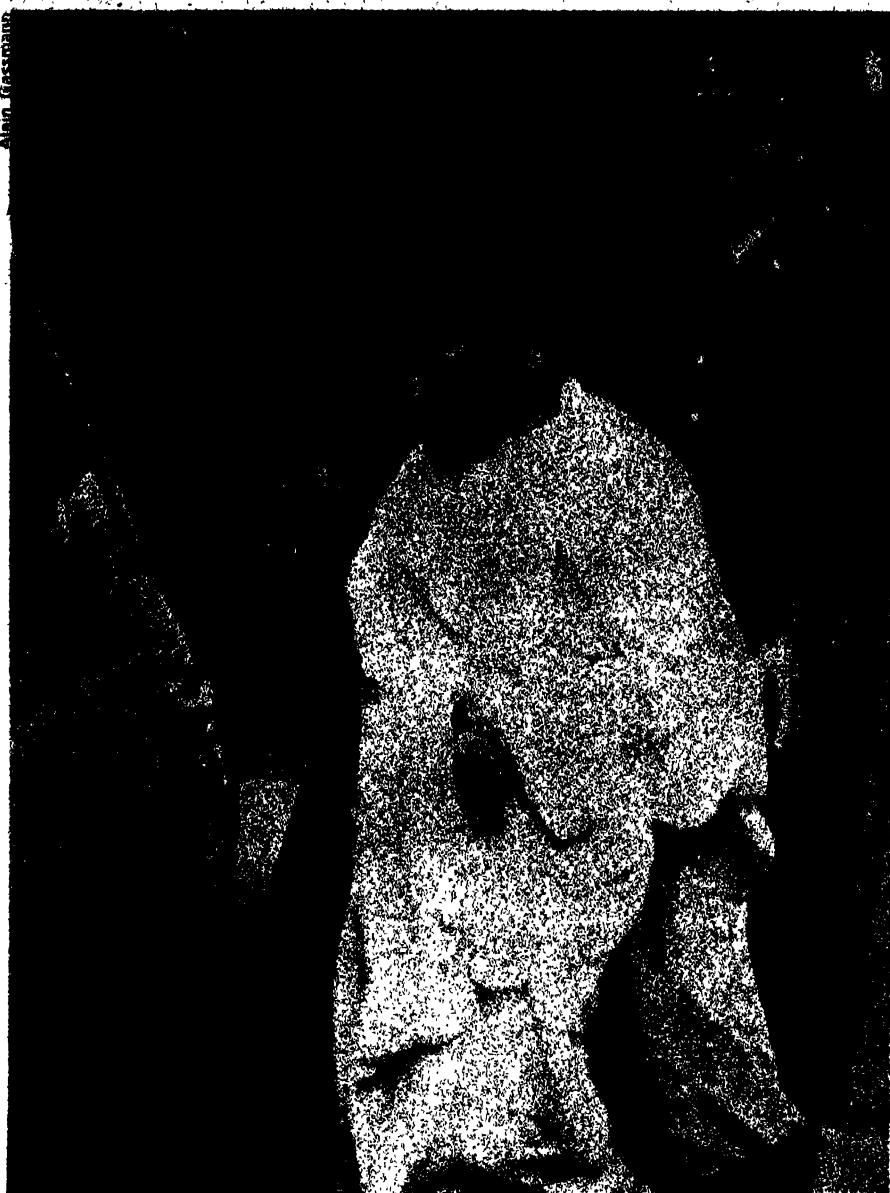
The three men, Scheben, Diem and Meichtry, are separated from their female Judases—Verena and Kathy—by a sturdy policeman. The atmosphere is tense. Suddenly, a current seems to pass through the spectators in the gallery. For Swami Omkarananda, clad in the saffron robes of his calling, a martyred smile rising to his black-rimmed spectacles, makes a grand entry, sending his devotees among the spectators into raptures. Unmindful of his predicament, the Swami scatters benedictions to the masses with outstretched hands.

The proceedings are in German; the Swami only understands English, and needs an interpreter. He is unmoved by the list of charges read out against him. "I am the sufferer!" he protests in a raised voice against the conditions of his Bois-Mermet prison in Lausanne. He wants his customary vegetarian food instead of the Swiss mush he is served, and an electric heater to boil the water he drinks. He is only promised boiled water for tea. He complains he is denied writing material, the right to take files into his cell, and "last but not least," personal contact with the President of the Court. The presiding officer is not moved. "I am an ascetic," the Swami declares. "I can suffer. But I think of the others."

Initial protests apart, the Swami responds calmly, in a guttural voice, to the questions posed him. He was only a sage living in a monastery in India with no international ambitions. He was invited to Switzerland and made President of Divine Light against his will. He prefers meditation and scientific research to administration and power. Life at the centre was innocent: the members of the cult only wished to write books, meditate and bring happiness to others, yet this was made impossible by the hostility of their neighbours. "What I wanted was to be inspired by the life of Christ and to propagate truth, purity and love." "There has not been very much love in what you have done," remarks Judge Leuchinger sceptically.

The Swami is not perturbed. He is being victimised. "The political Parties wanted to make the centre into a local problem to serve their own ends. The Press is implacably opposed to us. I came to Switzerland to serve the unfortunate." How could his teachings be reconciled with some of the actions of his followers? "Love has its limits," the Swami concedes.

One of the angles which most interests the Swiss is the alleged association with the centre of three leading individuals—a former Federal Councillor (one of the seven ministers who form the collective Swiss executive), Mr Nello Celio; a leading banker, Mr Emmanuel Meier;



Swami Omkarananda

and a prominent local politician, Mr Etienne Junod. Asked about them, the Swami replies disingenuously, "everybody can come to the centre: politicians, madmen, unhappy people." He raises his hands: "I consider you all members of the Divine Light Centre!" But, he adds, "let's not drag personalities into this affair." For the record, Mr Celio has denied having frequented the centre or supported it financially. So has Mr Junod, who in some accounts even spent nights at the centre translating texts. But though they are not on trial, their reputations have undoubtedly been tarnished by the scandal. Verena Plein-Schob, the disillusioned disciple, claims her high opinion of the Swami was bolstered by the presence of such distinguished people at the centre.

Verena's testimony has been the most explosive. She joined the centre in her late teens a decade ago, at the suggestion of her parents. After initial hesitation, she says, she subjugated herself totally to the

Swami. "I lived only for him. He was everything for me." It made the contradictory demands of life at the centre easier to bear: she was asked "to meditate in the morning in an atmosphere of high spirituality and then to write in the afternoon indescribable letters to the neighbours." During the "magic phase" of the centre's campaign against its enemies, she spent six months at the Swami's expense searching for a man who could kill through sorcery. Then the centre found the mysterious Marayana Baba.

Verena's description of the Baba's black magic is bloodcurdling. He travelled in an empty caravan with white walls and flowing water (to efface the traces of his rites). At midnight the caravan was rolled to a river-bank. Amid loud incantations, accompanied by cabalistic signs, the Baba sacrificed a chicken by slashing its throat. In its death throes the chicken's blood splashed onto the nude body of the officiating woman devotee. As chants



Verena Plein-Schob (with glasses) with her husband.

rose around her, she then proceeded to manually masturbate the Baba into a skull stolen from a neighbouring cemetery. The first time Verena was selected for the task, she was also raped; when she was bold enough to ask the Swami later whether that was really necessary, he was allegedly furious. Several other rites were also practised, using sombre-coloured flowers and bitter fruit to wish death to enemies, or sometimes bright flowers and sweet fruit to invoke success upon the Divine Light's enterprises.

The Swami is appalled by Verena's story. He finds it's "shocking" that the tribunal permits such filth to be aired in public, and refuses to answer questions on it. "There is no sex at the centre." As for black magic, "I know no magic stronger than love." Healers, he says, were among the numerous visitors to the centre, but not sorcerers; "only neurotics and women need magic." All the other accused also deny having participated in such rituals, with one significant exception—the other woman, Kathy Bingham.

KATHY, FORTIFIED by her love for a policeman, is an impressive witness, not so much because of what she says as because of her own condition. She had believed that whatever the Swami said or did came from god, and

she had let him rule the smallest details of her personal life. Her psychological dependence on the Swami was so great that the loss of

contact with the centre after her arrest proved a traumatic experience, comparable to that of a drug addict made to go 'cold turkey'. To this day, her lawyer says, she has not recovered her internal equilibrium and still needs psychiatric treatment. It is a sobering testimony to the power of a cult leader to destroy the spark of individuality in his followers.

The Swami, however, insists that all the offences were initiated by the two girls and the missing Martine; he ordered nothing. Verena disagrees. "The Swami was the spirit and motor of the centre... I used to obey totally the divine voice of the Swami, without thinking," she says. "It was he who said 'destroy the enemies'. That meant, kill them." The Swami, she adds, consistently demanded "results".

The Swami offers a different interpretation. "I wanted to destroy animosity and hatred without hurting anyone; this concerned primarily destroying the evil within us. I used legal means, and appeals to reason. This was what I meant when I demanded results." That would suggest that Verena and Kathy took it upon themselves to extend the scope and nature of his instructions. The police have, however, produced in evidence notes by the Swami to his followers which appear to inculcate him.

Kathy's testimony clearly implicates all the other accused. For instance, in one attempt against a Zurich printer, Meichtry drove the car, Scheben and Diem tried to get the printer involved in a conversation, Verena approached him and Kathy slipped a poisoned chocolate into his mouth. (In keeping with the group's dismal success record, he didn't swallow it.)

There are contradictions and gaps in everyone's testimony. For example, Johannes Scheben, who was

accused of coating doorknobs with a dangerous chemical, first said he did it out of his own free will without the Swami's knowledge; then claimed he didn't remember the incident too well; then denied it ever happened. Scheben and Diem first tried to blame Meichtry, now say he's innocent too. Verena and Kathy blame the Swami, the others try to protect him. The Swami insists inconsistently on his innocence, and asserts the Centre's spiritual purity while disowning his devotees' crimes.

The Court frequently seems openly disbelieving. Judge Leuchinger's interventions have been sharply critical of the Swami on several occasions. The other men have fared no better. When Scheben, retracting his earlier statements, claimed that the police and the judicial authorities had forced him to confess, the judge warned him, "Now you're going too far." When Meichtry offered a farfetched rationalisation for the documents (such as sketches of bombs) compromising him, the judge burst into disbelieving laughter. The Swami is obviously none too happy. The defence has interrupted the trial several times, on both procedural and substantive grounds. The Swami has sought to have the president of the tribunal removed from office, theological experts brought in to explain his attitudes, the trial closed to the public, and a lie-detecting polygraph installed. All the requests were rejected (the judge explained that lie-detectors were not in use in Switzerland). The Swami then declared: "Then it is truth that is on trial."

Perhaps it is: the truth of the witnesses, the truth of the Swami's message of divine serenity, the truth of the strange power of religious and pseudo-spiritual Indian cults over the minds of impressionable Westerners. There is, however, one disturbing aspect to what in every other respect seems a straightforward criminal trial—and that is the barely restrained religious xenophobia animating both prosecution witnesses and Press coverage. Much is made of the Swami's claim to be "inspired by the life of Christ." Verena is prominently quoted as saying that the Swami "told us he was like Christ and that we had to ensure Christ wasn't recrucified." The Press has taken pleasure in showing the Swami's alleged identification with Christianity to be spurious. Verena "reproaches herself" that "the Swami has remained a Hindu; he only speaks of Christianity to attract people and escape taxes." Geneva's leading afternoon newspaper declares proudly that Verena "has turned anew to the Christian light. She is no longer dazzled by the pink Swami and his blue entourage." The final repercussion of the Divine Light Centre scandal may yet be in a widespread rejection not just of cults, but of the legitimacy of non-Christian spirituality in the West. It is a sad truth of history that aberrations are rarely condemned in themselves.

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Urs : Charan Singh sees eye to eye with me

MR Devraj Urs, the Chief Minister of Karnataka, is a significant figure in our national politics today. His ability to shape events stretches far beyond the borders of the State which he has been shepherding since 1971 and which now has the third highest level of per capita income in the country. Mr Urs who is a farmer by trade and an unexceptional graduate from Mysore University, is also one of the most widely read politicians in the country today. He combines an urbane lifestyle with a firm practical attitude in matters of administration and politics that perhaps only a tiller of the soil can possess. He is credited with an equally high degree of political shrewdness. He has been a member of the Mysore legislature since its inception in 1956, but languished in the back-ground for a long while. He became a Minister only in 1962, with unimportant portfolios. Messrs Nijalingappa and Veerendra Patil who held sway over the affairs of Karnataka from 1956 to 1972 totally ignored him. His fortunes changed in 1969, when he took the crucial decision to

side with Mrs Gandhi as the Congress split. He came to power in the 1972 Assembly elections.

It is a tribute to his political sagacity that he has rendered almost totally ineffective the previously dominant Lingayat caste whose leaders in the persons of Veerendra Patil and Nijalingappa kept him down. He has developed considerable support among the backward classes and Muslims. The resemblance between him and Mrs Gandhi, who is even now his leader, is striking. They have the same shrewdness, populist flair, administrative talent, and power to destroy their political opponents. But the keen point of speculation today is that the spirits which are kindred in such large measure may soon come to a parting of ways.

Indeed the straws are all there. First Mrs Gandhi made it known that she did not like his meddling in Andhra politics. Was he having ambitions of turning into a regional if not a national leader? Then came Mr Urs' statement that the misunderstandings had been removed and differences patched up. Note, not that there were

no differences at all in the first place. This was followed by speculation that he would not attend the Delhi AICC (1) meeting on April 21-22 unless the moribund moves for the unity of the two Congresses were seen to be getting somewhere. He did go, but at the AICC (1) meeting he made the now historic references to the unmentionable—to Sanjay Gandhi's role; and in what a deft way!—"Which son does not make a mistake?" The next day he was conspicuously absent from the session until late in the afternoon. Mrs Gandhi, then, in her closing remarks ridiculed the idea of the third force and gave credence to those speculations which asserted that she considered it a real danger, particularly in the context of Mr Urs' "independent" line. Subsequently Mr Urs expressed himself against violence during demonstrations on the Special Courts Bill. This has been underlined by the Karnataka PCC (1) decision to send to Delhi for the May 16 demonstration only a contingent of Party workers.

SUBIR ROY interviewed Mr Urs on May 5.

Q: There is a lot of speculation that you will play a bigger role in national politics. Where do you see yourself in the next few months?

A: I do not think that my work in Karnataka is finished yet. There is still a lot to be done in the spheres of both the structure and growth of the State's economy. You must perceive the true dimensions of the problem we have inherited in Karnataka. Nearly half the present State formerly belonged to what were neighbouring States of the old princely State of Mysore. The burdens of development are enormous.

Q: But Karnataka now has the third highest level of per capita income among all the States. So a lot has already been done.

A: But what is really important is social justice. It is not enough to have a high growth rate. Intimately linked with the goal of social justice is the problem of distribution. The people from the bottom must come up.

Q: That is also the problem of the whole country, is it not?

A: Yes, proper distribution of income is the need of the whole country. Complete inequality is of course impossible. They do not have total equality even in Russia. But the sort

of glaring inequality that we have is unnatural. Take the poor in Coorg on the one side and organised labour (in industry around Bangalore) on the other.

Q: Then we have the small farmer.

A: Yes, consider the problems of the small farmer. He has to be supplied with all the inputs: seeds, fertiliser, pesticides etc. without which he is not much better off for having some land. Take this ring I have. The ruby is set in gold. The gold is essential for the ruby to radiate its lustre. Without the gold base the ruby is nothing. Without a whole range of assistance the small farmer is nothing.

Q: What then would be right on top of your priority list?

A: The first priority is land reforms. Even today 80 per cent of the population lives in the villages. In that sense, in all these years the structural change in the Indian economy has been negligible. In the advanced countries the population on land has gone down to six per cent. Of course, I would also not like holdings to go down beyond a certain minimum size to avoid fragmentation. (If we do not have reforms) there will be no hope. These things have been working in my mind for a long

time. It is only recently that academicians have been expressing similar views. You see, I am a villager.

Q: What concrete measures have you taken towards these objectives?

A: Well, we have laid great emphasis on debt liquidation (recently the limit was doubled), and on small and marginal farmers' development. Also, we have gone all out to complete minor irrigation projects. They are very important for a State like Karnataka, which is dotted with little reservoirs. And (we have worked on) major irrigation.

Q: Yes, you hold that portfolio, in fact quite a few important ones.

A: I know. I am going to expand the Cabinet a little.

Q: Do these priorities apply to the whole country?

A: Yes, they are applicable to the whole country. That is what I have been saying.

Q: You are credited with some administrative expertise. How about implementing in the whole country what you believe in?

A: How you do things is very important. Our success in doing something for the backward castes has found imitators: for example, in Bihar. But Karpoori did not know how to copy. These things must be

handled scientifically and dextrously. Handling the backward classes problem is a very complicated thing. There must be a proper understanding of both class and caste and how to combine them. In India class and caste are often synonymous, but if you understand one and ignore the other there will be problems.

Q: You have effectively managed to pit the courts against the backward castes and pleaded helplessness vis-à-vis the courts (viz. the recent High Court order striking down some of the provisions of the Karnataka job reservation schemes).

A: (Smiles) The courts have not challenged the basic premise. They have merely struck off certain castes. The methodology I employed, in identifying the castes and determining the quota...I can tell you I will increase the overall reservation quota to 58 per cent.

Q: Where did Mr Karpoori Thakur go wrong?

A: I will outline to you a very basic theory I believe in. In India two things are important for any administration: a) the texture of the legislature and b) the complexion of the administration. The legislature, in its composition, should faithfully reflect society from top to bottom. There should be a predominance of the middle and lower castes. No particular caste should be allowed to dominate. Nor should the landlords or the professionals dominate. This applies to religion also. If the legislature is thus composed then only can the programme and the enabling legislation be put through. The same holds good for the administration. If a particular caste dominates the administration then programmes aimed at improving the condition of the backward castes will not be properly implemented.

Q: You have destroyed the hold of the Lingayats in Karnataka politics.

A: In the process of reducing the hold of the Lingayats, I have not harmed them.

Q: Other than the legislature and administration faithfully reflecting the class/caste composition of society there could be another way: people with education declassing or decasting themselves.

A: I don't accept that theory at all. You come from Bengal. Maybe it has happened there a little. But my experience is that with education casteism often becomes more entrenched. Look at the caste politics going on in the universities. Ultimately when self-interest is involved (caste) predominates. A faithful representation of society is so important: In Bihar only the kayasthas and the bhumihars dominate.

Q: You have outlined a policy prescription for the nation fairly elaborately. Who, among the people at the Centre, do you think sees eye to eye with you?

A: The Finance Minister (Mr. Charan Singh) sees eye to eye with me.

Q: What are you doing about it?

A: It (the Janata) is not simply



the Finance Minister's Party. What about the Socialists? Can the Socialists and the BLD really work together?

Q: Could you elaborate?

A: Well, the two groups have really very different power bases. The Socialists with their trade union links have their following among urban, organised industrial labour. Whereas the BLD has its roots in the rural sector, among the small and medium farmers and backward castes. Eventually the two will find each other on opposite sides in an urban-rural conflict. A railway strike and land reforms do not, I think, go together.

Q: How then do you see national politics sorting itself out after the present Janata phase?

A: For me it is still a question for which I have not been able to find an answer.

Q: Then turning back to your own Party, do you think it will be able to implement all that you have just referred to?

A: My own Party has talked about these things, but has failed in some respects.

Q: Like?

A: Land reforms. What has been its record in this? Also, what has it done for backward classes? I took up their cause a long time ago. Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka have been two States where AICC policies have been implemented with a measure of success. But see what happened in Andhra. Mr Narasimha Rao had his fall because he tried to seriously implement land reforms.

Q: To come back to the Janata...

A: You see, Janata affairs are complicated. Any change will displease one section or the other. There is hardly any cohesive Government in Delhi. Everyone keeps talking as he pleases. The only thing that seems to be holding them together is the fear of Indira Gandhi.

Q: What have you done within your own Party to try and give the nation an alternative?

A: (With a resigned look) I tried to make the two Congresses come

together. My views are not new...

Q: If you have failed within your Party and Janata has failed the nation what is holding you back?

A: Nobody is aware of the difficulties of going to the Centre. I don't jump from position to position. My whole approach is different. The importance of a man lies in what issues he promotes and causes he defends. JP never held any official position. But was he not known around the country? Maybe those whom he put in power have failed him and disowned him. But his influence cannot be discounted.

Q: What is really holding you back?

A: I must have timing. I have a Party. I have a leader. I must try to bring them around. Or a new Party must be created. But not a heterogeneous, amorphous organisation. JP tried to bring all manner of people together. In my view JP today is a very unhappy man. The organisation he tried to build is crumbling. You see, unless we are sure of the people as well as our objectives and unless people with the same temperament and objectives come together the Party will collapse. Some unanimity on basic issues is essential. Otherwise no progress can be made. A leader must be a man who can observe, theorise, collect men and put things into practice. I don't want to be just one more person at the Centre and add to the chaos. When JP toured Karnataka in 1975 people were worried. Bihar and Gujarat had fallen just before. But I knew my strength and following. I didn't panic. I made every arrangement for him so that he could move around and hold his meetings. Before he left JP paid glowing tributes in public to the police and the authorities for their cooperation.

Q: You have expressed yourself against violence in demonstrations in Delhi against the Special Courts Bill.

A: (He keeps quiet.)

Q: While you are thinking, Jamshedpurs are taking place...

A: Jamshedpur must not be repeated.

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FLY IA, AND SEE THE RALLY

WHEN Chaudhary Charan Singh holds one of the biggest rallies ever witnessed in the capital in the post-independence era the newspapers pour scorn on it and underplay its import and size. The second largest chain of newspapers in the country makes derisive comments about the kisan rally by observing: The kisans did not know why they were there; several kisans said that they had come to see Mrs Indira Gandhi. Now Mrs Gandhi's anti-Special Courts Bill rally became something very special for the same *Times* newspapermen. The local reporters were despatched in such numbers as if the entire town had turned up to hear the grand old lady of the Emergency. The chief reporter of the paper is always on hand on such occasions to add his bit; he is the same "minor reporter" who Mr Ram Nath Goenka alleges, was being forced on him as editor-in-chief for the *Indian Express* group during the Emergency. The chain's economic paper forgot just for a day that it was not a political paper and gave two pictures of the "massive" rally.

The display given by the Delhi Press generally was more than the low-key 30,000-strong rally deserved. The Birlas' *Hindi Hindustan*, which is being edited by a



Mrs Gandhi in the May 16 rally: a flop?

Congress (I) activist, made it the lead story and gave three other side stories. *Navbharat*, the Hindi paper of the Bennet Coleman group, was not far behind. They reported with alacrity the excuse

Mrs Gandhi gave for the poor turn-out: because many flights had been cancelled by the Government; Was she expecting millions to come by Indian Airlines flights to listen to her socialist speech?

CM'S MESSAGE NOT WANTED.

THAT there is a rift in almost every political Party in the country goes without saying, but the cleavage in the Akali Dal, now ruling Punjab, has spread to the grassroot levels, which, in the Akali context, means upto the last Gurdwara in the State. And how petty the warring factions can get was revealed the other day when an Akali member of the Lok Sabha sponsored a full-page supplement on Guru Ram Das in the *Indian Express* on May 11. The Chief Minister, Mr Parkash Singh Badal, sent a message to the *Indian Express* for the supplement. The newspaper, not knowing the intra-Party rivalries duly composed the CM's message but had to drop it at the last minute. The reason: Mr Talwandi, the sponsor of the

supplement, said that if the Chief Minister's message went in the supplement he would not pay a paisa for it.

NOT EVEN THUMB IMPRESSION

THE father, they say, never puts his signature on anything incriminating. But the son, apparently does. And becomes the fall guy of the newspaper tycoon, Mr Ram Nath Goenka. Mr Goenka's son, Bhagwan Das, was convicted and sentenced to one year's imprisonment by a Madras court and the group of newspapers had such influence that it managed to keep the news a secret for at least three days. Now both the Goenkas are furious and want to know how the information leaked to the agencies. Mr Goenka's own publications of course 'spiked' the item.

IF THIS IS AUSTERITY ...

WHEN the Janata Government is swearing by austerity and its Ministers have cut down their monthly petrol quota from 900 litres to 750 litres, the Minister for Works and Housing, Mr Sikander Bakht, has sanctioned Rs 40,000 for the renovation of the house of a deputy secretary in the Delhi Administration. Maybe the sanction for the Ashoka Road house was hustled through by senior bureaucrats who are still beholden to the ICS-turned Governor father of the lady who is the occupant of the house. Meanwhile, some rules in the personnel department of the Home Ministry are being relaxed so that the lady's husband can join her in New Delhi. He is at present posted in Bihar.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

Andhra—the cyclone State

There may be another devastation in October



STARVING, emaciated poultry farmers stood by the roadside selling their birds at the ridiculously low price of Re. 1 each. In normal times, you just cannot buy chicken for anything less than Rs. 12 per bird. Scattered around them were thousands of rotting birds, swollen carcasses of animals, stinking, rotting tobacco leaves and banana plants. Vehicles going out of Nellore carried huge quantities of bananas, again sold at dirt cheap prices. Dogs feasted on dead animals, but there weren't too many dogs; so the overpowering stench of putrid flesh continued days after the cyclonic storm, described as the freak cyclone of the century, hit the Andhra Pradesh districts of Nellore, Prakasam, Guntur and East Godavari on May 12. The Andhra Chief Minister, Dr Channa Reddy, believes that at least 500 people have died. Relief agencies believe the figure is not less than 1,500. A million people have been rendered homeless. Paddy and dry crops spread across 60,000 acres have been totally destroyed.

Relief operations were often delayed because of traffic jams caused

by trucks. The north-south traffic along the east coast was totally snarled up even a week after the cyclone hit the coastal areas. Thousands of lorries crawled through the badly damaged national highway; there were also dozens of buses, conveying pilgrims from Tirupati to Hyderabad, Bangalore and Madras, adding chaos to the existing traffic paralysis.

Heavy damage to the Guntur-Vijayawada track had disrupted railway traffic too. There was an all-round shortage of labour as the local people were busy attending to their shattered huts. Gangmen were brought from Orissa to remove the obstruction, of trees fallen across tracks. They bitterly complained of the meagre rations that left them too weak for the strenuous work before them.

The rescue and relief organisations seemed to have learnt something useful from the 1977 catastrophe when the inept handling of the situation by the authorities concerned caused thousands of avoidable deaths. This time not only were the Army and the Air Force put on

alert, local bodies like the Revenue Board were also asked to help. Yet, five days after the cyclone had passed through, many destitute villagers kept asking where the food packets were. So tardy was relief work, in getting off the ground.

On the other hand Mr Narasimha Rao, a lawyer who gave asylum to more than 150 people in his porch, decried the fatalistic attitude among them. "When will these people learn to help themselves? They were warned in clear terms and the police and relief authorities offered them alternative accommodation. Yet they refused to move out of their huts, till some arm-twisting was done." Said one of the slum-dwellers: "We feared we just didn't have a chance. Yet we hoped we would be spared, by some miracle. We were scared that even our meagre possessions would be stolen."

It could have been worse. The Begumpet Meteorological Office had expected the cyclone to hit with much greater severity. Dr V. Venkateswarlu, the meteorologist, believed that there existed a greater possibility of cyclones hitting the coastal

districts in Andhra between October and December. He pointed out that only one "freak" cyclone had hit Nellore in May in the past 85 years. The Government has to be prepared for the possibilities of another cyclone in October this year, he added.

"The wounds of the '77 cyclone are yet to be healed and now we have one more," observed a local teacher in Nellore. Though the number of people dead this time is small compared to the deaths in '77, the damage caused to crops, properties and the Machilipatnam harbour is far more extensive than that in '77. That year, after much bargaining, the Andhra Government received nearly Rs. 75 crores from the Centre as plan advance and material gifts to rehabilitate the cyclone victims. This time the Andhra Government is going to ask for more. Fortunately, this time the Centre and the State Governments have not accused each other of neglecting the relief and rehabilitation work.

COASTAL towns in Tamil Nadu too were affected. A dozen fishermen lost their lives and 250 km away from the coast, at the top of Velliangiri hill near Coimbatore, ten pilgrims who had visited a cave temple on the Chitra Pournami day were frozen to death. During the early hours of the morning they were hit by an unexpected hailstorm. Luck favoured 40 other pilgrims returning from a forest temple in Kurnool. Andhra, thanks to the prompt rescue by nearby villagers. Exposed to a heavy downpour and powerful winds, the pilgrims, mostly elderly people, became unconscious. When news reached Rangapuram village, the headman took a few carts to the spot, put the pilgrims into the carts and brought all of them over to his village, including two pregnant women.

And a marriage which was to be solemnised before Lord Venkateswara at Tirupati had to be performed in a tobacco godown at Tanguturu as the couple didn't want it to be postponed. The bride sensing greater danger and possible threats to the lives of those present wanted her wedding to be over before anything tragic happened. The roof of the godown came down and hurt her nose. Which made her more anxious to have the wedding ceremony speeded up. The marriage eventually took place before a decrepit picture of Lord Venkateswara hanging on the walls of the manager's room.

Once again charitable organisations and relief outfits lost no time in launching schemes to rehabilitate the cyclone victims. And once again, it was a grand time for the unscrupulous men to indulge in blatant skulduggery. Pilfering had begun the same day. Consignments of tinned food, milk powder and medicine arrived from Madras. This has made the victims quite cynical. Often social workers have been jeered at. Even the Chief Minister, Dr Channa Reddy, wasn't spared. "You come

A. Subhas Babu



After the cyclone: STC's tobacco godown in Thoyagunta in Nellore district (above); a flooded hamlet (below)



here only when votes are required,' some villagers near Manukar taunted him. He didn't need their votes just then, the Chief Minister snapped back: he was going around to implement the rehabilitation programmes.

Christian and Hindu charity outfits have set up dozens of rehabilitation centres. The Tirupati Devasthanam has sanctioned Rs. 30 lakhs to the Ramakrishna Mission. The Christian organisations are a bit wary this time: some of them have been told by their superiors not to make an exhibition of their religion. One of the Christian social workers said: "Most of the Christian organisations involved in this work are not interested in conversion. But some are and this is what gives us a bad name. During the 1977 cyclone,

these people went around converting hundreds of people as soon as they were given new clothes and huts."

The quick succession with which cyclones have been hitting the coastal Andhra district has made the State Government evolve a programme to have a 200-metre belt of Casuarina plantations along the entire Andhra coast from Tada in Nellore district to Srikakulam. If there is any private land abutting the seashore, the owners should be compelled, if necessary by legislation, to grow casuarina trees and even fishermen's colonies should be asked to comply with this 200-metre belt plan, Dr Channa Reddy has said.

J. M. MENEZES, Nellore

The arrival of a grocer's daughter

A reactionary (British) electorate has chosen its leader

ONE of the political consequences of Britain's irreversible economic and social decline has been the arrival of Mrs Thatcher in Downing Street. A conservative society with little to conserve except its illusion, its prejudices, its chauvinism as a nation and its pretensions to greatness, has made a highly appropriate choice in the circumstances. Or, as Mrs Thatcher abrasively put it in the election campaign, "if I am a reactionary, so are the vast majority of the British people." She is, and they are. They cheered her to the echo; and Margaret Hilda Thatcher, the grocer's daughter and wife of an oil company executive, is in power—or at least in office, which is of course a different matter.

Not that the British people (we could argue) had all that much of a choice before them. After all, two of the most conservative Parties in Western Europe were competing for their votes: the Conservative Party, and perhaps even the more conservative Labour Party. And if we added to this alternative the conservative Liberals, the conservative Nationalists and the conservative Communists, to say nothing of the ultra-conservative Nazis of the National Front—all of whom lost ground in the election—this would be a political spectrum not of red, white and blue, but of differing shades of fading grey; the grey not of a political dawn, but—for Britain—of a profound twilight.

But there is more to be said about the election than this. To begin with, the uniquely low level of political debate in this election and of participation in that debate, and the even lower level of its coverage by most of the media, were themselves distinctions of an unusual kind. As for the gutter Press, which has no counterpart for its shoddiness and triviality anywhere, and is almost exclusively pro-Tory, it reached new depths of partisan lying to add to its normal daily diet of 'soft' pornography, violent sensation, and Mickey Mouse economics. Indeed so right-wing has the centre of political gravity in Britain become that both Press and politicians have been arguing—and none more stridently than Margaret Thatcher—that the Labour Party has been taken over by Marxists. This is of course the paranoia which has always been one of the most obvious symptoms of social crisis; as is also that familiar and intensifying search for scapegoats, which in the coming period of Tory rule can be expected increasingly to threaten the freedoms and safeties of the racial minorities, trade unionists,



Mrs Thatcher: dawn or twilight?

and all those imagined reds under the beds—described by Mrs Thatcher as 'wreckers'—who are said to be preparing to take over Britain.

The truth is quite different, and as always much more important. It is that a large proportion of the working class—including at least half of all Britain's 12 million trade unionists—have once again, but in greater numbers than ever before, voted for the Tories. But that is not all. For these millions have also voted in droves for a Party promising a fierce attack on the rights of the unions. They have voted (knowingly) for the unleashing of free market forces from the constraints of State intervention. They have voted for the slashing of expenditure on the social services provided by the public sector; and (unknowingly) for a redistribution of wealth, through promised changes in the tax system, from the poorer to the richer. In other words, it is not merely the frightened suburban petit bourgeoisie, for whose interests Mrs Thatcher—the grocer's daughter—is above all the spokeswoman, but sections of Marx's supposedly proletarian vanguard who have put the most right-wing and potentially most repressive

Tory Government ever into office.

Why? In large part because Mrs Thatcher's stridently-handled but slickly advertised populist appeal to 'law and order', patriotism, good house-keeping and individual freedom (that is, privilege for the privileged) was more persuasive than Labour's politics of social reform, modest aspirations for social justice, and ideologically muddled commitment to the 'mixed' economy of State monopoly capital. The further irony that the Labour Party has become the Party of class consensus, and the Tory Party the Party of class confrontation, has been lost from sight in the scramble for office, and the competitive bribery of the electorate with rival promises of lower prices on the one hand, and lower taxes on the other. Only the Asian and other sections of the immigrant community (traders included) appear to have voted consistently for Labour, rightly fearful of a politics which will combine patriotism with racial discrimination.

Thus there has arrived in office, with an overall majority of 43 in the House of Commons, not merely the raucous voice of right-wing reaction, but a politics which pre-dates the Welfare State and—in the opinion of some commentators—the twentieth century altogether. Closely related to the absolute laissez-faire ideology of Milton Friedman, who has given economic advice to General Pinochet's Chile, its economic policies offer only the bracing disciplines and cold winds of the 'free' market, and the old 19th century creed of self-help and self-interest, to the unemployed and the educationally underprivileged and the homeless. Indeed the grocer's daughter is out of step even with her own Party's political traditions established in the Victorian era by Disraeli. For until Mrs Thatcher's accession to office, the Conservative Party had always pretended to be the champion of class-consensus, and the (false) harmony of a united nation.

Instead, with a reactionary radicalism which the *Guardian* described as 'rooted less in the future than in the past', it has returned even to the politics of the English Revolution in the mid-17th century: of the absolute defence of private property, the entrepreneurial rights of the individual, and the 'rolling back' of the State, except where it is needed for the purposes of coercion or repression, whether of trade unionists, the Irish, or any other enemies of the people. This new Government promises, too, further hurt to the rights and dignities of immigrants, hostility to detente, discreet or open support for South African apartheid, increasing expenditure on the army, and the restoration of hanging.

So, difficult times are on the way for this off-shore island on the coast of Europe. For the British ostrich has put its head deep into the sand again, to avoid the unpalatable truths of its own slow and irrecoverable decline as an industrial and political power. A simple (and crude) market philosophy for an advanced

capitalist nation in the 1980's is no substitute for a policy; and it will bring with it, in my estimation, increasing and intensifying social division and disorder. It is more than likely that an attack on the trade unions, when it actually begins to happen, will bring working class illusions to a swift end, and a potentially massive counter-reaction in defence of their democratic rights. It is equally likely that, in combination with an inevitable failure to solve Britain's intractable economic problems of unemployment, industrial stagnation and inflation, as the next stage of the world recession approaches, the social order will become increasingly polarised — more reactionary on the one hand, more radicalised on the other. Among the possible future victims, immigrant minorities must be counted as among the better scapegoats for such political and economic failure. It is worth noting that Mrs Thatcher repeated during the campaign her notorious and racist view that immigrants (4 per cent of the population) were 'swamping' the rest (96 per cent) of the inhabitants of Britain.

For the time being, however, there is at least one ray of hope. Mrs Gandhi has welcomed Mrs Thatcher's

election. This ought to be the kiss of death for Mrs Thatcher, even though it awakens an uneasy sense of the parallels between the two women. For both of them are insecure, and both of them are authoritarian; both of them have extremely limited intellectual horizons; and one of them brought a political system to a low ebb of disrepute and disorder in ways of which the other is also capable; or of provoking others into doing it for her.

In the meantime, to the mingled sounds of celebration by her supporters of all classes, and of alarm at her political extremism from her opponents (who can also be counted in millions), Mrs Thatcher has entered Downing Street; the first woman Prime Minister in Britain's history, and indeed in Western Europe. And if you listen carefully, with a good ear for the future, you can also hear in her voice the increasingly strident call of the British petit bourgeoisie, crowing on its dunghill. It is not an attractive sound, and threatens sooner or later a new round of social, economic and political disasters for the British people.

DAVID SELBOURNE, London

Comrades, arise! Again!

A Naxalites' meet

We received this Press release in a plain envelope, addressed simply to SUNDAY. It was posted from the Esplanade Post Office in Calcutta, according to the cancellation mark on the envelope.

THE All-India conference of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was held somewhere in India from April 26 to May 2, 1979.

The representatives from 11 States of India—from Assam to Maharashtra and Punjab to Kerala—participated in the conference. There were elderly, middle-aged and young representatives, among whom 30 per cent had come from working class origin, 21 per cent from landless, poor and middle peasant origin and 49 per cent from petty bourgeois origin. Representation of so many States in deciding the Party line and thus attributing to our Party an all-India character occurred for the first time since the first Party congress in 1970.

Inside the conference room, the

rostrum was decorated with the portraits of Comrade Charu Majumdar and Comrade Jahar along with those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. The posters on the wall read: "Unite the Communist revolutionaries", "Build up a united front of all democratic and patriotic forces", "Mobilise all positive factors against Soviet social-imperialism.", "Unite closely around the Party's Central Committee to win still greater victories."

The first session of the conference commenced in the afternoon of April 26, 1979. First, a presidium was elected and Comrade Vinod Misra, the General Secretary of the Party, was elected as its Chairman and Comrade Raghu as its Vice-Chairman. Then a song paying homage to the martyrs was sung and following it, two-minutes' silence was observed. Then, explaining the object and importance of the conference, Comrade Vinod Misra delivered the opening speech. He said, "To put forward new tasks and for their accomplishment, mobilise all the positive factors—this has become the main theme of our subjective efforts And so the Party's Central Committee initiated the Rectification Movement in the beginning of 1978. In this process inevitably appeared the draft document. In late 1978 and then, after some six months of extensive discussions

throughout the Party, today's All-India Party Conference is assigned to finalise it." Then, after specifying the norms of conduct for the conference, the first session ended.

In the second session, all the representatives expressed their opinions and gave suggestions. These opinions, expressed frankly and fully, made manifest the democracy inside the Party. All the comrades listened attentively to others, and a living and warm atmosphere prevailed throughout the conference, showing the maturity achieved by the Party.

In the third session, the Party's Central Committee put before the conference the revised document, "Present situation and our Party line". After some discussion, the conference adopted the document unanimously. Finally, Comrade Vinod Misra made a concluding speech in which he explained some points and called on the delegates to go back to their respective areas with firm resolve to unite the whole Party to implement the line decided by the All-India party conference. On behalf of the presidium, Vice-Chairman Comrade Raghu thanked the representatives, the management committee, the local people, the Red Army and the local squads. Then, after the Internationale was sung in five languages, a shot fired by the regional commander of the armed forces signalled the victorious conclusion of the conference.

Representatives from different States held wide discussions with one another and exchanged experiences. For the first time after many years, the representatives from different States of India exchanged opinions widely on the lessons gained in the past struggles. The conference presented a platform for learning from each other.

An open-air session was held to enjoy a cultural programme. The theatre was packed with representatives and the broad masses of the peasantry. The fighters of the Red Army produced various cultural items. The representatives sang songs in Hindi, Bhojpuri, Bengali, Punjabi, Tamil and Telugu languages.

In the presence of the broad masses of the local people and the representatives, armed fighters from different units of the People's Liberation Army performed a march-past ceremony, in which badges were presented to them by Comrade Vinod Misra. It presented an exciting scene and filled the spectators with great enthusiasm.

For long seven days, the army units kept constant watch round the clock, always ready to fight any enemy force that dared to attack, so as to ensure the safety of the delegates and the continuation of the conference. Praising our People's Liberation Army, Comrade Vinod Misra said: "This is our army, which is very loyal to the Party and to the revolution ... without this army, we are defenceless; without this, the revolution is meaningless. This army of ours has a great future".

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Goa-fools live

Saint Desai decided to sin this time

GOA is in the limelight again. Eighteen years ago, in the absence of the President (who rather than sign the papers had gone away from New Delhi), Operation Vijaya was ordered to liberate Goa. Mr Morarji Desai thought the order was 'immoral' and he repeated it for the umpteenth time when he visited Goa last year. The saint has now decided to sin—ordering President's rule in Goa.

President's rule was, in fact, ordered when the Lt. Governor had reported to the Centre—and divulged it locally—that there was the possibility of forming an alternative Government. Subsequently, the Lt. Governor, Col. Partap Singh Gill, with characteristic blandness declared that "as a disciplined soldier" he would abide by orders. The Presidential notification makes it very clear, that "after considering the report of the Administrator (the Lt. Governor)", he was "satisfied that a situation had arisen" warranting the exceptional step of suppression of popular rule. Two and two put together, Col. Gill swallowed his first report and wrote another one to suit Mr Morarji Desai's mood—"Fools Die" in Mario Puzo's fiction; "disciplined soldiers" survive political deaths in reality.

Be that as it may, there is no less, Mrs Shashikala Kakodkar, the outgoing Chief Minister, who had sustained herself 22 months in power propped up on the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker, was one fine day deserted by two of her 15 MLAs. Luckily for her, the Supreme Court had stripped an Opposition MLA of voting rights during the pendency of an election petition. And so with 13 MLAs in an Assembly of 30, she had to rely on no less than 90 occasions on the Speaker's casting vote. In the end, her Minister for Law, Mr Shankar Laad, a football star of yesteryears, too deserted her. So did the Speaker. The Opposition, thereafter, claimed it had 16 MLAs on its side plus the Speaker (i.e. three rebel MLAs of the ruling MGP, ten Congress, three Janata).

On the day of her defeat, April 20, Mrs Kakodkar, like a woman scorned, put up a show in the Goa Assembly which was at once spectacular and hysterical. Some of her MLAs, interestingly the most vocal of whom had been confabulating with the Opposition, raided the Speaker's dais, and tore up the Constitution, another broke the mike, a third squatted on the table of the House. Some one broke the

MOTHER INDIA ?



The former Union Health Minister, Raj Narain, unleashed a crusade against the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) soon after he was dropped from the Cabinet last year. He toured the whole of northern India to muster support. The campaign gathered momentum in early May when Mr Narain started holding anti-RSS discourses in the Parliament's Central Hall and on the lawns of his residence in New Delhi. The photograph above is the latest among the many documents produced by Mr Narain to prove the dangers posed by the RSS. It shows the RSS Sarsanghchalak, Balasaheb Deoras, in the role of Bharat Mata (Mother India) holding a "child" Morarji Desai in his arms. The blurb says "Ma mujhe apne anchal mein chhupa le". Raj Narain produced this picture in the Lok Sabha on May 10 and alleged that it was being circulated by the RSS to emphasise its role in the national politics.

Speaker's chair. The Speaker sensing trouble had ordered paper weights (heavy glass ones) to be withdrawn. Mrs Kakodkar demanded her paper weights, so did her ministerial colleague, Mr Vinayak Chodankar. Soon enough paper weights were flung at the Speaker. Ex-Minister Chodankar flung a chair at the Speaker, to the accompaniment of a torrent of abuse such as only tonga drivers use to prod their sketetal beasts on cold wintry nights. The Speaker ordered the Marshall of the House to call in the police.

Mrs Kokodkar ordered the policemen out, saying she still was the Home Minister and grappled with them — pulling out the shirt tails out of a cop's shorts. A cop lost his balance in the melee, fell on Mrs Kakodkar's chest and, in the resultant embarrassment, made another faux pas and knocked off the bust of Mahatma Gandhi. With Gandhi on the floor of the House and the Constitution in shreds, the Speaker put to vote the cut moved by the Opposition and declared it carried and adjourned the House sine die. The Deputy Speaker, Mr M M Bhatela, thereupon got on to the dais, overruled the Speaker and ordered the House to assemble next

Monday. The Speaker rushed out of his chamber to reiterate his earlier ruling. A week later Bhatella told the Press that he was not in full control of his mind when he had given his ruling.

Prime Minister Desai refused to allow the "motley" crowd to form a Government. Earlier Mr Sharad Pawar had met him thrice to convince him to allow an alternative Government in Goa. And Mr Desai's private reaction was that one Pawar coming to power through defections was more than enough. Janata stalwarts now say that Mr Desai wanted a precedent — an "exemplary" one — in order to control the dissidents plaguing his life — i.e. if he had the Goa Assembly dissolved he will not stop short of having Parliament dissolved, if they carry their game too far.

A beaming Mrs Kakodkar took full credit for having "persuaded Morarjibhai" to order the dissolution of Goa's Assembly. She stood for principles, she told me. The policeman's shirt slip sticking out of his pants after she tackled him at belt level was, of course, another matter.

MARIO CABRAL e SA, Goa

IT happened for the first time. Sunil and Nargis Dutt went to the RK bungalow on the occasion of the engagement of Rishi and Neetu. Nargis must have set foot in the RK house with her husband after an age! Clearly, the older couples have mellowed and matured with age and look forward to their young ones coming up in life. While Nargis and Sunil showered all their wishes and compliments on Rishi and Neetu, Raj Kapoor talked to the Dutt's son, Sunjay. It was a real cosy scene, revealing a lot of grace. Older artistes who used to avoid even looking at each other are now burying all past feuds and showing warmth towards each other again. Both Chintu and Neetu were thrilled: after all, it was because of them that this happy reunion took place.

NEETU is certainly the happiest girl in the world after her engagement to Chintu. At the party at Chintu's place, she could be seen smiling from ear to ear in sheer joy. The party was very enjoyable, she said. Everyone who meets her tells her how happy he/she is that the ring has been slipped on. As though there were any doubts. But if you ask Neetu she says she could never believe how it happened. Yes, among the many guests at the party, there was Tina too. How does Neetu get on with Tina? Fairly okay. Not too pally, but not hostile either. The utterly friendly Neetu doesn't seem to draw enough warmth from the other girl to be real chums. And then there were Rajesh and Dimple, Firoze and Sundri, and Dharam. No, Hema didn't come because she was busy leaving for one of her dance performances abroad. In any case Dharam and Hema don't make the scene together any more—publicly anyway!

NORMALLY the filmfolk get away to their annual visit to London at this time of the year. The heat in Bombay is so killing that shooting outdoors is really an exercise in physical endurance. One person who got a bitter taste of this is Zeenat Aman. She has

Tarun Chakravarty



Chintu and Neetu: happy for all the world

Zeenat Aman: a taste of summer



been laid up in bed over a week now, with a severe sunstroke. Working hard, resting little and then the climatic heat has taken its toll on her. Now she is taking complete rest till she recovers.

THE funny things they do while making films is really amazing. Rahul Rawail who is directing RK Films' new production wanted to shoot in a lift, which had the parallel view of the stairs as well. So he discovered one such place in the heart of Bombay, in a tall building which had the worst crowds anyone can think of. Then Rajendranath, the comedian, was supposed to jump down the fire escape of the building, while the lead pair, Dabboo and Parveen, were trying to dodge him in the lift, by taking it up and down! That's comedy under way for you.

REKHA gets mad when someone asks her why Zarina Wahab is not talking to her, or rather, stopped talking to her. Rekha just flares up and snorts: "Whatddya mean she is not talking to me? It is I who is not talking to her. She gave an interview dragging my name into it, something like she copying me or I copying her or nonsense like this. I don't think I'd want to talk to such people."

FILMLAND is starting to panic over the news of Jennifer Kapoor going off to London, where her parents live. It could be just that she wants to visit her and Shashi's son, Kunal, who is studying acting there and be with her parents for a short time. But this was normally done by Shashi and Jennifer together—they don't go to London alone. If Jennifer's London sojourn is being interpreted as the result of the recent news of a rift between Shashi and her, it's not quite correct. She is probably just taking time off and doing some cool thinking. She will, in all probability, be joined by Shashi to make it their usual summer holiday. Only this year, it's a bit different.

THE Tamil Nadu State Government has revived the practice of honouring filmmakers and artistes with awards. A number of deserving artistes received the awards at an impressive function held a few days ago in Madras. Kamalahasan, Yesudas, cameraman Babu and music director Ilayaraja received the awards but the disappointing aspect was the selection of Latha as the best actress for her performance in a solid failure, *Madurai Meetha Sundara Panayan*, a two-year-old film directed by MGR. The film was meant as an answer to Sivaji Ganesan's *Raja Raja Cholan*, which wasn't a big hit, but it was far more impressive than *Madurai Meetha Sundara Pandyan*. Moviegoers had expected Sridevi (of *16 Vayathinile*) or Lakshmi (of *Sila Nerangalil Sila Manthargal*) to win the award.

It is nearly a year since Latha was asked to quit the AIADMK because she wanted to act in religious films; it was said, then, that she had severed all connections with MGR. And her name was increasingly linked with an upcoming villain who plays the hero now. But there is every reason to believe that Latha and MGR hold each other in high esteem, and he still continues to be her, 'friend, guide and philosopher'. And award-giver.

DIRECTOR Bharatiraja is a little disappointed that he couldn't get a fresh, young face to play the villain in *Solwa Sawan*. In the Tamil version, *Rajnikant*, when an upcoming villain, tied with Kamalahasan or the acting honours. Bharatiraja says that Khulshushan, who's the villain in the Hindi version, is a talented actor, but he lacks the magic appeal which would thrill the women.

VERY few actresses down South have demonstrated such endurance as K. R. Vijaya; she still plays the heroine, though she refuses roles which make her look younger than her real self. Though not a hot favourite today, K. R. Vijaya is still considered a good attraction. Besides acting, she takes lively interest in films financed by her



Latha with MGR, still her chief guide

husband, a businessman and hotelier, who forayed into the celluloid circus after his marriage to Vijaya. She plays the lead in all the home-products. They are low-budget affairs, mostly. And though she's often paired with Sivaji Ganesan in films not financed by her husband, she goes for less expensive heroes like Muthuraman in her own films.

AFTER a long gap, Lakshmi has got a good role in a Tamil film, which is yet to be entitled. Her hero is Sivaji Ganesan. A remake of *Muqaddar Ka Sikandar*, it also stars Sripriya enacting the role played by Rekha in the Hindi version.

Sivaji and Lakshmi appeared together a couple of years back in *Thyagam*, a remake of *Amanush*. The Tamil version was a success, too, but somehow they had to wait this long to be paired together again.

IN *Prema Kama*, in Kannada, Rekha Rao's mild stripping and cleavage display drove the audience out of the movie houses, feeling disgusted and cheated. So,

wisely, Rekha Rao went back to conservative roles, and the audiences seem to tolerate her now. Her latest film, *Athege Thakka Sose* is a regular tearjerker.

SIVAKUMAR is glad that his hundredth film *Rojappu Ravikekari*, to be released soon, is the remake of a Kannada hit, *Prasanna Genda Thimma*, which starred Lokesh and Rita Aanchan. Dealing with a rural subject, the highlight of the Kannada version was its uncouth, bawdy dialogue. Deepa (Unni Mary), heroine of the Tamil version, is also hoping that it'll keep the box-office busy. A busy star in Malayalam and Telugu films, Deepa hasn't had much luck in Tamil films.

SUJATHA wanted to give up films soon after her marriage but she's once again making faces before the cameras. And how. In a Malayalam film, *Brashtu*, she displayed her legs as never before. And before she was dubbed the sex object, she began accepting roles in mythological films. Yet there are no definite signs that Sujatha

is going to have the same popularity she enjoyed before her marriage, unless of course some of her films turn out to be hits.

ARATI, who appeared in brief roles in many Hrishikesh Mukherjee films, has landed in Madras with a plum role in a Hindi film, *Gayatri*. A remake of the '76 money-spinner, *Badrakali*, Raakesh Roshan plays her hero. The original had Ranichandra, who died in an air-accident, and Sivakumar. Director A. C. Tirulokachander directs the Hindi version, too. Years ago, the latter directed a Hindi film, *Mam Bhi Ladki Hoon*, which starred Meena Kumari and Dharmendra; the film was a big hit. This time Tirulokachander is hoping for a big hit. And so is Arati.

NENJIKKU NEEDHI, starring Jaishankar and Sangeeta, whose screenplay has been written by former Chief Minister Karunanidhi has had a lukewarm reception, unlike the previous Karunanidhi film, *Vandikaran Magan*. Karunanidhi blames the financier and distributor for not building up the film and not exploiting it enough. Even the publicity was lousy, says the politician-writer.

CERTAINLY much more successful than Sujatha's comeback is *Jayalalitha's* return to the celluloid world. Though it began unpleasantly when one of her films with the DMK darling Jai Shankar ran into rough weather. The pragmatic Jayalalitha then went ahead and signed films with any hero who was prepared to work with her, including the AIADMK flagwaver, *Vijayakumar* and the upcoming Sarat Babu. Though not a single film of hers has been released after her comeback, she has been signed by about a dozen producers.

SINCE most films in which he playbilled for himself had failed, Kamalahasan had decided not to sing in his own voice. But *Sigappu Rojakkal*, in which he had a solo, clicked. And now it appears as if he'll sing a number of two; recently he rendered a song for T. N. Balu's *Shankaral*.

PIOUSJI

Shaking the pagoda tree

"IT is an unnatural thing that persons who, had they remained in England, would have kept a shop or become county apothecaries, or at best have been city merchants, should presume to stake their guineas, keep their mistresses and punish insults to their imagined honour in the manner of gentlefolks".

Whoever passed that early verdict on the British in India—it was an Englishman—might have been describing journalism in this country in the second half of the 20th Century.

The privilege of being European in India was demonstrated during the first Congress Party split when the Centre foolishly refused accreditation to Cyril Dunn of *The Observer* and Neville Maxwell of *The Times* who were then regarded as bad boys. Formally denied admission to Press conferences, all they had to do was to drop in socially on the dignitary holding the conference, either before or after the public occasion. So flattered were the recipients of the honour that the two visiting firemen often obtained inside information that was withheld from Indian journalists.

This is not to belittle the professional competence of Dunn and Maxwell who are both first-rate reporters and analysts. It is to lament the slavish, even sick, mentality of a society that is so frenetically anxious to help them and win their approbation: a point that was exposed by our army's preferential treatment of American TV crews during the Bangladesh war. Mrs Gandhi, who is generally thought to be most sturdily independent of our leaders, betrayed her racial obsession by the closeness with which she watched—and bitterly complained of—the BBC's internal decision-making process during the Emergency. Little wonder then that while Indian correspondents in Washington, London, Bonn and Paris rarely, if ever, have access to important politicians, the Centre's Joint Secretary (External Publicity) bends over backwards to accommodate foreign reporters. Even Mr Morarji Desai chose Paul Grimes of the *New York Times* to make known his disquiet over Sikkim's takeover.

The paradox was most noticeable in those halcyon days before the Emergency when *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian* and

the BBC (to say nothing of *Le Monde* and several West German, American and Soviet publications and news agencies) maintained staffers in New Delhi. They were the true inheritors of the mantle of empire. The ICS had gone; so had the managing agency box-wallahs who took over leadership of urban class Indian society. It was left to the sahibs of Grub Street to rule from commanding heights.

The man from *The Guardian* was known to colleagues in London as an unassuming fellow who rode a scooter, lived in a modest suburban semi-detached, drank beer in copious quantities, wore shabby jeans and a windcheater, and had a pleasant wife who did all the housework and also taught in a junior school—an ordinary, unexceptionable middle class family in fact. But husband and wife were totally and miraculously transformed in their sprawling bungalow within stone's throw of Claridge's Hotel. She learnt to ride with the Italian ambassador, talked casually of the Rajmata of Jaipur and spent languid days lounging about the house, waited upon hand and foot by servants, proudly bemoaning the unproductive idleness of her existence and every so often slipping in a word or to about her parents' estate.

He drove a Peugeot here, drank Scotch provided by the World Bank staff in New Delhi, and when he deigned to visit Bombay or Calcutta, the Commerce Ministry would feel honoured to place at his disposal the guest house of some public sector industry. When he was transferred to Paris, his 10-year-old son remarked with the candour and perspicacity of the young, "Will we again become poor people?"

The phenomenon is not, of course, peculiar to journalism. Ever since the beginning, hordes of plain spinsters on the shelf have been sent out in the Fishing Fleet unblushingly to hunt for spouses in India, and vast armies of juvenile ne'er-do-wells have been packed off to shake the fabled Pagoda Tree to return home laden with riches and an inflated sense of personal consequence. What is so galling is that Indian gullibility should still feel so proud to be exploited. Nothing could have been more revealing, for instance, than the anguish of radical Bengali journalists when the Congress

Government would not allow a Thames Television team to make a film on Calcutta. Those militant protesters would not dream of raising even a squeak against official repression of a fellow Bengali. Indians simply love to be patronised—and occasionally patted on the back—by a David Selbourne.

Which brings me to Kevin Rafferty, formerly of the *Financial Times* who has recently taken over the *Financial Express* here. Rafferty may be a fine economic writer but since he comes to India after trying out another job in Kuala Lumpur (the Malays and Chinese do not suffer from our neo-colonial hang-ups) the appointment may justify wondering whether there is not a grain of truth in the axiom that only those who cannot make the grade in Fleet Street seek their fortune in the exile of the colonies. More relevant, however, is the suggestion that India does not boast an economic journalist capable of running the *Financial Express*.

The same obsession explains other wars on the media: the pampering of a drink-sodden wreckage of the Raj who would never have been employed as a hack sub on a house journal if shipped home but who here struts about with a grandiose designation, the alacrity with which proprietors used to compete to pay inflated salaries to third-rate "specialists" imported by the Press Institute of India.

Some foreign journalists must of course be excluded from these strictures. By all accounts, the late B. G. Horniman wholly identified with Indian interests. The *Statesman's* G. A. Johnson was another knowledgeable and upright journalist of great integrity. Nor would Malcolm Muggeridge and Sydney Jacobson (now Lord Jacobson) have reached such eminence in Britain after retiring from here, had they not had genuine merit. But on the whole, we receive only the rejects of British society, the flawed seconds, who cynically trade on our ignorance and on our innate conviction of European superiority.

That such shoddy goods can command so high a price once again proves Mr Raj Narain's point that in spite of 33 years of sovereign independence, India remains captive to "English language imperialism". ■

Beginning May 20

This week the Sun alone is in Aries. Jupiter is in Cancer, Saturn and Rahu are conjoined in Leo. Uranus is in Libra, Neptune is in Scorpio, Ketu is in Aquarius, Mars, Mercury and Venus are conjoined in Pisces. The Moon will be moving through Taurus, Gemini and Cancer from Aries.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) This week will be somewhat difficult and trying. Do not quarrel. Guard against accidents. Curb extravagant tendencies. Be careful in your correspondence in business matters. Do not strain yourself. This week is not favourable for legal suits and negotiations regarding marriages. Avoid speculation and gambling. Deal tactfully with those in authority. Things will turn out for the better at the weekend. **Good dates:** 22, 24 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) This week will be financially gainful for you and you will be helped by relatives and new friends. Many will gain promotions through their own intuitions. Elderly female relatives will help you to do well in your career. An important journey is in the offing. Romance and courtship is forecast. **Good dates:** 20, 21, 23 and 24. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) The stars favour your financial prospects. However, you are advised to conserve your resources. You will do well in your career. A promotion is in the offing. Follow your own intuitions and adopt original methods; these will pay in the long run. You will be praised by all your friends and relatives. Avoid speculation and gambling. **Good dates:** 21, 22, 23 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 5. **Favourable direction:** North.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) A successful week awaits you. A change of job or residence is likely. This week will prove to be a happy and fortunate one. Pay attention to business details and take the advice of elders. Travel is forecast. You will celebrate some happy event at the end of this week. Your capabilities will be known and praised by all. **Good dates:** 20, 21, 23 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 8. **Favourable directions:** West and North.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) This week proceeds more or less normally. There are chances of a loss. A relative might cause you some annoyance. Your financial position will improve. Be careful in your dealings with elders. Do not be impatient and avoid antagonising your employer. The time is not opportune for law-suits. Your health will improve. **Good dates:** 23, 24 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** East.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) Your own industry and patience will enhance your fortune. Adopt original methods. Many will gain promotions. Travel is in the offing. Romance and courtship is forecast. An unexpected reversal or change of fortune will later give way to brighter conditions. Your home-front will be peaceful and social activities are forecast. Your health will be good. **Good dates:** 20, 22, 24 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** East.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) Conditions are better than last week. Unexpected upheavals are in the offing. Gains from business and appreciation from members of the opposite sex is indicated. Be careful in your dealings with elders and strangers. This is the time to make changes. Travel is indicated. Legal suits, property and secret matters favour you. **Good dates:** 20, 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 10. **Favourable direction:** West.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) Unexpected developments could change your life. This will result in better financial conditions. An elderly person will help you in your career. On the business front there are chances of rapid progress. As regards your home life, there will be one or two problems and women will be the cause. Avoid all kinds of get-rich-quick schemes. Your health will be good. **Good dates:** 20, 22 and 24. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) Be patient since serious and unexpected obstacles are in the offing. These will prove to be a hindrance to your ambitions. Devote some time to your business. You might have a disagreement with an elderly relative. In the later part of the week your financial position improves. There are chances of gain through the occult sciences. **Good dates:** 23, 24, 25 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** East.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) Your perseverance, indomitable will-power and enterprise will win over any obstacles. Some of you will gain promotions. You will make rapid progress in business. An elderly person is going to cause you some worry. Deal tactfully with elders and those in authority. A romance is in the offing. **Good dates:** 20, 23, 24 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 6. **Favourable direction:** East.

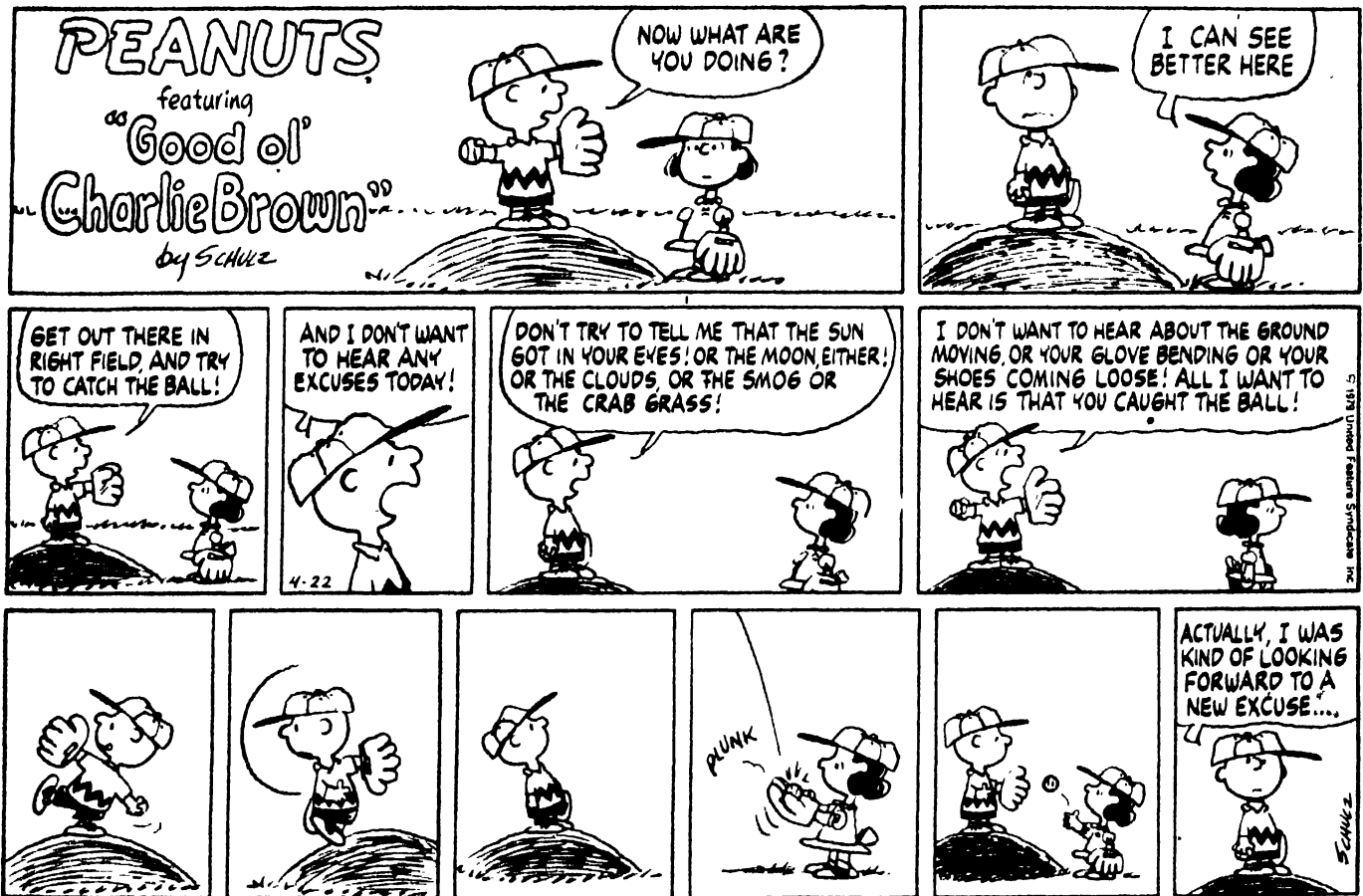


AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) There is a threat of some type of deception being practised on you regarding a love affair. Your outlook is quite favourable especially in your dealings with elders and property matters. You might win a prize in the form of a lottery. Business partners and spouses will help you in your career. Those in service are advised to take a transfer. **Good dates:** 24, 25 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) Success, good fortune and happiness may be expected this week. Finances improve. The home front will remain peaceful. Some opposition from an elderly person is forecast. You will be praised by all. Push your affairs to the utmost. A promotion is in the offing for some, while others may have a change of residence. **Good dates:** 20, 21, 22 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 10. **Favourable direction:** East.

M. B. RAMAN



Mrs. D. Contractor of
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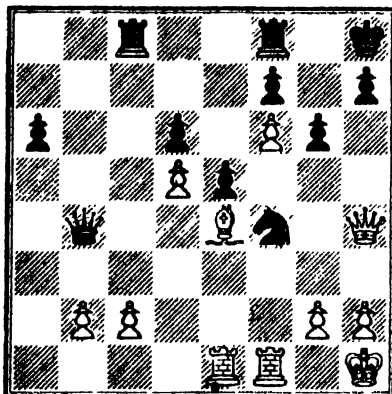
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G-37-R

chess

Position No. 7



White to play—how should the game go?

Continuation of Position No. 5

Another position from Leipzig 1978, this time between Knaak and Peev. 1. K1r2r1, 1. Pn4R; 2. P1qN1pp1, 3. Rr3, 2. P1P3, 6. P1; 7. Pp3PK1; 8. Q4.

White won by 27. N x P, R—QB1, if 27. R x R; 28. BP x R, Q x N, 29. P—Q6, Q x P ch, 30. P—B3, Q—Q5; 31. Q—N3, ch. Or if 27. N x R; 28. N x R, R x N; 29. BP x N.

28. N—R5, Q—N3, 29. P—Q4, K—R1; if 29. . . N x R; 30. Q x N, and he cannot guard against R—N7 ch except by R—B2 when White plays 31. Q x R ch.

30. R—Q6, resigns since if 30. . . Q x P, 31. R x P ch, N x R, 32. Q—Q5 ch. Or if 30. . . Q—R2, simply 31. R(Q6)—Q7, threatening Q—Q5 ch.

Karpov the enigmatic

The very photograph of the world champion is deceptively simple and therefore mysterious. What, one wonders, lies behind that cardboard face? There has been a spate of books of late that deal with Karpov from every point of view. Probably the best answer is to be found in his games and two books have been written recently that deal adequately with the subject, though certainly not definitively. 'Anatoly Karpov, His Road to the World Championship', previously referred to in this column, is intriguing in the occasional remarks that the world champion (former) lets drop from time to time. The story is carried on one step further by Anatoly Karpov's Games as World Champion 1973-77, which deals with a period in which Karpov displayed great imagination and that in the style of a true world champion. It is written by Kevin J. O'Connell and David N. L. Levy who have displayed their usual competence here. Publishers are Batsford (221 pages, £4.50). The notation is algebraic and figurine, a combination that is very agreeable to contemplate.

The book is intended as a sequel to the 'Complete Games of World Champion Karpov' and is very good source material for a book on or by the World Champion. Quite a number of games are annotated by Karpov as for example, the first game in the book that was played at Ljubljana in 1975. White: Karpov. Black: Portisch. QGD Slav defence.

1. N—KB3, P—Q4; 2. P—Q4, N—KB3, 3. P—B4, P—B3; 4. N—B3, P x P; 5. P—QR4, B—B4; 6. P—K3, P—K3; 7. B x P, B—QN5; 8. O—O, O—O; 9. N—R4, B—N5; 10. P—B3, B—KR4; 11. P—KN4, B—N3; 12. N x B, RP x N; 13. Q—N3, Q—K2; 14. P—N5, N—O4; 15. P—K4, N—N3; 16. N—R2, B—R4; 17. B—K2, P—K4; 18. Q—B2, N(N3)—Q2; 19. P x P, Q x P; 20. K—R1,

R—K1; 21. B—QB4, N—N3, 22. B—Q3, N—R3; 23. B x N, P x B; 24. R—Q1, P—QB4; 25. B—K3, R(R1)—QB1; 26. N—B3, N—B5; 27. B—B1, R—N1; 28. N—Q5, N x P; 29. B—B4, Q—K3; 30. R(Q1)—QN1, Q—R6; 31. B x R, R x B; 32. R x N, resigns.

Karpov adds: 'In 1975 Portisch was one of the few players who had a plus score against me. Readers can now see clearly the great seriousness with which I approached our contest, as I wished to remove a dangerous rival from the struggle for first place in the tournament, and also to settle old scores.'

HARRY GOLOMBEK

bridge

Semper aliquid novum ex Africa. Alec Traub, of Cape Town, has sent me a fascinating deal. First, there is a lead problem. At game all you hold in the West position

♠ K
♥ A 9 6 3 2
♦ 3
♣ Q J 10 8 7 3

South, on your right, opens Five Spades and all pass. What do you lead?

The Five Spade opening traditionally indicates a hand on which the opener wants his partner to value only the top trump honours. In the present case the spades must be headed by QJ and South is relying on his diamonds to be solid. The defenders must hope to make a diamond trick in addition to the top trumps.

If West leads a club he may present declarer with discards on club winners in dummy. If he leads the Ace of hearts it will be ruffed, and when West comes in with the King of spades he may have no good card of exit. Thus the King of spades is logically the best lead. This is the full hand:

Dealer, South Game all

♠ 3 2		♠ A 4
♥ K Q J 7 5		♥ 10 8 4
♦ 6 5		♦ J 9 7 4 2
♣ A K 6 4		♣ 9 5 2
	N	
♠ K	W	♠ A 4
♥ A 9 6 3 2	E	♥ 10 8 4
♦ 3	S	♦ J 9 7 4 2
♣ Q J 10 8 7 3		♣ 9 5 2
		♠ Q J 10 9 8 7 6 5
		♥ —
		♦ A K Q 10 8
		♣ —

Obviously the King of spades is the only lead to give the defence a chance against Five Spades. If West leads ♥ A, for example, South will ruff and play off top diamonds. West may ruff the second round but will then have no good lead.

But does the King of spades beat the contract? Again West will be awkwardly placed at trick two. He may try the Ace of hearts, but South will ruff and enter dummy by ruffing the third round of diamonds.

However, East is there and, we trust, alert. Realising that the only chance for the defence is to win diamond tricks, he must overtake ♠ K with the Ace and return a trump. South may play ♦ A K and exit with a low diamond, but now East can lead a heart and the defence will make another trick.

Learn Bridge with Reese (Hamlyn Paperbacks, 85p) begins at the beginning. The first three chapters are for people who find themselves on a desert island with a pack of cards but know nothing about the game.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



'FORE-RUNNER' is the term used by philatelists for a stamp issued by a former administration in a country which has changed its political status, usually by achieving independence. The fore-runners of a Namibian collection, for example, will be the stamps issued before the First World War, when the country was a German colony, and during the South African occupation, which began in 1915. Among the last of these South African fore-runners are four stamps which hark back to the days of 'German South West'. They all feature churches founded by German settlers before 1914, among them the Lutheran Church at Windhoek on this 4-cents stamp. C.W. HILL

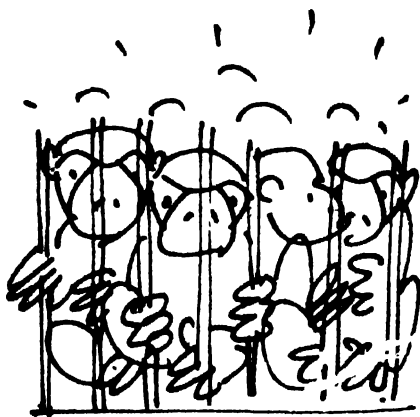
quiz

QUESTIONS

1. Who are the Shirazis?
2. Who are the Sandpipers?
3. What is a Portuguese Man-of-war?
4. What is DNA the short form of?
5. When was the Battle of Quatre Bras fought?
6. What was the Great Fear?
7. In football, what is a banana kick?
8. Who founded Reuter news agency?
9. What is ethnocentrism?

1. African Muslims of Zanzibar who claim to have descended from the early Muslims of Shiraz of Iran.
2. Sandpipers and Snipes are birds that belong to the family Scolopacidae.
3. Invertebrate that belongs to the class Hydrozoa and found mainly in tropical waters.
4. Deoxyribonucleic acid.
5. June 16, 1815. A fierce preliminary action to the Battle of Waterloo when Marshal Ney was ordered by Napoleon to halt Wellington's troops at Quatre Bras.
6. A movement of mass hysteria that swept through provincial France in the second half of July and early August 1789.
7. It is a term used for a ball served in flight.
8. Paul von Reuter in London in 1851.
9. The tendency to think that the characteristics of one's own group is superior to those of others.

ANSWERS



SAGAR : Enough was enough, decided the people of Sagar. Utensils, mirrors, cosmetic containers and such other things being "knocked off" was a nuisance but receiving tiles as missiles from housetops was too much. The monkeys had become a menace. And so, the people harangued their Councillors, and the Councillors, the municipal administration. The Council called in Mr A. M. Shaik. Mr Shaik recited some excerpts from the Quran and the monkeys ambled into the cage set up for them—*Deccan Herald* (S. Krishna Murthy, Bangalore)

DELHI : A fourth year student of MBBS, Harsh Vardhan, of the university college of medical sciences was arrested on a charge of stealing books worth Rs 300 from Delhi University library. Preliminary inquiries by the Roshnara police have revealed that Harsh Vardhan is a drug addict. He used to steal books from the library to meet the expenses of drugs—*Times of India* (Anita Prakash, New Delhi)

AN ADULT female crocodile recently came on her own to the Orissa Government crocodile-breeding farm on the banks of the Mahanadi at Satkosia. She mated with a two-year-old male in the farm and is likely to lay eggs soon, according to the chief conservator—*Statesman* (Sunil Mantri, Calcutta)

BOMBAY : Greed for gold is not exactly bottomless. Two sailors of the Moghul Lines ship, M. V. Noor Jehan, are a case

in point. They got off the ship here and were about to get on to a taxi. The customs men found something odd about their gait and stopped them. A thorough search emanated in the 15 ten tola bars—all from their rectums—*Hindustan Times* (Amrendra Priya, Patna)

COCHIN : The Sub-Registrar Office here witnessed a 38-year-old mother of six children marrying her lover nine years her junior minutes after her marriage was dissolved.

Fed up with the three-year-old love affair of his wife Seethamma with Somanathan, Bank employee Kumara Laimal, a high school teacher, approached the Registrar with his wife and her lover and secured the divorce to end his 20-year-old married life. An unperturbed Seethamma lost no time in entering into a registered marriage with her lover who signed as first witness to the divorce. The divorcee retained all six children, the eldest having appeared for the recent SSLC examination—*Indian Express* (P. J. Sebastian, Tuticorin)

HYDERABAD : Two newspapers here were possibly perturbed that only three question papers of the Secondary School Certificate examinations in Andhra Pradesh had leaked out. To help the "cause" a bit further, they carried a "guess paper", almost a replica of the day's question paper, on the eve of the examination. The results were obvious: thousands of "toiling" students helped sell the paper very fast at rates as high as Rs 2 a copy. Ten toughies in the dead of night had driven up to the examination centre at Kotapalli in Karimnagar, broke open the safe and obligingly handed over two copies of the question paper to the language newspapers for favour of publication—*Hindustan Times* (B. B. L. Sharma, New Delhi)

RAIPUR : Dr. Manmohan of the Government Hospital, Raigarh, came across a patient who had taken no bath for 40 years. German Kolta, 60 of Noltain village was admitted to the hospital, for stomach trouble. During the examination he told the doctor that a village *vaidya* had advised him 40 years ago that bath was risky for his life and he had not taken bath since then—*Deccan Herald* (T. K. Srinivasan, Gulbarga)

india abroad

LONDON : An 11-year-old Sikh boy at Wolverhampton in West Midlands has been prohibited from wearing a turban while attending his classes. The ban was imposed by the headmaster when the boy, Kulwinder Singh, attended school with a turban on.

The headmaster of the multiracial school who had received the Queen's

honour of the Member of the British Empire some years ago, says there is no provision for a turban in the school uniform.

The father of the boy insists that his son is not going to give up the turban. He says: "I am going to fight it out." The boy is taking private lessons—*Statesman*

I AM not a hypocrite — Mrs Indira Gandhi

THE Jana Sangh has given up its flag, constitution and philosophy for the sake of merger into the Janata Party. It is not a small sacrifice to make—Minister for Works and Housing Sikander Bakht

THERE is, not much of a choice (between the RSS or the communists). It's like asking whether typhoid or malaria is more lethal —Congress (I) leader Sanjay Gandhi

THE Janata Party is going towards fascism and is shedding all its democratic pretensions—Raj Narain

RAJ NARAIN is a friend who is closest to me—Deputy Prime Minister Charan Singh

AS long as I am Prime Minister, I will not go for it (the atom bomb)—Morarji Desai

THERE should be some limit to dishonesty — Industry Minister George Fernandes

humour in real life



IN a rifle-shooting class the instructor had mentioned the word "bull's eye" a number of times. When he invited questions, one of the cadets stood up and asked, "Sir, how long can the bull remain standing?"—Arup Mukherjee, Gorakhpur

MY friend who had been interviewed for a job received a letter from the authorities: "You are excellently eligible for the job. It is regretted, however, that we cannot honour your merit at present because we have no more vacancies. Anyway, we are trying to find a vacancy for you. We also encourage you to find other jobs as well"—Soumitra De, Siliguri

a word or two

To take the rap for someone else may not exactly conform to modern notions of heroism but it is a practice that has an honourable antiquity: the Biblical scapegoat has traditionally borne the blame for mistakes and crimes others have committed. A latter day variant of the scapegoat is a whipping boy, one upon whom is inflicted punishment for the faults or wrongs of another; a fall guy. The idea of scapegoat occurs first in the Leviathan but we owe the English coinage to reformer-translator William Tyndale (the word is a translation of the Hebrew *ezozel*, a goat that goes away, "a goat over the head of which the high priest of the ancient Jews confessed the sins of the people on the Day of Atonement after which it was allowed to escape"). The origin of a whipping boy is no less interesting, if much more recent. Under the belief that the



body of a young royal prince was as holy and inviolable as the king, his father, and that, therefore, no governess or tutor could chastise him, a custom was introduced into England whereby any corporal punishment, rightly or wrongly deserved by a princeling was transferred to the body of another. The first to benefit was the wayward son of James I, the young prince who later became Charles I. William Murray, a lad of the prince's own age, was appointed to be his companion and fellow pupil, and to receive all punishment merited by either of the two young men, to be the whipping boy of the prince and be flogged for all the faults of either. Whether or not a whipping boy was then a coveted position the custom died a natural death as the royal household became more liberal and democratic and, therefore, more image-conscious. The allusion, however, has remained.

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stranger, as we were telling you, than fiction



MAJOR American publishing companies receive at least 5000 unsolicited manuscripts (MSS) every year, and not more than one per cent of these are accepted for publication. Now and then a budding writer strikes a diamond mine. Like Colleen McCullough was given Rs 1.5 crores for her second novel, *Thorn Birds*. Or Robert Ludlum, who made it big through this chart-topper *Scarletti Inheritance*. But such phenomenal success for authors is very rare.

Chuck Ross, a free-lance journalist launched an interesting experiment a couple of years ago. Curious to know how the big publishing outfits treat greenhorns, he typed the first 21 pages of an unconventional, successful novel, *Steps*, (author: Jerzy Kosinski) and sent it to a dozen big publishing houses. Of course Chuck Ross did not claim to be the author; he wanted the publishers to think that he was a new literary agent handling a new author. He did not type the name of the book on the MS. The copies were sent, neatly typed, to publishers of repute, like Random House, Doubleday, Houghton-Mifflin, etc.

Most of these publishers returned the MS explaining that they were not reading unsolicited MSS. Even the publisher who had first published *Steps* in 1968 (it won the National Book Award for Fiction the next year and has not been out of print since then) rejected it. *Steps* till now has sold more than 4,50,000 copies in paperback.

Random House wrote to Chuck Ross telling him that they could not decide about the book after going through 21 pages only. So Ross typed one-fourth of the book and had it sent to Random House. A rejection slip and the MS turned up after a month.

When author Kosinski heard Ross's experiment he told the journalist that he should have typed the entire MS. "I typed it, didn't I," quipped Kosinski adding that only a completed novel would make sense, that his novels have to be evaluated in their totality.

So Chuck Ross began operating again. This time he sent the entire book more than a dozen publishers, some of them who had rejected it after going through the first 21 pages. He used the name Erik Demos on the accompanying letter. Once again rejection slips arrived. One publisher Houghton-Mifflin said "Several of us read your untitled novel here with admiration for its writing style. Jerzy Kosinski comes to mind as a point of comparison when reading your stark, chilly episodic incidents; you have set down. The drawback to the manuscript, as it stands, is that it does not add up to a satisfactory whole." Incidentally, Houghton-Mifflin have published three of Kosinski's best-sellers: *Painted Bird*, *Cockpit* and *Blind*. "Evidently Kosinski is not as good as Kosinski when Demos is the name on the envelope," quips Chuck Ross.

Some publishers told him that they will not read an MS unless it is characterised through a well-known literary agent. Ross tried more than a dozen agents; most of them charge 25 dollars to glance through an MS. The agents were unanimous: this MS could not be published.

No publisher, veteran or novice, certainly vouch for a book's success, Ross observes. Often even big names produce a bomb, like Mario Puzo's *For Die* which was an instant bestseller but flopped after three months. Even Peter Benchley produced a loser, *Jaws*, written in the wake of worldwide success of his *Jaws*. The film company who had bought the rights to film *Fire* before its publication went ahead and made a movie which flopped too.

But the book Chuck Ross was trying to sell was a steady bestseller. And it is a book which does not fit into any particular genre. What hurt him most was that the literary agents and publishers just could not recognise it. Or maybe they were too busy to glance through it even!

J. M. MENEZES

The Sikhs are not afraid

For the second time in a span of 12 years, a small gurdwara in Bagmari in North Calcutta, which stands cheek-by-jowl with a Shiva temple, was the target of an attack. The reason for both the attacks—in 1967 and on this occasion—is a long-standing legal dispute between the owners of the temple and the gurdwara over the rightful ownership of the 14-bigha plot on which both the structures stand. The gurdwara committee claims the gurdwara is much older than the temple, which was set up in 1973, and the land belongs to it but the owner of the temple disputes this. The temple's owner is understood to have the support of the local population and the Forward Bloc which has a share of power in the present West Bengal Ministry. After the recent attack, a delegation of Sikhs met the Chief Minister, and Sikhs all over the State went on strike in protest. The Chief Minister later assured the Sikhs of due protection, but this does not seem to have satisfied some Sikh leaders. GURDIT SINGH, who is the secretary to the Bagmari Gurdwara, spoke about the incident and the issues at stake to NIRMAL MITRA.



Q: What exactly happened at the Bagmari Gurdwara?

A: On May 10 at about 3.30 p.m. some 300 people attacked the Bagmari Gurdwara from different sides. Some gatecrashed into the Gurdwara, some scaled the wall around the premises, while others broke open a sealed door of the room of the Durbar Sahib, the place of worship. The door was broken open with a large wooden pole, and inflammable material was sprinkled on the Durbar Sahib (which consists of a cloth-covered cot, a number of 'rumals' or pieces of cloth, and the Guru Granth Sahib, which is kept in a wooden 'palki' or pedestal on the cot. There are also four 'chakkars' or metal rings.) and fire was set to it. Three bombs were hurled at the door of the Durbar Sahib, of which two exploded and one did not. A fan and tube lights in the shed outside the Durbar Sahib were also broken and twisted. Large bricks were thrown on the Durbar Sahib (we saw four still lying on the cot on May 16). As a result of this the Guru Granth Sahib, which had fallen out of the toppled 'palki,' was burnt and also some cloth on the Durbar Sahib.

Q: How many Sikhs were there at the gurdwara at the time?

A: Just four. You see the only

few who are there do not stay at the gurdwara. There are a couple of motor repairing workshops in the premises, and the men who work in them do not stay at the gurdwara. But the police were present while all this was happening. They did nothing. When the people started turning violent, the policemen fled. The police were inactive.

Q: What happened after the incident was over?

A: The attackers continued their meeting beside our gurdwara, on the side of the temple.

Q: Did you lodge a police diary?

A: The police came to us and asked us questions, and they lodged a diary at the Manicktolla Police Station.

Q: Was there a police presence at the gurdwara before the incident, since you say police were present at the time of the attack?

A: Oh yes. There was always a party of about seven policemen at the Gurdwara even before the incident. They sat under a pipal tree behind the Gurdwara.

Q: And after the incident?

A: Now the presence has increased.

Q: Do the attackers have any political links?

A: Well, these people belong to

the Party which is strong in the area, which I suppose is the Forward Bloc.

Q: Was the CPI(M) involved in any way?

A: We cannot say.

Q: What was the reason for the attack?

A: There is this legal battle we have been fighting (with a group led by Rashbehari Manna) over the land of the Gurdwara and the temple. (The two are about four feet apart). The land dispute has been going on since 1975. You see the Gurdwara Guru Ka' Bagh, Bagmari was built as far back as 1847, while the Shiv mandir was constructed later. Its construction was started in 1967 when the Manna group forcibly occupied the structure of the temple. Its construction was completed in 1973. There was no temple earlier. It was only in 1967, when by forcible occupation of land, the temple was constructed. There was an agreement dated March 29, 1967 that the temple would be walled up; but this was never implemented.

Q: How did the dispute start?

A: The case started with the trespassing of some people into the Gurdwara after they broke a wall in 1967. The Granth was burnt then also. This was a cause of the last 1967 riot. The Sikhs are a disciplined people, you see. But we have the ability to deal with crises. No one can tolerate an attack on his religion or place of worship. But we have borne through the whole incident and affair peacefully. Even the hartal (on May 12) was peaceful. Actually the people we have named have not been caught by the police. They are still at large.

Q: Are you given due protection as a minority in West Bengal?

A: That the Government should know. Actually, we do not throw our weight behind any Party in particular. We take the side of the Government. We Sikhs are earnest and peaceful workers. All we do is earn our bread. We are not interested in taking out processions.

Q: The Chief Minister Mr. Jyoti Basu had visited the gurdwara after the incident. What did he tell you?

A: He asked us questions and assured us protection and said that everything would be settled within a few days.

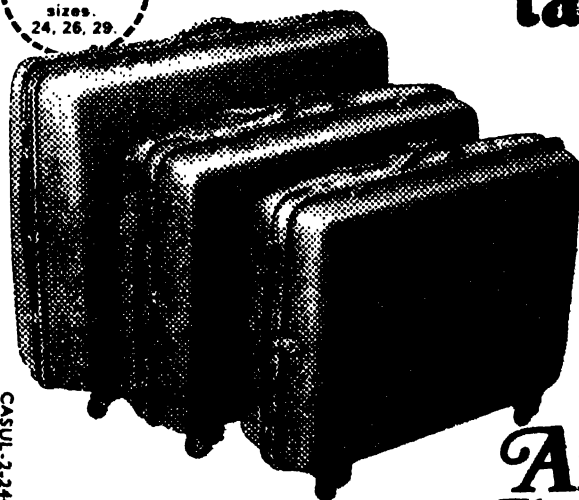
Q: Is there an atmosphere of insecurity still prevailing?

A: We Sikhs are always secure. We always feel secure. Even a solitary Sikh is not afraid of anyone.

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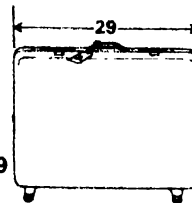
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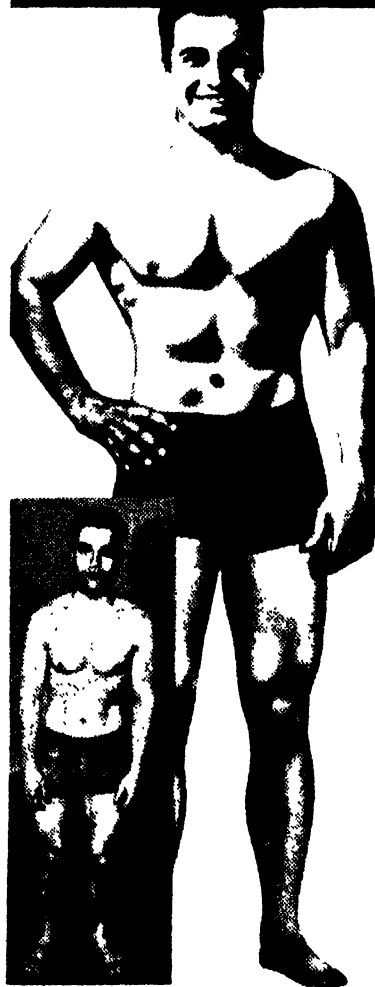
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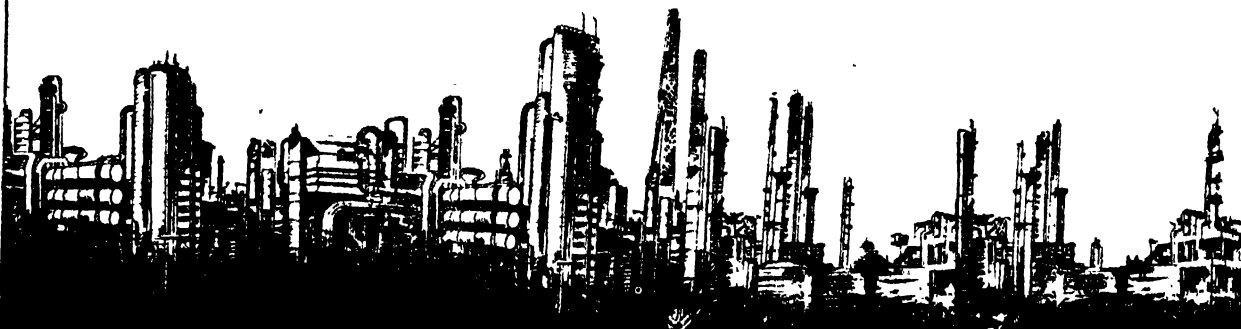
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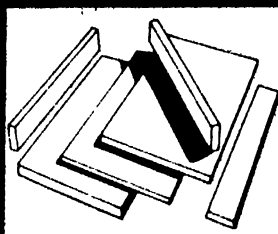
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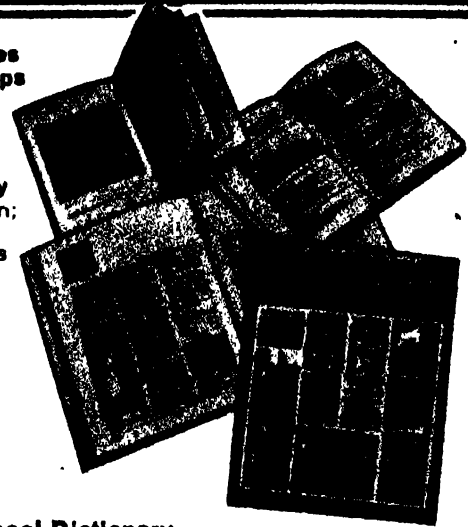
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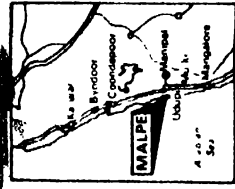
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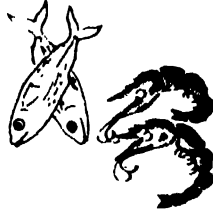
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About 1200 mechanised trawlers are now operating in the South Kanara waters, catching bottom-dwelling varieties like shrimp, pomfret, seer fish. On an average each successful operation nets about half a tonne of shrimps. Syndicate Bank has financed 1400 fishermen to buy 280 trawlers (each trawler operated by 5 persons). There are 180 Purse Seiners in action today to get pelagic fish of which Syndicate Bank has financed 1980 fishermen to buy 99 Purse Seiners (each boat operated by 20 fishermen).

Old order changes
Syndicate Bank, with the objective of growth with justice, is now engaged in a massive effort to bring the traditional fishermen in South Kanara under the umbrella of mechanisation, as the traditional method is uneconomic. There are about 5000 fishermen in this category (Rampani groups consisting of 60 to 100 fishermen) of whom 2000 have been persuaded to go in for 20 Purse Seiners and mechanised gill netting boats, trawlers and carrier boats, construction of ice plants and fishmeal plants.

The young fishermen

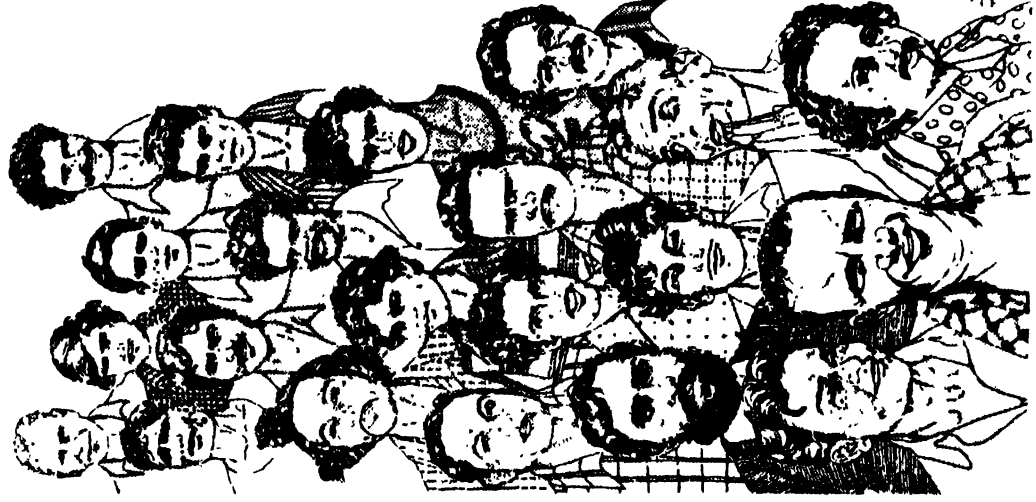
The younger generation among the fishermen are no doubt enthusiastic about modern formal education, but they are thrilled at the increased mechanisation in the fishing industry and at the handsome

returns that the industry now offers to the fishermen. They are determined to be in the industry because it assures them self-employment and freedom of operation. Malpe, Mangalore and Coondapoor are the major fishing towns in South Kanara co-vening 85 fishing villages. Malpe is being developed into a fishing harbour.

The South Kanara coast-line is fast changing. It is a phenomenon. And Syndicate Bank is proud of its contribution for the uplift of the fishermen.

Besides Syndicate Bank is actively involved in several fisheries development schemes, including export of fishing boats and brackish water fish cultivation in Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Orissa, Maharashtra and Goa.

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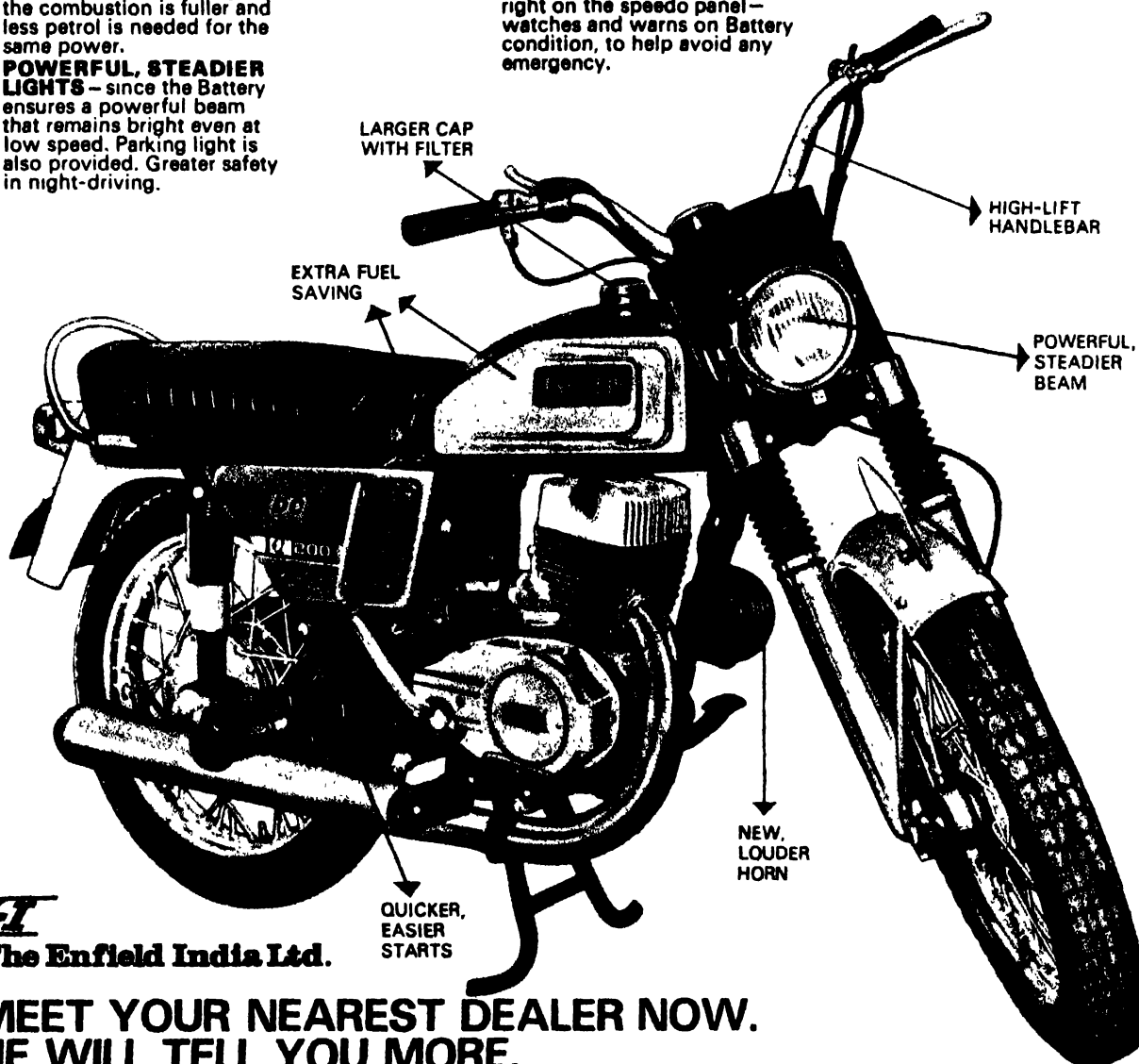
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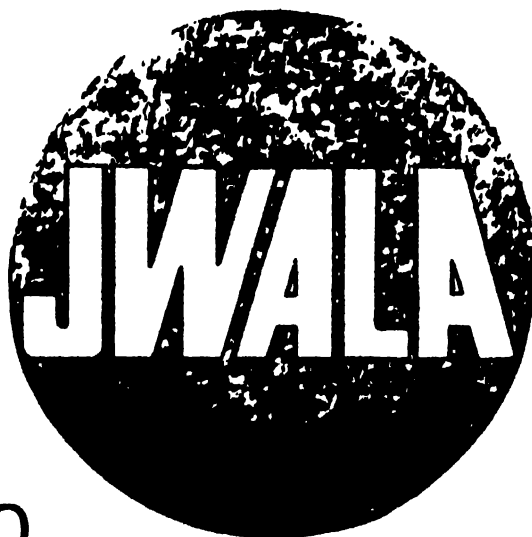
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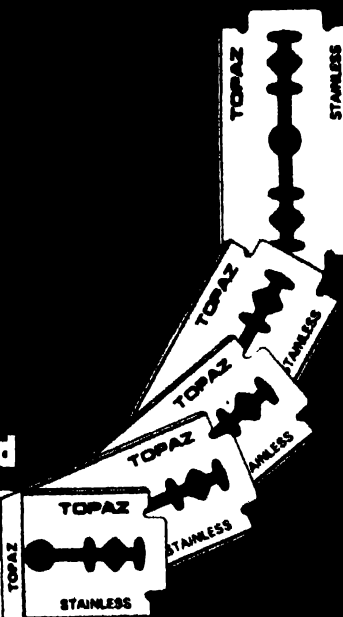
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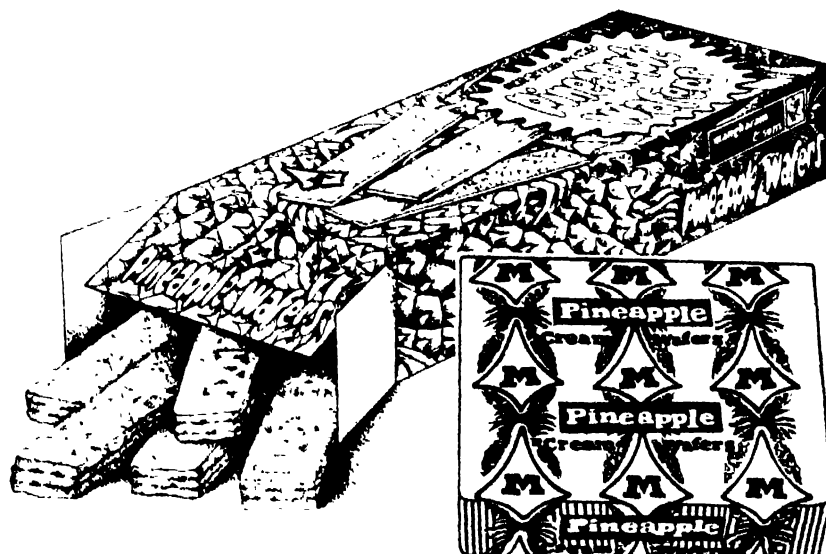
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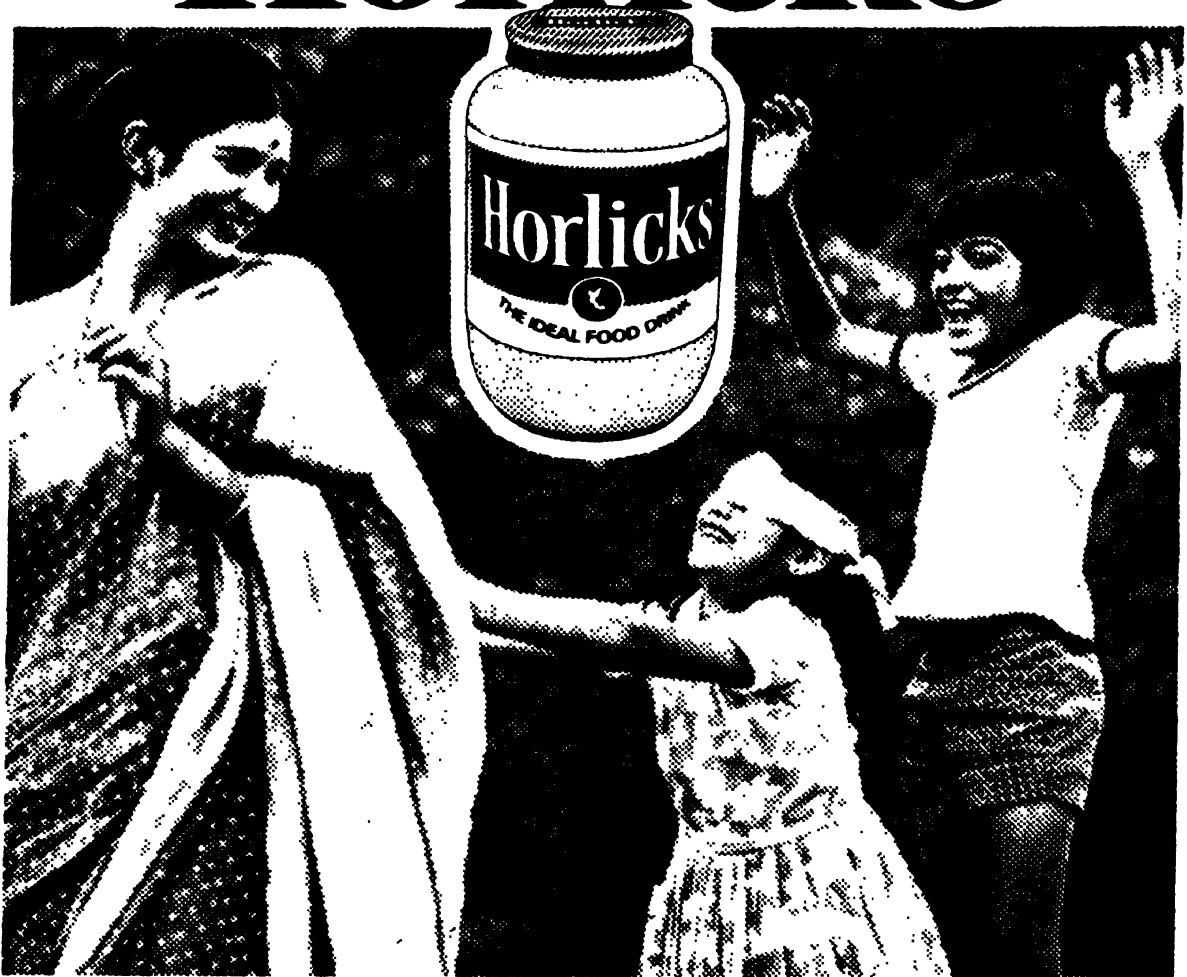
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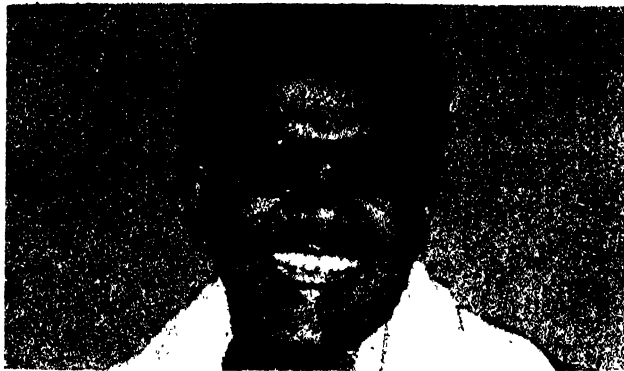
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When everything pointed towards Mrs Gandhi throwing down the gauntlet at the Thanjavur Parliamentary by-election, the political pulse of the country quickened in anticipation of another battle royale, Chikmagalur-style. But it was not to be, for Mrs Gandhi backed out in the eleventh hour after M. G. Ramachandran did some smart somersaulting. Through all this Mr Karunanidhi, who had taken up the gauntlet, got a walk-over. UDAYAN SHARMA reports on how it all happened; Mr Karunanidhi's own broadside at his arch-enemy. ARTHUR PAIS profiles the victor.

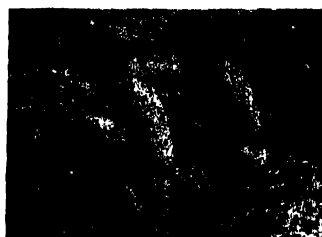


"For years together before the Second World War, Hitler was the RSS Ideal. Hatred was propagated against the principles of secularism, nationalism and values of the freedom movement. They also had a deep dislike for democracy. The RSS is, therefore, a threat to national unity, harmony and progress," says Janata leader, MADHU LIMAYE, in a detailed study of the role of the RSS in our national polity.

In another exclusive extract from "My Days with Nehru", M. O. MATHAI tells the story of Dharma Teja the shipping magnate, who impressed Prime Minister Nehru as the man who could get things done. Teja came to grief, says the author, because he gambled with Government money.

Gujarat may go to the polls sooner than 1980, when the next Assembly elections are due, owing to a number of factors influencing the State Janata Party's leadership. SANTOSH BHARTIYA reports on the shifting alignments, the rival Janata factions, and the Kanti Bhai connection.

Sabotage in high places appears to be the most likely explanation for the debacle of the Indian Army in the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962, says Lt. Col. J. R. SAIGAL. We publish extracts from his book, "The Unfought War of 1962".



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Editor M. J. Akbar

Assistant Editor Subir Roy Editorial Staff Shubhabrata Bhattacharya
Nirmal Mitra, David McMahon, Saumitra Banerjee, Parthasarathi Ghosh
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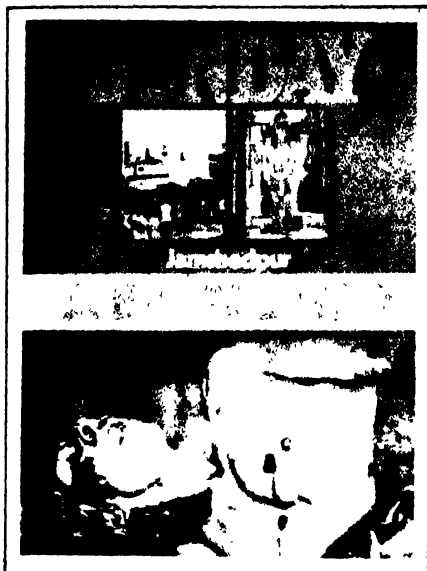
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Religion of malice

M. J. AKBAR's account of the Jamshedpur riots ("A brutal war", April 29) was both sad and realistic. Communal violence is always deplorable, but what is shocking is how the monster of communal frenzy is roused by a small incident. It is on record that communal organisations and their chiefs, in order to come to the limelight, create an atmosphere of hate. They have no religion, but that of malice. This sort of thing hurts me, because, like thousands of others, I had to suffer at the time of the Partition.

R. K. Gulati, Siliguri

WE MADE every effort to maintain communal harmony. But the Jamshedpur riots have shown that we still have a long way to go. Let Jamshedpur lead us from darkness to light.

Prahlad Ghosh, Calcutta

THE report was as excellent as it was impartial. While one can understand why the goondas, who have a lot to gain and nothing to lose, incited the mobs and whipped up communal feelings, one cannot understand or forgive the guardians of the law for taking sides and openly encouraging looting and larceny. The fight was certainly one between the Muslims and the BMP. The burning of the "protected" ambulance carrying helpless, unarmed women and children is evidence of the police's ulterior motives. As for Dinanath Pandey and the local Janata leaders, the less said about them the better.

Gloria Alberts, Jamshedpur.

THE communal carnage does not come as a surprise, except that it took a toll of 118 people in 96 hours of arson, looting and rioting. Our lopsided attitude towards religious minorities is compounded by Govern-

mental bigotry. When the frenzy of Jamshedpur shocked the conscience of the nation, Lok Sabha was busy announcing a Constitutional amendment to ban cow slaughter.

Kartick Chandra Das and Jahar Das, Calcutta.

ACCORDING to the report, the RSS was once again the provocateur. You have rightly said: "Law and order has two enemies: the Full Truth and the Complete Lie." Let the Full Truth prevail, and the Complete Lie be rooted out completely. Satyameva Jayate; the truth alone, after all, triumphs.

Bhaskar Sen, 24 Parganas.

Nobody won

WHILE the Jamshedpur killings were brutal, tragic and highly condemnable, I fail to understand why you have called it a "war"; there was no victor nor vanquished. Religious fanaticism of both the Hindu and Muslim communities was responsible for the bloodshed.

Bhaswati Saha, Calcutta.

IT IS clear that if Dinanath Pandey, the Janata MLA, had not demanded the release of the arrested Hindus during the procession, the riot might have been averted. It is also a shame that the Bihar Military Police took an active part in the war against Muslims. Who gave them the instructions to kill Muslims? If the Government does not take proper action against the guilty, the same carnage will recur in many more cities.

Animesh Sikdar, Kharagpur

IF THE police themselves, whom we trust to be neutral, turn out to be partial, who shall provide the shelter and security one can rely on? While my emotions do not permit me to speak out on the topic, I wonder whether the Bihar Government ever investigates or takes up such matters seriously.

Darryl Martin, Jamshedpur.

SUNDAY

We regret that due to the extraordinary power situation in West Bengal, we have been publishing our issues late. In order to ensure regular supplies of SUNDAY, we have been forced to drop two issues: the May 27 and June 3. We are sure our readers will bear with us with the same generosity which they have shown in the past.

—Editor

I PAY my respects to Professor Zakee Anwar (may his soul rest in peace) who lost his precious life in the brutal war, for the noble cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. He was known for his secularism among members of both communities, and was a fine Urdu writer.

Chowdhry Nisar Ahmed, Ambur (Tamil Nadu).

IT WAS beyond my imagination that people could be so butchered in the name of religion. What did the Hindus and Muslims in Jamshedpur want to prove? No religion in the world exhorts people to forsake morality, humanity and love.

Nihar' Bhattacharjee, Shillong.

ARUN SINHA's report about the orphan Kailash ("The world which changed a boy", April 29) is yet another gruesome tale too sad for words. Will the story of Kailash come up before the commission that is inquiring into the cause of the riots, and will he be able to lead a life free from the communal virus? It is a pity that in the International Year of the Child, the Government has failed to protect boys like Kailash.

Shyamal Gupta, Burdwan.

Another meaning

WHILE admitting all the points raised in the report, I would like to draw your attention to the misleading translation of a saying: "Dharma ki Jai ho, Adharma ka naash ho" as "Victory to our religion" and "Destroy those who do not believe". The word "our" here is redundant and apt to be misinterpreted. "Dharma" does not mean a particular religion, but applies to every religion. Likewise, "Adharma" does not mean "those who do not believe" but the wrong deeds of mankind.

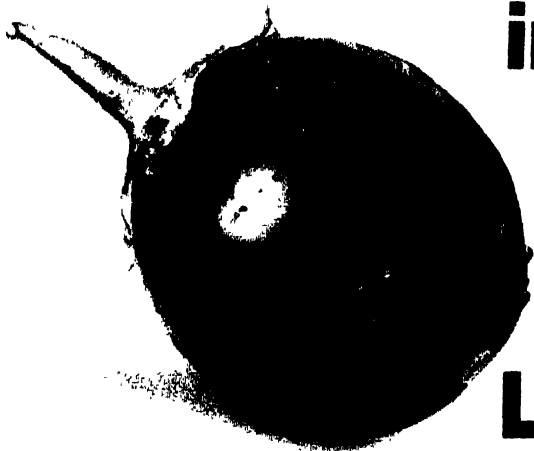
K. P. Yadav, Rourkela

CONGRATULATIONS for presenting an extremely balanced and investigative report on the recent riots in our town. I would, however, like to inform you that the photographer Kishan Murari Kishan would never have had to suffer without food had he been a little more resourceful. Our experience has been that right through the disturbances, there was little evidence of profiteering in the Bistupur area. Eggs, sugar and wheat were sold at pre-riot prices, and potatoes sold for Re 1 a kilo, not at Rs 5 as mentioned. Tea leaves, sugar and milk powder too were freely available, so I do not see why you couldn't get a decent cup of tea somewhere. Lastly, hotel accommodation would not have been a problem if you had come to the Boulevard Hotel. A Dutch family in a caravan, caught during curfew hours, spent a night here.

Ronald D'Costa, Jamshedpur.



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THE photographs with the cover story spoke clearly of the brutalities at Jamshedpur. All political leaders condemned the RSS and Bihar Military Police, but it is unfortunate that nobody thinks about the total loss suffered, in social as well as economic terms, or about how to check such riots in the future. Hardly interested in bringing the guilty to book, most leaders have been blaming the RSS and BMP to divert public attention and win the support of the Muslim minority. You have not mentioned the encounters between the BMP and some people at mosques and other places. The death toll of the BMP is proof that they took place.

M.K.N. Singh, Ranchi.

APROPOS of "The mafia", the author writes: "Biswanath Rungta a Marwari businessman, was arrested under section 107 of the IPC...." This is wrong. The author must mean, in the circumstances, Section 107 of the Cr.P.C., which provides that whenever a Presidency Magistrate, District Magistrate, Subdivisional Magistrate or a 1st Class Magistrate, is informed that any person is likely to commit a breach of public tranquillity or to do a wrongful act that may occasion a breach of peace or disturb the public tranquillity, he may in his discretion detain such a person in custody.

Pranab Kumar Chatterji, Calcutta.

Enlightened approach

APROPOS of your coverage of the power crisis (April 29), while some newspapers, through confusing and malicious reports, have been consistently trying to put the entire blame for the power crisis on the Left Front Government in general and Mr Jyoti Basu in particular, in refreshing contrast, SUNDAY has presented objective reports on the problem. The contents of the Burman Commission Report put the problem in the correct perspective and SUNDAY correspondents have rightly pointed out that "most of the revelations made by the Commission have a bearing on the present crisis". The findings of the report must be widely publicised and carefully examined by experts for taking necessary, corrective measures.

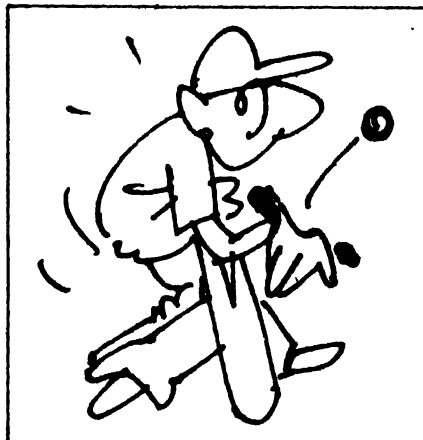
A. K. Das Gupta, Hyderabad.

DAVID McMAHON deserves praise for the intelligent interview ("Left in the dark", April 29) he conducted. One was, however, ashamed to see a senior bureaucrat like Mr S. M. Murshed coming out in such poor light. It seemed he was plainly, not interested. This is evident in his replies to various questions. The very first query as to what the Government has done to tackle the power crisis received an answer which I can only describe as classic: "..... crisis management has been done by us... should be obvious to anyone." That, one would like to tell Mr Murshed, isn't really very obvious. Reading

the morbid reports on the power situation in four newspapers everyday, I am yet to be convinced by the argument, proffered by so many spokesmen of the Government, including the noted economist, Dr Ashok Mitra, that all the Governments of the last 30 years are to blame for the present crisis.

Ranjan Bose, Kalimpong.

No silly point



WHILE reading Masoodul Huq's anecdotes about cricket, (Stranger than fiction, April 22), I was reminded of another incident when a batsman was declared out for "handling the ball". This happened in 1956-57 at Capetown, when a rising delivery from Jim Laker (MCC) was palmed away by W. Endean (South Africa).

N. K. Kejriwal, Varanasi

Nobel words

I WAS amused to read your interview with Rajiv ("Rajiv: Mathai didn't know us," May 13) which reached me only yesterday.

Since I have known Rajiv while he was a cry baby crawling on all fours and still retain much goodwill towards him, I have a natural disinclination to enter into a public argument with him. Rajiv seems to have grown up as one who wishes to teach his grandmother how to suck an egg. It is not unnatural for one not to remember what happened when one was a tiny tot. Even for an adult, memory is in direct proportion to the brain the head contains. So I cannot blame Rajiv for something beyond his ken.

Albert Einstein was a "drop-out" from school. Winston Churchill was worse. None of them went to college either. But both won the Nobel Prize. I hope Rajiv and Sanjay will also achieve this. They need not lose hope. In the meantime I stand by every word I wrote in the chapter "Rajiv and Sanjay" in the book *My Days With Nehru*.

M. O. Mathai, Madras.

Robbed of a job

AJOY BOSE's article, "The job racket" (April 22) is both revealing and factual. I would like to add to it my own bitter experience. Last year, a private bank with its headquarters in central Delhi invited applications for the posts of Probationary Officers, who would be selected on the basis of an examination and an interview. We were required to send Rs 25 along with the application forms. The examination was held in January 1979 and in April, I was called for the interview which was held in Delhi. The interviewees had to travel to Delhi on their own expense. Imagine the bewilderment, when, having gone all the way from Calcutta, my interview lasted just two minutes (and in some cases it was less than two minutes). During the course of my interview, an interviewer remarked snidely that women should not be working in banks because the job involves transfers and married women would not be able to cope with it. I wondered that if this was his attitude, why was I called for the interview in the first place? In the process I wasted a lot of money travelling to Delhi. Needless to say, I have not heard from them as yet and through friends in Delhi I learnt that my name was not on the list of successful candidates. The bank however, has not bothered to inform me about this.

Miss S. Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta.

Misused media

THIS is in reference to "The Media" (April 15). In the last thirty years of our Congress Raj I do not remember any occasion when a leader belonging to the Opposition Party was given any time by the Government-controlled media to express his views and opinions, on matters of public interest. Neither have I at any time heard renowned journalists complaining about the blanket ban on Opposition leaders. Hence your vehemence now about the exclusion of certain individuals from Radio and TV; to say the least, it is amusing.

Certain individuals had virtually exclusive rights over the media, for the last thirty years which they have fully utilised to distort history, facts and opinions of others. Let them now enjoy a dose of the same medicine for a few days. Neither have you ever stood up in the past for observance of democratic norms by the Government-controlled media nor have you yourself — journalists as a class — followed it. You may like it or not but you should accept it for a fact that Balasaheb Deoras is a national leader, and he does not need props outside to raise him to that level. Your tirade against the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, is therefore unnecessary and hypocritical. Please note that all intelligent and discerning readers can see through your game.

Kedar Joshi, Pune

Illustration: Ashwini Malik

The high drama fizzled out into a severe anti-climax when, at the last minute, Mrs Indira Gandhi decided not to contest from Thanjavur. She consulted her Party leaders, and of course her astrologers, before coming to this decision—but what finally turned the day was Tamil Nadu Chief Minister MGR's "betrayal", under alleged "pressure" from Prime Minister Desai, an allegation which MGR hotly denied as untrue. In any case, Mrs Gandhi's "invincible from the South" image received a major dent with her withdrawal from the contest. **SUNDAY** pieces together the fascinating story of how and why Mrs Gandhi withdrew from Thanjavur and how the challenge by former Tamil Nadu Chief Minister K. Karunanidhi unnerved both MGR and Mrs Gandhi.

What I was fighting for in Thanjavur

By M. KARUNANIDHI

A number of important issues concerning the people of Tamil Nadu have surfaced making the two by-elections at Thanjavur and Naga-pattinam on June 17 no ordinary ones. My Party and I would miss no opportunity to expose and highlight the wanton misrule of the MGR Government. MGR has not been speaking like a tinpot dictator, he's behaving like one. Naturally this has emboldened his partymen to indulge in all kinds of unscrupulous activities. Tamil Nadu today reeks of not only illicit alcohol but also of governmental violence, corruption and sabotage of freedom of the Press.

The biggest issue in Thanjavur, the rice bowl of Tamil Nadu, is the water dispute. I blame both Mrs Gandhi and MGR for the inordinate delay in settling the Cauvery water issue. When I was in power, I tried to settle this tricky problem by having a dialogue with all political Parties and also with the leaders in the neighbouring States. When other leaders began dragging their feet the DMK Government filed a case in the Supreme Court to protect the riparian rights of Thanjavur farmers. In addition, the ryots too filed a case in the same court. But Mrs Gandhi stepped in and suggested we withdraw the cases. She promised us that she'll work out an amicable solution to this long pending problem. But she did precious little. When MGR's Party captured power, he accused the DMK of having done nothing on the Cauvery issue. He promised to solve the water problem. In spite of his obsequious zeal for Mrs Gandhi, the ugly problem stares straight into your eyes even today. And as if to add insult to injury, the AIADMK Government has unleashed unprece-

THE MAN WHO SCARED



INDIRA GANDHI

ented terror on the agriculturalist community.

Landlords and farmers have a great many problems. Instead of trying to solve them in a genuine manner, MGR's Government is announcing make-belief concessions. And when it is not doing so, it rapes the pride of hardworking peasants and farmers by insulting their women, by encouraging the police to inflict terror and violence on them and by dubbing the farmers' agitation as a scheme by affluent landlords.

MGR is fond of telling the agriculturists that he cannot do anything about the increase in the paddy procurement price as this is a matter concerning the Central Government. His memory is failing him, or is it that he doesn't want to remember what the DMK Government did for the agriculturists? We gave them Rs. 10 as bonus and Rs. 5 as transportation charges per quintal above the price given by the Centre. Moreover, even the DMK Government procured lakhs of tonnes of paddy directly through the Civil Supplies Corporation of the State Government. We thus prevented the traders and middlemen from cornering the farmers and making them indulge in "distress sale" at lower prices.

At the same time the DMK Government took care that the consumers were not cheated. The MGR Government does not even want to buy paddy on a large scale even at the rates fixed by the Centre. Two years ago, on the floor of the Assembly, MGR made a solemn promise that he would give at least Re 1 more than what we gave for paddy. This was one of the few occasions when he seemed to have

remembered our help to the farmers. And like hundreds of glib promises made by him, this one too waits to be fulfilled.

Real life politics, alas, is far different from selling colourful dreams in films. He once assured that he would at least get higher price for the paddy cultivated by the small farmers. Has he forgotten this promise? Does it really make a difference if paddy is held by small farmers or big farmers? The cost of cultivation is more or less the same for both. Recently MGR announced concessions worth Rs 40 crores to farmers. To the naive public this may look an impressive and generous relief but this is nothing but an election stunt, as fake a stunt as you see in MGR films. You must realise that the Tamil Nadu Government is not contributing a single paise from its current budget towards this Rs 40 crores. In fact there are certain cooperative loans disbursed from 1967 to the extent of Rs 27

and MGR joined hands in '74, they vowed to establish a corruption-free Government. MGR has been exhibiting exemplary puritanism in his films and often the gullible people did think that MGR was so in real life. A few months after he assumed office, he kept away as many people as possible from visiting his Ministers at the Secretariat. Special passes had to be obtained to visit the offices of Ministers. This measure, we were told, was meant to prevent favour-seekers from roaming the corridors of the Secretariat with their bulging wallets, ever ready to part with some of their ill-gotten wealth in exchange of some favours, most of which they didn't deserve. This was yet another make-belief act.

But corruption, widespread and ever increasing, has possessed this Government, destroying its credibility beyond any repair. Take for instance the prohibition issue. MGR has introduced draconian punishment for those who imbibe alcohol. Apart from

those who indulge in the manufacture of illicit liquor and those who have it smuggled into Tamil Nadu. This former police constable enjoyed unbelievable strokes of luck soon after MGR became the Chief Minister. He continues his activities right under MGR's nose. Every city, town, village and panchayat in Tamil Nadu can show one or two men born in obscure poverty who are today basking in the glory of illicit alcohol trade.

MGR has been promising debt relief concessions which do not seem to be materialising at all. He had promised to collect money from pawn-brokers to the extent of Rs one lakh. This again is an empty promise. And then there is this business of compounding taxation. This new scheme has brought some relief to the film-exhibitors but then MGR has collected several lakhs from the exhibitors to provide this relief.

The DMK Government had begun nationalisation of private buses. First



Karunanidhi with Mrs Gandhi



MGR electioneering

crores and cooperative societies and banks had no option but to write off those loans and funds have been provided for that purpose. So that leaves a balance of Rs 13 crores, which is used again to write off Takkavi loans. Fortunately for MGR provision was made in the previous years, particularly during the DMK times to build up a fund to write off such loans. You must also remember that the Takkavi loans today amount to Rs 20 crores. So you note that the farmers are not given any real concessions now.

LET us come to corruption. When M. Kalyanasundaram of the CPI

the fact that workers and other impoverished people are often arrested and made to suffer, the barons of this prosperous illicit trade in alcohol go scot-free.

There is a person who is very close to MGR, an ex-police constable who was sacked because of some serious charges levelled against him. He used to be MGR's bodyguard. He today has graduated to the level of making expensive colour films. He has already produced two films which didn't have much popularity though. But he's not really worried as Mamul in lakhs flows into his coffers month after month as he provides excellent "protection" to

we introduced a ceiling of ten buses for an individual. Then we took over giants like ABT and TVS. Later we created our own bus corporations naming them after the Pallava and Chola dynasties. This scheme worked out well and we started taking over buses in the districts starting with the Nilgiris.

The bus operators sought the help of the Supreme Court which granted a stay. During President's Rule, the ceiling was brought down to three buses. Now MGR has promised the bus operators to raise the numbers to five. And he has also promised them that he is not going to rush through the nationalisation business.



Annadurai (extreme right) with Karunanidhi (second from left)

With this promise of diluting the progressive measures taken by the DMK, the Party concerned has collected not less than Rs. 60 lakhs as slush money from the bus operators.

The purchase of two cargo ships is another issue which brought to the public notice the corrupt greed bugging the ruling Party. Instead of buying two ships at a modest (comparatively speaking) price from a particular firm, MGR's agents, through the State shipping outfit, sought to buy the same ships from Aug-Bolton, Hamburg, West Germany. This German outfit tried to sell us the same ships which were earlier available at a reasonable price for a very high price. The MGR Government stood to gain nothing less than Rs 150 lakhs as slush money. I exposed this skulduggery in the Assembly. So for some time there was silence. And then efforts were made to buy the ships through a party in Bulgaria. Even then the powers that be stood to gain at least Rs 80 lakhs. An IAS officer who was in-charge of this business found the entire episode so sordid and painful that it affected his health drastically. He died a few months after he began looking into the shameful affair. This matter has been raised in Parliament. I wonder what the Ministry concerned is doing about this.

Informed people know how much of black money MGR used to take when he was in films. This culture of black money has to be checked. Now is the time to do it; in Than-

javar and Nagapattinam.

Though a Congress (I) candidate is opposing our candidate in Thanjavur, we see the fight as something more important than an electoral contest between the Congress (I) and the DMK. The sins of the Emergency, the brutal dismissal of the DMK Government in '76, the imprisonment of hundreds of DMK workers, are a painful memory. But the Emergency is not a living issue now. The Congress (I) candidate, realistically speaking, is a sort of dummy. So there's not much point in harping on the Emergency: After all how many people suffered in Thanjavur because of the Emergency? The present suffering of our people has to be emphasised. What's more important is to bring to our people's notice the subtle schemes used by the AIADMK men to enrich themselves.

For the other failures of the AIADMK Government are quite glaring: Every day during the course of the latter fortnight in May, thousands of agitating farmers have been arrested. Even if most of them are let off every evening, their determination to fight this Government increases day by day. In his films MGR went out of his way to play the good Samaritan, espousing the causes of landless labour, exploited fishermen, starving rickshaw pullers and other indigent people. At least some of these populist stunts could have been translated into reality. ■

THIS was an evening show. It lasted exactly 160 minutes. The main roles were played by Tamil Nadu's greatest newscast, M. G. Ramachandran, Mrs Indira Gandhi, Devraj Urs and the evergreen star, the Ashok Kumar of Indian politics, Morarji Desai. And poor MGR was forced to play a double—for little reward.

But whatever MGR may say to justify his last-minute decision to withdraw support from Mrs Gandhi, it is certain that till 7.30 p.m. on May 19 he had assured Mrs Gandhi of his support for her, and she had decided to contest from Thanjavur. MGR and Mrs Gandhi had already had a long talk to discuss the kind of campaign they should organise for Mrs Gandhi. TNCC (I) president Swaminathan and G. K. Mooppanar had seemingly settled their differences and were accompanying the Tamil Nadu CM to participate in the various discussions to plan out strategy. The Tamil Nadu CM had instructed his Ministers, two of whom, too, were in Delhi, to make arrangements for Mrs Gandhi's visit to Madras and Thanjavur the next day to file her nomination. Indian Airlines tickets had been bought. During a meeting with Kamalapati Tripathi, at the latter's house in Delhi, MGR had confidently declared, "I will see her through, don't worry."

Of course, some of Mrs Gandhi's Partymen had raised doubts about the choice of Thanjavur. The constituency had a large Muslim population, and this community accounts for 30 per cent of the vote. And the Muslims of the constituency were known to be hostile to her. But the superstar of Tamil Nadu brushed these reservations aside. He was bubbling with confidence. "Don't worry, I'll see her through." Even the time for filing the nomination was fixed: 12.30 p.m. on May 20, a time fixed after consultation with expensive astrologers.

It had been decided that after Mrs Gandhi filed her nomination, she would lead a procession. MGR was to sit on the left side of the car, and Mrs Gandhi on the right side; both of them would share a platform at a public meeting which would officially launch the campaign for the return of Mrs Gandhi to the Lok Sabha. A bungalow just outside Thanjavur town, owned by Nadimuthu Pillai, was selected as the place where Mrs Gandhi could camp during her campaign. Mr Sivaji Ganesan, another matinee idol though not with MGR's popularity, was sounded out for campaigning on behalf of Mrs Gandhi, although he was shooting in Japan. (Mr Mooppanar contacted him on the phone). An alliance of these two celluloid stars would have been an effective help for Mrs Gandhi.

But the scenario changed dramatically at 10 p.m. on May 19. The attitude of MGR had changed. During the evening he had met two people: Prime Minister Morarji

Hush-hush meetings in Delhi

Nautanki MGR destroys the Indira myth By UDAYAN SHARMA

Desai and Karnataka Chief Minister Devraj Urs. Urs also met Mrs Gandhi and told her that her contesting from Thanjavur would lead to a confrontation between the pro and anti-Urs forces in the South. He said that her contesting from Thanjavur would be interpreted as a loss of confidence in him, and lead to a lot of problems for him. Mrs Gandhi replied that she had not lost any confidence in him, she gave the impression that she could win from Thanjavur quite easily. Urs of course insisted that she retain Chikmagalur as her constituency.

Mrs Gandhi was clearly not persuaded by Urs to change her mind. Then Urs tried his final ploy. He met MGR. Very few people are aware that MGR and Urs are on extremely good terms. According to one Congress (I) source, Mr Devraj Urs' son-in-law had met MGR 15 days earlier and asked MGR to withdraw his support for Mrs Gandhi. This may or may not be correct, but it is true that Urs played an important part in persuading MGR to change his mind about Mrs Gandhi.

WHY did MGR develop cold feet? The state of the Congress (I) in Tamil Nadu was one good reason. A few months ago, Karupiah Moopanar, an ex-MP from Thanjavur, had been removed from presidency of the TNCC(I), and R. V. Swaminathan was brought into his place. There was also an effort to put a third person, Nedumaran, in this post. He is the real force within the TNCC(I).

Moopanar, who comes from Thanjavur, was very keen to see that Mrs Gandhi contested from Thanjavur. He saw this as an opportunity to regain the confidence that Indira *crima* had lost in him. The unmentioned charge against him when he was removed from the presidency of the TNCC(I) was that he was hobnobbing with the DMK. On the other hand, after his ouster, Nedumaran came into prominence—and some AIADMK people tried to see that Nedumaran became the new TNCC(I) chief and Nedumaran was an Urs man.

If Mrs Gandhi had contested and won from Thanjavur it would have been a victory for Moopanar, and Urs was not happy about this, as it would have reduced Nedumaran's hold on the State unit of his Party. There was nothing that Urs could gain from Mrs Gandhi's contesting, and there was everything he could lose. He pointed out to MGR that (a) Karunanidhi belonged to Thanjavur, and over and above his own ability he also had the support of all the major Parties, (b) the by-election results in which the Congress (I) was

thrashed was a sign that the Party's influence in the South was waning, (c) there was no reason why a commission could not be appointed against MGR if he continued to give such pronounced support to Mrs Gandhi and (d) the Congress (I) itself was suffering from fissures, particularly in Tamil Nadu.

After meeting Urs, MGR met the PM. It is reliably learnt that Mr Desai did not say a single thing about MGR's tax problems. The PM chided MGR for his proposed march to Delhi to focus the attention of the country on the farmers' agitation in Tamil Nadu. The PM told the CM in plain words that it was improper for a Chief Minister to indulge in such tactics.

Apart from this, the PM discussed law and order in Tamil Nadu. He told MGR that if the law and order situation worsened for any reason he would not hesitate to take appropriate action. This unnerved MGR, who is not confident about facing the electorate at this particular moment. His popularity in his State is at a fairly low ebb.

When MGR came out of Desai's room he was a shaken man. And by the time he had met Mrs Gandhi a second time that evening, in Kamalapati Tripathi's house, he had changed his stand. He began arguing a line totally opposite to what he had been suggesting only a couple of hours earlier. He now said that the chances of her winning were very dim. Plus, he said, the law and order situation in the State might deteriorate. There was danger to Mrs Gandhi's life, the DMK was taking a very strong and aggressive posture on this issue of her election, and he could not ensure her victory as the Congress (I) was a divided house. There was possibility of internal sabotage.

Mrs Gandhi was upset. She pointed out that all arrangements had been finalised, even the airline tickets were bought. And withdrawal at this juncture would be seen as a political setback. MGR replied "Let me think over this," and left Mr Tripathi's residence. After one hour Mr Ramchandran telephoned Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi's house and said, "Since your Party is divided, there is a possibility of internal bickering and sabotage from within... Therefore, I will advise Mrs Gandhi not to contest from Thanjavur."

And the lady who claimed to be the invincible leader of the South had to withdraw because a *nautanki* decided at the last minute that she was not a good enough bet.

The decision to contest from Thanjavur had been Mrs Gandhi's, and

she had decided on that in spite of advice from her wellwishers, including Pandit Tripathi and Dr Channa Reddy, that the seat was unsafe. Mr Kamalapati Tripathi pointed out that even if she won, a large share of the credit would go not to her, but to the AIADMK and MGR—and people would in any case get the impression that she was unable to get elected on her own. It is learnt that even Mr C. M. Stephen had warned Mrs Gandhi about MGR, arguing that he was not essentially a politician. And after May 18, MGR has lost much of his credibility—he has lost as much as Mrs Gandhi if not more, particularly since in Tamil Nadu, losing face is a serious problem for a politician. There seems little possibility now of a lasting political alliance between the AIADMK and the Congress (I) in Tamil Nadu. As Margaret Alva put it: "When I was handling Mrs Gandhi's campaign in Chikmagalur, I had fixed up four election meetings for MGR to address after obtaining his consent. He did not attend even one. Instead he quietly proceeded to the USA." Nobody is going to show much faith in MGR in the future.

The Thanjavur episode has further strengthened Devraj Urs. She will now inevitably have to fall back on him to return to Parliament. Urs' open stand against Sanjay Gandhi has also helped him pick up more supporters within the Congress (I). In fact the Sanjay caucus has been suggesting that Urs should be removed from the Chief Ministership of Karnataka—before he leaves the Congress (I).

Why was Mrs Gandhi so keen to contest? Obviously, one reason is that she wants to use the Lok Sabha as a forum, and use the privileges of an MP to fight the Special Courts. But that is not the only reason. There is a very distinct possibility of the Congress (I) splitting—on the Sanjay issue, and Mrs Gandhi perhaps feels that if she is in Parliament, she can prevent too many MPs from deserting her in case of such a split. The revolt against Sanjay has been taking shape since May 1, when Sanjay led a Youth Congress rally in the capital. The senior leadership of the Congress (I), especially Devraj Urs, Tirude (of Maharashtra) and Kamalapati Tripathi have also made it clear to Mrs Gandhi that the judiciary should not be ridiculed or undermined. The leaders say that they are ready to take up Sanjay's cases in Parliament—but the Congress (I) should not become synonymous with Sanjay's problems.

Mrs Gandhi is a worried woman these days.

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Madras astrologers answer the question : would Mrs Gandhi have won ? Their answer is the inevitable.

Yes and No



P. T. Sundaram

"SHE certainly would have won in Thanjavur but her victory would have created fresh problems for her: it is better for her to wait for some more months", Professor P. T. Sundaram, a Madras astrologer and palmist told **SUNDAY**. Sundaram met Mrs Gandhi for the first time in July '63. He had predicted she would become the Prime Minister by '66. Seven years later, he told Delhi journalists that Mrs Gandhi would be Prime Minister till 1977. Sundaram claims that several Cabinet Ministers have consulted him in the past. But one of the most interesting clients he has ever had was Thiru M. K. Karunanidhi. Very few people in Madras know of Karunanidhi's interest in astrology: the DMK men, self-proclaimed rationalists, are expected not to consult astrologers and palmists.

Sundaram claims that Karunanidhi approached him in 1972 through K. Manoharan (who is now Minister of Finance in MGR's Cabinet). "At that time I was going through a 15-day-long silent retreat. But Manoharan was too anxious to get Karunanidhi's future. So I wrote it down and handed it over: I mentioned that after 1974 there would be a steady decline in Karunanidhi's popularity. Manoharan is an intelligent man: in a few months, he began allying himself with MGR and started criticising Karunanidhi left, right and centre."

After going through Mrs Gandhi's horoscope, Sundaram observed: "Now Saturn is the ruling planet, and Venus is the sub-ruling planet. Apart from that, from the moon Saturn is in the 8th house and so is Rahu. This *Ashtamathi* Saturn period will continue till August-September. From then onwards, her period is extremely good. Her popularity will increase hundredfold:



M. Srinivasachariar

thereafter it won't be difficult for her to win an election from any constituency at all. The Special Courts won't be able to hurt her in any way..."

Sundaram has plenty of newspaper cuttings to prove that he had predicted the assassination of Sri Lanka Prime Minister Bandaranaike, and several other important events. "So with confidence I can tell you that this Central Government will go through an unprecedented crisis in September and October. And some time later Charan Singh will become the Prime Minister: he may not last long, but surely he'll achieve his life-long ambition. By 1980, many people who are opposed to Mrs Gandhi now will change their attitude towards her," he continued. "And the pious fence-sitters will certainly walk over to her." He strongly feels that Mrs Gandhi ought to contest the election by herself. "There's no point in allying with unreliable partners. Her credibility will soar high if she wins on her own."

He has also studied horoscopes of Sanjay and Rajiv. "The latter has a fine future ahead of him. He'll be more of an introvert, he'll undergo a spiritual journey and may even turn out to be a minor mahatma." About Sanjay, he said: "He too has a very powerful horoscope, but right now, he's undergoing bad times because of the seven years of Saturn in his horoscope. Soon he'll come out of this dark period and begin to prosper. He will be marginally involved in politics in the course of the next decade, but by 1990 his interest in politics will grow and I predict that by 1999, he'll become the Prime Minister: this much I told him nearly ten years ago."

Indira Gandhi's current problems

shouldn't worry her too much, he feels. "Right now the world position is terribly bad; every nation is unhappy, every individual is harassed by a multitude of problems as never before. Every 30 years, Saturn comes to Leo; every 18th year Rahu is in Leo; every 12th year, Jupiter is in Leo. Now all the three planets are in Leo. This disturbing trend will continue for another two years."

PROFESSOR Sundaram's "guarded optimism" is not shared by two other prominent, experienced and highly respected Madras astrologers. Pandit Kaliyur M. Srinivasachar said that she would have certainly lost the Thanjavur election. "Mrs Gandhi should stop consulting astrologers," he said. "Instead, she should withdraw from politics for some years and should do penance for her mistakes. Only then people would have genuine faith in her and pull her back to politics. She may win an election or two, but this does not necessarily mean that her overall position has improved: it would be like serving *badam halwa* to a patient suffering from high fever."

According to Srinivasachar's readings, Tamil Nadu is going through a prosperous period and this will continue. "This stability need not be disturbed for some flimsy, ego-satisfying desires of some individuals," he warned. "There are politicians who attain power which they do not deserve and they think no end of themselves. Such people get severe punishment. A powerful breeze can lift a filthy plantain leaf, thrown outside a marriage function, quite high, but that does not make the leaf anything precious."

Mani Iyer, the popular astrologer of the mass-circulated Tamil daily, *Dina Thanthi* said: "Broadly speaking, she would have stood no chance in Thanjavur. I have her horoscope here and I do not find any political resurrection for her in the immediate future". Mani Iyer's observations are: "Mrs Gandhi was born at 41-55-1/2 *ghattakas*—on Monday, 19-11-1917, at Allahabad. This birth data was given to me by a leading astrological publication bureau in 1969. Taking this data as correct, I find that Mrs Gandhi's birth sign falls at 29.1.1 degree in Cancer. Of course there are so many versions and differences of opinion in fixing the ascendant (*lagna*) by different astrologers. Mrs Gandhi lost her political status during the early months of 1977. When she was under the influence of Venus in her main *dasha* of Saturn. This period of Venus runs till 5-3-1980; then the sun's sub-period runs till 17-2-1981. These two periods are not favourable or good to her at all, in politics as well as in personal life. She will have a turbulent and chaotic atmosphere. Here I have to mention that astrologically her moon sign, Capricorn, applies to her problems. After 17-2-1981, in moon's sub-period, she may come out victorious from her fallen life. It will be not a wonder even if she wields political power after that."



Madras was disappointed

BY ARTHUR PAIS

biggest printing presses in Sivakasi was contacted to confirm whether it could print and deliver two lakhs of posters within 48 hours.

Elsewhere efforts were being made to persuade matinee idol Sivaji Ganesan to go to Thanjavur to campaign on behalf of Mrs Gandhi. Sivaji Ganesan, who had gone out of his way to campaign for the Congress(I) in the '77 elections, was by now disgusted with the continuing feud between Swaminathan's and Moopanar's factions, in the Tamil Nadu Congress(I), and was fighting shy of entering the electioneering fray. In Karunanidhi's camp too efforts were being made to get some movie stars, like Jai Shankar, to address some DMK rallies. Already, theatres in Thanjavur had started showing vintage MGR hits and Karunanidhi-written films. *Adu Pambey*, written by Karunanidhi, was being readied for an early release, to reach the Thanjavur voters in time.

MRS GANDHI was to arrive in Madras on Sunday, May 20, on her way to Trichy en route to Thanjavur. At least a thousand people turned up at the Meenabakkam airport to give her a rousing welcome: hundreds had brought flowers and bouquets. Some carried placards showing Mrs Gandhi with Kamaraj and Nehru; some enthusiasts carried pictures of MGR and Mrs Gandhi together. But there was no sight of Mrs Gandhi. Instead, tense-faced Tamil Nadu Congress(I) leaders R. V. Swaminathan and G. Garuppiiah Moopanar broke the news that Mrs Gandhi would not contest. Swaminathan hastened to add that Congress(I) leaders had found a sudden change in MGR's attitude the previous night after the latter met Morarji Desai.

The "sudden change" came as a strong disappointment to the DMK, and to Karunanidhi personally. The DMK boss looked upon the Thanjavur election as an excellent means to snub Mrs Gandhi, who had desperately sought and got the DMK MPs' support in Parliament in 1969 after the Congress split, who had formed an alliance with him in the 1971 State elections against Kamaraj's Congress(O), and who had no compunctions in throwing out his Government in 1976, accusing him of "treason against the nation", and charging him and other DMK leaders of harbouring "secessionist

plans". And Karunanidhi would have used Thanjavur also to snub MGR, who, apart from inflicting many electoral humiliations on the DMK, had locked him up for six weeks in Madras jail in 1977 in the wake of the violent DMK-sponsored demonstrations which greeted Mrs Gandhi's visit to the State. Moreover, Karunanidhi has been harassed. He stands charged with more than a dozen serious crimes. "You know if those charges are proved, he may get life imprisonment," a DMK worker said bitterly. "But our leader knows that most of the charges are utterly false and the few which are true are highly exaggerated."

The Congress(I) enjoys much less support than the DMK in Thanjavur despite the fact that Moopanar comes from there and is well known, and if Mrs Gandhi was to stand any chance, she needed MGR. Swaminathan minced no words when he implied that MGR was a weak poultron whose enthusiasm for Mrs Gandhi dribbled after "meeting the Prime Minister". But the charge seems to have little basis in fact, and sounds a typical Congress(I) cover-up. Certainly MGR denied there was any pressure from Prime Minister Desai. A visibly irritated MGR accused Swaminathan of speaking in an "irresponsible way" without knowing facts.

When Swaminathan was asked whether the "betrayal" by MGR meant a total break of electoral ties with the AIADMK, he snapped back, "Where was the Congress(I)-AIA-DMK alliance?" He claimed that all that he had asked was for "help and assistance" from the AIADMK. He sought to impress upon journalists that Mrs Gandhi had never decided to contest from Thanjavur. He denied that the Parliamentary Board had met and decided to field Mrs Gandhi in Thanjavur. His denials had a weak ring to them. How would he explain the printing of hundreds of posters announcing Mrs Gandhi's candidature? It was not done upon official instructions, he said in an embarrassed tone. Why were tickets for Mrs Gandhi's flight to Tiruchi booked? "Yes, I don't deny this. It was done in anticipation," Mr Swaminathan said. He continued, "It was Mr C. M. Stephen

ON SATURDAY, May 19, half a dozen Congress(I) volunteers, armed with colourful pictures of Mrs Gandhi, squatted near Anna Salai post office in Madras and began raising funds for the Thanjavur campaign by offering to polish shoes of the passersby: the response was heartening.

The Congress(I) Parliamentary Board had not yet, officially, taken any decision on Mrs Gandhi's candidacy for the Parliamentary seat from Thanjavur, vacated a few months ago when S. D. Somasundaram of the AIADMK resigned to join MGR's Cabinet. But the word had gone around that Mrs Gandhi was to file her nomination on Monday. "Friendly" newspapers and magazines were even told that she'd file the nomination exactly at 12.35 p.m. as advised by her "mysterious" Bihari astrologer.

By Saturday night, camp-followers had got ready 20,000 multi-coloured posters announcing the inauguration of her poll campaign by Mrs Indira Gandhi. A few trucks were kept filled with posters, to move towards Thanjavur. And one of the

who had been the contact man [between MGR and Congress (I)]. Stephen had been in touch with MGR for the last five or six months. He used to come and report to us and once told us that MGR had promised to give 150 per cent support to Mrs Gandhi".

Though MGR was furious at Swaminathan's remarks, he was not in a mood to offend the Congress(I) beyond a point. So, at his directive, the AIADMK decided on May 21 not to contest the Thanjavur seat.

At this moment, the DMK does not have a single MP. Asai Thambi, who represented the DMK from North Madras died a few week's

ago in the Andamans. "North Madras is our strongest constituency," a DMK worker said "and our strength in Thanjavur is growing. So it was important to wrest that seat from the ruling Party and prove beyond doubt that people are again swinging back to the DMK". The campaign in Thanjavur would have been different from the Chikmagalur campaign had Mrs Gandhi contested, said a DMK spokesman. "We would not have harped much on the Emergency. Instead we would've concentrated on the misdeeds of the MGR Government. And we would have told the voters that MGR lacked the guts to field his own candidate, and hence he had

to import 'charisma' from New Delhi."

Tamil Nadu's media men were also terribly disappointed. The Tamil magazines with mass circulations like *Kumudam*, *Ananda Vikatan*, *Idhayam*, *Pesikrathu* and *Alibaba* are passionately committed to MGR and Mrs Gandhi, and they were all ready to flash colour pictures of Mrs Gandhi and MGR on their covers. "All excitement just vanished the moment we heard Mrs Gandhi had backed out," said one of the journalists who writes for *Kumudam*. "We had expected a tough fight, tougher than what had happened in Chikmagalur. And this time it would have been a photo-finish contest."

He learnt his craft at E. V. Ramasamy Naicker's feet

AS a young man he sat at E. V. Ramasamy Naicker's feet and absorbed the latter's tirades against religion and superstitions. Impressed by the young man's command of Tamil and his hard hitting language, EVR made him an assistant editor of *Kudarasu* (Republic) weekly. It was during that period that M. K. Karunanidhi, the budding author and journalist, met the charismatic Annadurai. The two often discussed the need to build a political Party. EVR was not interested in electoral politics: his one passion was to fight for the rights of Dravidian culture (as against Aryan culture) and spread the gospel of atheism. But the younger members of his Dravida Kazhagam (DK) movement ardently desired a political outfit which could challenge Brahmin supremacy, fight the imposition of Hindi and seek greater autonomy for the State.

The Dravida Kazhagam movement had started taking shape in 1945. When EVR remarried and took as his wife, a woman much younger to him, thus going against his own principles, Annadurai, Karunanidhi and scores of young men left the DK in protest and started concentrating on the DMK. Karunanidhi entered the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly for the first time in 1956: he was just 32 then. And he had already made a terrific name for himself as a fiery movie dialogue writer. Hits like *Parasakthi*, *Manohara*, *Poompuhar* and *Kanchi Thalavai* mocked the caste system, and showed temple priests indulging in all kinds of skulduggery. The films glorified Tamil culture, and became a vital vehicle for spreading political views. In his dialogue and scenes, Karunanidhi often used the rising sun, symbol of the DMK. Sivaji Ganesan was the hero of *Parasakthi* and *Manohara* but finding the atheistic burden a bit heavy, he parted company and started acting even in films with religious themes in an effort to restore his personal balance. The DMK promptly dubbed him 'Tirupati' Ganesan.

Then came in MGR, who acted in

a dozen films written by Karunanidhi. The earliest hit among them was *Kanchi Thalavai*. "It is often said that MGR built up the DMK through his celluloid propaganda," noted Cho, political commentator and editor of *Thuglak*. "In reality, it is difficult to decide how much MGR owed to the DMK. In so many political meetings Annadurai and Karunanidhi brainwashed people by emphasising that MGR was the only actor worth his salt—they advised people to patronise MGR films in large numbers".

Once he joined Annadurai's cabinet in 1967, as the PWD Minister, Karunanidhi cut down his activities in films. But he continued producing non film literature in abundance. Right from the beginning, he avoided the use of Sanskrit words, if he could help it.

Karunanidhi was very close to Anna but not close enough. Actually, it was Nedunchezian who was supposed to succeed Annadurai—however, Karunanidhi was a far better PR man than Nedunchezian. In the terrible power struggle that followed Annadurai's death in 1969 (due to cancer), Karunanidhi triumphed and emerged as the Chief Minister. Disgruntled Nedunchezian was given the education portfolio. Soon after the DMK debacle in the 1977 elections, Nedunchezian left the DMK and formed his Makkal DMK (People's DMK). This didn't get off, and a few months later, he accepted MGR's overtures and joined the AIADMK.

BUT the great Karunanidhi-MGR clash, which cemented Karunanidhi's downfall did not result from ideology or charges of corruption: it was a power struggle. MGR would like the world to believe that he quit (actually he was expelled from the Party; he was the Party treasurer then) because he could not tolerate Karunanidhi's corruption. Cho, who used to be a bitter critic of Karunanidhi then (he still is), remembers that on many occasions MGR defended Karunanidhi's alleged corruption, "but when MGR decided to fight

Karunanidhi it was just because he was feeling that Karunanidhi was not giving him enough importance. In plain words, it was the clash of egos between the so-called *Puratchi Nadi-gar* (Revolutionary Actor) and the *Kalaignar* (Gifted Artiste) Karunanidhi."

There was a lot of good done during Karunanidhi's stewardship of Tamil Nadu. The State prospered, and there was a notable effort by the Government to implement schemes to help the people. Hundreds of welfare projects were launched during Karunanidhi's regime: orphanages sprang up in remote areas of Tamil Nadu, slum-dwellers were moved into newly constructed buildings near the Madras beach; a Prosperity Brigade, modelled after the Peace Corps, came up too. But the implementation of these projects was often tardy. Worse, corruption was rampant.

WHEN the Emergency came, Karunanidhi decided to defy Mrs Gandhi: "Not because he has real love for democratic ideals," remarked a Karunanidhi critic, "he just wanted to let Mrs Gandhi know that she cannot bully everyone." Whatever the reasons, Karunanidhi had the courage to stand up to Mrs Gandhi's authoritarianism. Activists being hunted by Indira's henchmen were given ready asylum in Tamil Nadu.

"Let me concede something: Karunanidhi is an original man," says a journalist who is bitterly opposed to Karunanidhi. "He is not more unscrupulous than an average politician. But he has the spunk to speak his mind openly. You know he has been more critical of Janata policies than MGR, even though the latter is totally opposed to the Janata. And his oratory and powerful language is an asset to him—very few people in the DMK and no one in the AIADMK can match his gift for fiery, sharp speeches."

Mrs Gandhi, too, was clearly worried about speeches.

ARTHUR PAIS

The ambitions of the RSS

They are playing a game dangerous enough to destroy the country

By MADHU LIMAYE

THE RSS people have now decided to take their war against us to the streets, bazars and public meetings. During my tour of Madhya Pradesh in March 1979 the RSS and Yuva Morcha people distributed handbills asking me to clarify my attitude in regard to certain questions about the RSS. In my previous mass meetings I have never publicly discussed the question of RSS and its relationship with the Janata Party. But since the RSS people themselves forced the issue during my Madhya Pradesh tour I had to answer them and I did that in my usual forthright manner. When I made a reference to our China po-

licy at Shahdol, the RSS henchmen tried to create disturbance at my meeting with a view to disrupting it. It seems that the RSS has decided to revive their hoodlum tactics (modelled on Hitler's brown shirts) which they were practicing in the Forties.

The RSS "patriots" have now become great China fans. Any criticism of Atal Behari Vajpayee's China's policy, no matter how mild, is resented by them. They are probably drawing their inspiration from the Nixon-Kissinger-Brzezinski-Carter line. There are strong reasons for making this inference. When the Americans were against the People's Republic of Chi-

na, the RSS spokesmen in Parliament and outside also joined issue with Jawaharlal Nehru and Krishna Menon. In those days they used to support our critical attitude to the Government of India's China policy and also participated in the "Himalaya Bachao" conferences sponsored by the late Dr Rammanohar Lohia. After the Republican victory in the US Presidential election in 1968, President Nixon and his then national security adviser, Mr Kissinger, initiated a new move towards China, which was later called "playing the China card." It is clear that the RSS people are taking their cue from Washington. It is significant that they should prefer "friendship" with China to good relations with the Soviet Union. But this, in fact, is their settled policy now.

In the course of my speeches in Madhya Pradesh I spoke at length on China policy. I insisted that no normalisation of relations, not to speak of friendship, is possible with China unless satisfaction is obtained on (a) the vacation by the Chinese of aggression from the Indian territory; (b) relaxation at least of their iron control over Tibet to enable the Dalai Lama and his followers to return honourably to Tibet; (c) an end to Chinese interference in the Kashmir problem; (d) cessation of moral and material help to the rebels in North-eastern India and, finally, (e) acceptance by China that Sikkim is the 22nd State of the Union of India.

The audience appreciated my approach. However, the RSS people, in their blind hatred of the Soviet Union and communism, have lost all sense of proportion. They forget that Chinese aggressors are still in occupation of our borderlands. This foreign policy approach of the RSS is consistent with their policy of supporting the vested interests in our own country. The official biography of Dr Hedgewar makes it clear that the RSS was founded with the blessings of feudal princes. They have continued to receive financial assistance from feudal elements in the country. Today their support mainly comes from traders, shopkeepers and moneylenders in North India and reactionary sections of the brahmins. They uphold big capitalism and proper rights. They also stand for the preservation of the old varna system based on birth. The RSS is therefore a threat to national unity, harmony and progress.

In view of this, all those who cherish the values of the freedom movement and the left oriented public opinion in India are naturally perturbed by the position which some leaders have taken with regard to the RSS. The Janata Party must adopt a firm stand against the RSS and take the lead in bringing about a consolidation of all the secular, democratic and progressive forces in the country

Balasaheb Deoras addressing RSS men at a mass rally in Delhi



with Janata Party, minus the RSS, as nucleus.

THE RSS men are saying that the RSS controversy has been created artificially by some 'interested' people. As the National Executive members know, this is just not true. The controversy over the RSS was bound to arise sooner or later, and in fact it arose immediately after the formation of the Janata Government at the Centre in the fourth week of March 1977. Let me recall the main facts.

At the meeting of the Executive soon after the formation of the Government (over which Mr Morarji Desai presided as President) Mr Krishna Kant referred to certain statements made by Dr Subramaniam Swamy to some American newspapers about the RSS being the real force. Swamy had also said that it would take over the reins of the Government in the near future. A heated discussion followed in which I also expressed myself fully. The question of Ministers participating in the RSS functions was also raised. It was Mr Morarji Desai who categorically declared that he would not like Ministers to attend these functions. Thereafter the controversy subsided and the meeting proceeded with other items.

However, at the subsequent meeting of the Executive, attention was drawn to some controversial statements of Dr Swamy. Some of these

For years together before the Second World War Hitler was the RSS ideal and hatred was propagated against Mahatma Gandhi. Even now denigration of Mahatma Gandhi and his ideals continue in their training camps and meetings.



statements were in the nature of a scurrilous attack on Janata leaders, including Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee. Some people said that Dr Swamy did not reflect the RSS view. Mr Vajpayee told me that it was Mr Nanaji Deshmukh who was behind Dr Swamy's attacks on him. I spoke to Mr Nanaji Deshmukh and he said that Dr Swamy no longer listened to him and that he could not be held responsible for what he said. But the fact is that the RSS continued to use Dr Swamy to denigrate the Janata leaders. It is unfortunate that the Prime Minister later started using the Parliamentary Party Executive as Spanish Inquisition with Dr Swamy and RSS men acting as prosecutors!

The RSS question continued to be controversial throughout 1977. Some Janata leaders had suggested that there was no need for the RSS to continue as an independent organisation and that it should merge in the Janata Party. Or, in the alternative, it should become secular and liberal in outlook. This was resented by the RSS leaders.

It was sometime in April that Mr Jayaprakash Narayan suggested to me that I should discuss with the RSS leaders the question of their future policies and their relationship with the Janata. Accordingly I met Mr Balasaheb Deoras and Mr Madhavrao Mule sometime in the month of May 1977. I discussed with them the ques-

Commemorative stamp being released on Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, founder of the Jana Sangh



tion of the integration of mass organisations of students, youth, labour and so on. I also told them that there should be integration of all volunteer organisations and that while there might not be any organisational tie between the Party and volunteer organisation there should be ideological affinity and community of ideals, which in other words meant that the RSS should give up its creed of Hindu Rashtra and its objective of Hindu Sangathan and wholeheartedly embrace the ideal of secular nationalism. On the basis of my discussion with these leaders I submitted a note to the National Executive of the Janata Party. But before sending it to the Party office for getting it cyclostyled and included in the agenda papers I showed it to Mr Sunder Singh Bhandari (at the meeting of the Constitution subcommittee). Mr Bhandari offered no comments and the note was eventually included in the agenda papers drawn up for the meeting of the Executive.

My note to the Working Committee was couched in very moderate language and yet it provoked a violent response from the RSS. Mr Madhav-rao Mule made an unbalanced attack on me in his interview to the *Organiser*. There were sharp exchanges at the meeting of the Executive also. Mr Biju Patnaik, I distinctly remember, raised the question of double loyalty. It was at this stage that Mr Morarji Desai intervened and told the Committee that Mr Deoras had met him once or twice and had stated that the RSS was not a political organisation, that it was cultural and that it was wholly devoted to physical training and character building. Mr Desai said that he had told Mr Deoras that RSS activities had created apprehensions in the minds of the minorities and that it was his duty to allay these apprehensions. On this note, the discussion in the August meeting was terminated. The Executive however resolved that all students, youth and labour organisations with which Party members were associated should be integrated.

Since I had been put in charge of labour and youth activities we called a meeting of the Janata Party trade unionists. Representatives from all labour organisations attended. Only the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh boycotted the meeting. Not only this. Mr Dattopant Thengadi wrote me a letter framed in intemperate language and even before I received it he had got it released to the Press. He accused the Janata Party of trying to make the labour movement an agency of the Janata Party. The charge was not only untrue; it did not lie in the mouth of Mr Thengadi, who took his orders from Nagpur and subscribed to the RSS ideal of "one directing person" (*ekachalakanyavartitva*) to accuse the Janata Party of trying to destroy the autonomy of the trade union movement. Because of the obstructive attitude of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh ultimately the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and Hind Mazdoor Manchayat decided to go ahead with the merger plan and, fortunately, this

plan went through and an integrated labour organisation was set up in Bombay in March 1979. All attempts by me to persuade the RSS people to agree to the merger of the Vidyarthi Parishad and Yuva Morcha with the Yuva Janata also failed. The RSS line is very clear. It is a supra Party, paramilitary organisation which wants to take over the State and the nation and establish an authoritarian regime in the manner of the Nazi leaders.

For years together before the second world war, Hitler was the RSS ideal. Hatred was propagated against Mahatma Gandhi and the principles of secular nationalism and values of the freedom movement. They also had deep dislike for democracy which they denounced as Western importation, and equal aversion for socialism, which they felt was against the essence of Hindu culture. They were not even prepared to accept Mahatma Gandhi as a great leader and it was with great difficulty that they included in 1965 his name in the daily *prarthana* (prayer). Even now



Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee told me that it was Mr Nanaji Deshmukh who was behind Dr Swamy's attacks on him... The RSS used Dr Subramaniam Swamy to denigrate Janata leaders.

denigration of Mahatma Gandhi and his ideals continue in their training camps and meetings.

IT will thus be seen that the controversy over the RSS was unavoidable because the RSS was pursuing aggressive tactics throughout the country and trying to capture both Party and Government. In the elections to the State Assemblies in 1977 and 1978 the RSS personnel had in some places actively worked against the Janata Party candidates and supported independents who were really RSS men. Their periodicals have been indulging in personal attacks on me and several other Janata Party leaders. They have been abusing Mr Chandrashekhar and me for making Mr Sharad Pawar the Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

Their policy is to consolidate their hold over the States which have come into their hands, eliminate the non-RSS elements and concentrate power in their own hands. They have been infiltrating the services, educational institutions, the Press and other institutions. In States where the Chief Ministers belong to the other constituents of the Janata Party their policy has been one of destabilisation,

of fomenting crisis and grabbing more and more power. All other constituents in the Janata Party have merged and no longer function as distinct and well knit groups. It is only the RSS group which functions as a Party within the Party. The mass resignations of the RSS Ministers in Uttar Pradesh was a case in point. The mass resignations in Bihar followed within a short time. Similar resignations were planned in Haryana but the Chief Minister made a pre-emptive strike. Many other instances of factional functioning can be cited. In fact it is their policy to have shifting alliances within the Party with a view to promoting themselves at the expense of others. First they formed an alliance with the BLD and tried to eliminate CFD and other groups from UP. Having secured the maximum advantage out of this alliance they changed their tactics and began to form new alliances so as to secure further advantage for themselves. This has been going on now for quite some time.

Meanwhile the RSS people have changed their deceptive stance with regard to the minorities. Earlier they held out hope of liberalisation. Now they are again openly adopting militant postures. In Aligarh their men fomented trouble. The report of the sub-committee appointed by Mr Chandrashekhar is very clear on this point. I myself visited Aligarh and I am satisfied that the RSS elements were responsible for creating tension in the University town. They were also agitating against the compromise which we had worked out in regard to the amendment of the Aligarh Muslim University Act.

But Aligarh is by no means a solitary instance. The Jamshepur holocaust has silenced even the doubting Thomases. The Jamshepur carnage was preceded by an RSS camp and parade where Mr Balasaheb Deoras made an inflammatory speech. The premises of the local Cooperative College was used by the RSS against the wishes of the principal and students. The vice-chancellor of the Ranchi University and some Ministers intervened on behalf of the RSS. A leaflet without printer's name was distributed by RSS workers denouncing the Superintendent of Police as anti-Hindu and assuring the people that Bihar Military Police would side with the Hindus. The procession was stopped by the RSS MLA, Mr Dinanath Pandey, in blatant violation of the agreement, and goondas were brought on the scene to cause a disturbance.

It cannot be maintained anymore that the RSS is a cultural organisation. Mr Morarji Desai himself told the Consultative Committee on Science and Technology (in reply to Dr Swamy's question) that the RSS was not a dance group and that it dabbled in politics. Now that the affidavit of Mr Rajendra Singh, General Secretary of the RSS before the District Judge, Nagpur, has been dug out it is not possible for the RSS leaders to maintain their stand that the RSS is a purely cultural organi-

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ation. The cultural mask has been removed and the RSS now stands naked as a fascist political organisation whose ascendancy cannot but lead to suppression of democracy, destruction of minority rights and also suppression of Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists who do not agree with their fascist point of view.

No other constituent in the Janata Party accepts extra-Party authority. It is only the RSS members of the Janata Party who give their primary allegiance to Nagpur. It is this extra-Party loyalty of the RSS people that has prevented the creation of an integrated Party organisation. Some people wrongly blame the Party President for not having created an integrated Party organisation, but it was impossible when there was a Party within the Party functioning all the time. Who does not know that parallel offices are being run by RSS men not only at the Centre but in all the States? As long as this foreign element is there in the Janata Party no integration can be possible. In 1977 the RSS people accepted the manifesto and the creed of a secular, democratic, socialist State based on Gandhian values largely because the RSS was a banned organisation at that time and they agreed to make compromises in order to secure removal of this ban. But as soon as they got important positions in the State and control of four State and Union Territory Governments they changed their tune. Truth has no value to the RSS people. They can subscribe to any creed and then proceed straightaway to undermine it. During the Emergency more than 70% of them wrote apology letters and said that they had broken all their connections with the Jana Sangh and the RSS. The RSS chief himself went to the extent of congratulating Mrs Gandhi on her victory in the election appeal before the Supreme Court although everybody knew that Mrs Gandhi had fraudulently secured this victory by subverting the Constitution and the law. Therefore what they say for the sake of form is not relevant.

IN 1977 the Constitution subcommittee of the Party had suggested adoption of a new "Article Five" which stipulated that members of organisations whose aims and objects were contrary to the aims and objects of the Party should be debarred from membership of the Janata Party. This amendment was supported by Mr H. N. Bahuguna, Mr R. K. Hegde, Mrs Mrinal Gore, myself and others; only Mr Sunder Singh Bhandari recording his dissent. When the new Constitution came up for discussion at the end of 1977 there was a bitter controversy in the committee over Article Five. In order to cut short the discussion Mr Morarji Deasai intervened and said that the new Article should be kept in abeyance and that meanwhile discussions should be held to sort out the problem, especially in view of the claim of the RSS people that it was not a political organisation but a cultural

organisation. And on the matter remained in abeyance throughout 1978. However in view of the new information that has been uncovered this issue can no longer be evaded. It is significant that when the claim that RSS was a purely cultural organisation was being vociferously made in 1977-78 by responsible RSS functionaries, as a matter of fact, the General Secretary of the RSS was busy drafting a contrary affidavit, emphasising its political character, which was to be filed before the court of the District Judge, Nagpur. This affidavit is an important document and shows to what length the RSS leaders had gone in practising deception on the Janata Party leaders, including the Prime Minister. This affidavit is dated the 6th March 1978. The whole purpose of the affidavit is to combat the finding of the Deputy Charity Commissioner to the effect that the RSS was a religious and charitable trust. The affidavit says that the objects of the organisation were akin to political objects. It asserts that the RSS was formed to propagate the concept of "Hindu Rashtra", a concept which was being undermined by the political leaders after the death of Lokmanya Tilak. I shall not go here into the question whether Lokmanya Tilak subscribed to the ideal of secular nationalism or Hindu Rashtra, but it is well to remember that the RSS General Secretary has challenged the very concept of Indian nationalism which was being evolved by the freedom movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in the Twenties, a period which saw the rise of the non-cooperation movement. The affidavit claims that the RSS "propagated a distinct philosophy to the effect that India was and is a Hindu Rashtra." Mr Rajendra Singh admits that the Sangh has a political philosophy and that although it was not a political Party at present "it was possible for the Sangh to change this policy" and even participate in day to day politics! The following excerpt from the affidavit is very significant:

...it must be held that the RSS activity is akin to a work for a political purpose, though the RSS as an organisation eschews participation in active politics of power as a policy. Nevertheless its members may and do take part in politics subject to the present policy limitations of the Constitution. It is undisputed that several members of the RSS are actively participating in political activity and many of them are even members of Parliament and several of them are in the Union and State Cabinets."

Thus it is openly advertised that the RSS members are in Parliament and in Government. It logically follows that their primary allegiance is to the Hindu Rashtra ideology of the RSS and to the Sarsanghachalak, who is the "guide and philosopher" of that RSS and not to the Janata Party and its secular ideal.

In view of these clearest statements of the leading RSS functionaries in a sworn affidavit before a court of law it is no longer possible for the RSS people to maintain that their activities are not political. The decision to keep Article Five in abeyance was based on the statement of Mr Deoras, which the Prime Minister took at its face value, to the effect that it was a cultural organisation. Now even Mr Deoras has accepted the fact of the affidavit made by Mr Rajendra Singh on behalf of the Sangh and has admitted that they have a political philosophy and political purpose. It is obvious that this political philosophy and political purpose completely negates the political philosophy and purpose of the Janata Party as embodied in its Constitution, in its election manifesto and other relevant documents.

In the light of the above I feel that the Janata Party should now take an unambiguous stand and rule that the members of the RSS must either sever their connections with the RSS and give their undivided loyalty to the Janata Party or they should cease to be the members of the Janata Party. They have to make a choice between the Janata Party and the RSS. They cannot have it both ways. This kind of decep-

During the Emergency more than 70% RSS prisoners wrote apology letters. The RSS Chief himself went to the extent of congratulating Mrs Gandhi on her victory in the Supreme Court.

tion is detrimental to national interests and cannot but harm the Janata Party. If a firm decision is taken on the subject it will clear up the confusion that prevails in the public mind about the role and purpose of the Janata Party and it will enable the Janata Party to retain public confidence on the basis of its own policy and programmes. As long as people with dual loyalty continue to hold important positions in the Party and Government the Janata Party will not be able to consolidate the secular character of our State.

I therefore request the Janata Party not to heed the assurances that are being given by RSS friends about their good intentions and give a timely lead to the Party and the country. A clarification by the Janata Party of its relationship with the RSS will enable the Janata Party to draw all secular, democratic and progressive forces either within the fold of the Janata Party or in the alliance system formed under its aegis. This can be done and should be done without disturbing the environment of political stability and Governmental continuity at the Centre. This will help us isolate Mrs Gandhi and even make her dynastic politics totally irrelevant.



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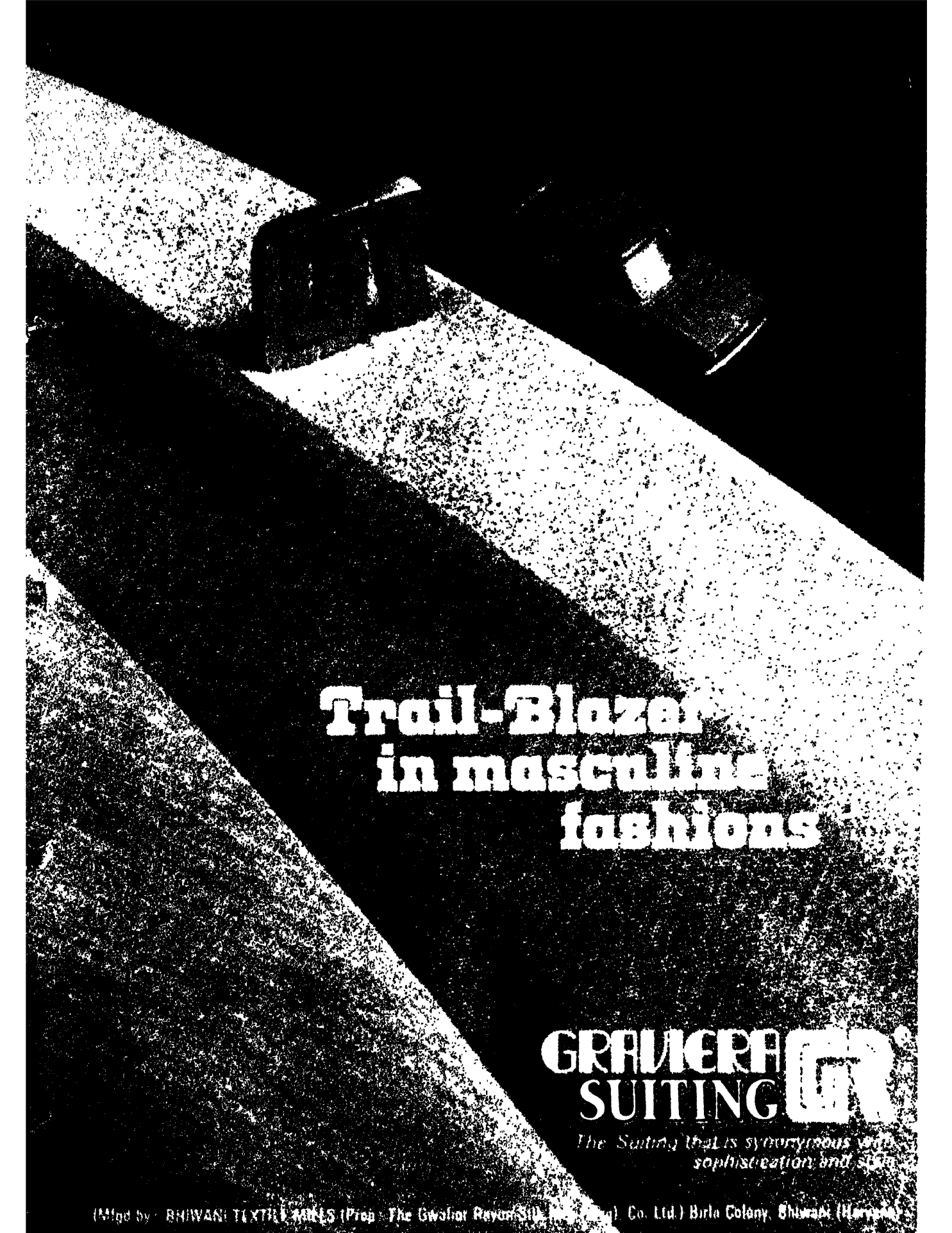
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Nehru's Friend Dharma Teja

An exclusive extract from M. O. MATHAI's "My Days with Nehru" published by VIKAS (Rs 35)

DHARMA TEJA, who hails from Andhra Pradesh, appeared on the scene in Delhi after my resignation from the Government in 1959. In fact I had heard of him and his antecedents earlier. After the death of his American millionairess wife, who was older than him, under mysterious circumstances, Teja had acquired a young wife from the Punjab. He loved to parade her.

Prime Minister Nehru was impressed by Teja as a man who could get things done. He was taken in by Teja's grandiose scheme of shipping development in India. Teja was able to quote facts and figures about shipping and its importance to the economy which appealed to Nehru. Teja also enlisted the support of Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's son-in-law who is the senior executive of the multinational pharmaceutical firm in India, Ciba-Geigy of India Ltd. In fact this firm acquired financial interest in Jayanti Shipping Company floated in India by Teja under the Indian Companies Act.

The Minister of Transport and Shipping at that time was Dr P. Subbaroyan, a decent man but not one of the world's great workers. Nehru spoke to Dr Subbaroyan commending Dharma Teja. Dr Subbaroyan passed on the matter to Dr Nagendra Singh who, fortunately, was the Secretary of the Ministry at that time. Dr Nagendra Singh hails from the princely family of Dungarpur. He is a talented and scholarly man of great personal integrity and, like his brother, the *Maharawal* of Dungarpur, the embodiment of refinement and culture. Dr Nagendra Singh is now a judge of the International Court of Justice at the Hague, and the *Maharawal*, I believe, the Speaker of the Rajasthan Assembly.

I must digress a little here and say something about the *Maharawal* of Dungarpur. In the mid-Fifties, in the wake of a bout of public criticism of the unusually large privy purses and privileges of the Indian princes, President Rajendra Prasad and the Home Minister persuaded Prime Minister Nehru to write individual personal letters to all the Indian princes suggesting the desirability



Dharma Teja: the man who caught Nehru's eye

of voluntary action on their part to effect cuts in their privy purses or to share some of it with the people of their former States. The response to the appeal did not amount to much. Some did create trusts or otherwise made provision to give part of their privy purses for public causes. The Nizam of Hyderabad, the world's greatest miser, sent a negative brusque reply. The finest and ablest reply was from the *Maharawal* of Dungarpur. He said nothing about his own "poverty" and problems. He pleaded the cause of the young *Maharana* of Udaipur who had just ascended the *gaddi*. According to the accession agreement the privy purse of Udaipur was drastically reduced on the death of his predecessor.

The *Maharawal* of Dungarpur reminded the Prime Minister that the House of Udaipur was more ancient than the Japanese monarchy; the *Maharana* had descended from the sun; practically all other princes of Rajasthan did *Sashtanga Namaskar* (prostration) before the *Maharana* of Udaipur; the great public esteem in which he was held was recognized by the Government of India by making him the one and only *Maha-*

rajpramukh at the time of integration of the Indian States; and that even the British Government recognised his unique position by exempting him from attendance at King George V's durbar in Delhi where Indian princes had to bow low and pay homage to the King Emperor. The *Maharawal* appealed to the Prime Minister not only not to put pressure on the young *Maharana*, but to restore the cut to a substantial extent. The Prime Minister was much impressed by the letter and promptly invited the young *Maharana* to come to Delhi and stay in the PM's House for leisurely talks with him, the President and the Home Minister.

The young *Maharana* came and stayed in the PM's House for several days, and met President Rajendra Prasad and the Home Minister. As a result the Home Ministry made substantial adjustments in his privy purse to ease the sudden drop effected after the death of his predecessor.

Dr Nagendra Singh came to see me for a private talk although I was not then officially connected with the PM. He said he was somewhat disturbed at the manner in which Dharma Teja was sponsored by the PM. Because of this, he feared, healthy resistance to unorthodox procedures might break down at all levels and ultimately the whole thing might end in a scandal. He said that in the Indian context "private sector" in shipping had become a misnomer in as much as 90 per cent of the price of every ship was given as a loan to private companies from the Shipping Development Fund.

I told Nagendra Singh "the PM is obviously impressed by the enterprise and adventurousness of Teja. Nehru is not the man to have any ulterior motives in sponsoring any individual. If you are convinced that Teja is not to be encouraged, then you should fearlessly place the facts before the PM at an interview. If there is no basis for that, you should assist Teja's company like any other shipping firm, safeguarding Government's interests completely in the process. In view of your apprehensions, you should be doubly careful in the Government's dealing with Teja." I asked him how the Government safeguarded the 90 per cent advanced to a shipping firm. He replied "the vessel cannot be sold or otherwise alienated by the firm until the entire loan is repaid to the Government."

NAGENDRA SINGH told me "there is a big racket going on in shipping business. For every ship ordered by a shipping firm, the foreign supplier allows a minimum of two per cent commission on new ships and anything up to seven per cent or more on second-hand ships. Such commissions are not taken cognizance of officially by the Government. In the Shipping Corporation of India, I introduced the practice of receiving the commission in India and crediting the amount in the account books of the corporation; but in the shipping companies in the private sector the commission

is shared by the directors, never repatriated to India, no income-tax is paid on it in India, and is tucked away in foreign banks — in short, the Government is abetting income-tax evasion and foreign exchange swindle on a substantial scale by a few. I am determined to bust this racket and ensure that the customary commission is entered in the accounts of the firms and not parcelled out to the directors."

I asked Nagendra Singh what he could do if second-hand ships were over-invoiced by the suppliers and, through some private arrangement with the Indian shipping firms, the money given to the directors in foreign exchange abroad. I pointed out to him the general practice of under-invoicing exports and over-invoicing imports in other commodities resulting in large-scale leakage of foreign exchange and income-tax evasion which the Ministry of Commerce and Industry was unable to stamp out. Nagendra Singh did not have a satisfactory answer. He, however, said that shipping was the easiest industry to be nationalised as the quantum of payment of compensation was very limited, and that nationalisation was the only ultimate solution.

I pointed out to Nagendra Singh: "The Government at various levels is run by people with accountants' minds. The worst is the Accountant-General, Central Revenues (AGCR) Office. I know a case of a man whose pension for July-September 1959 was sanctioned by the AGCR on production of the necessary form 'duly filled in' with a 'life certificate' to indicate that he was alive as of 30 September 1959. But the AGCR refused to pass the pension bill for April-June 1959, because no 'life certificate' to the effect that he was alive as on 30 June 1959, was attached to the pension bill. Now, tell me, can't a man who is alive on 30 September 1959 also be alive on 30 June 1959? Can't the AGCR understand this elementary fact of life? Does the AGCR live in the age of miracles? Does it believe in death and resurrection? The plain fact is that these are mentally dead men who are interested only in keeping papers complete even with needless ones. These men in the Government revel in the futile exercise of swallowing a camel and straining at a gnat."

It cannot be denied that Dharma Teja did, within a few years, add considerably to India's maritime fleet. He appointed Lt. General B. M. Kaul (ret'd.) as his "ambassador" in Japan during Nehru's lifetime. He offered an attractive position later to R. K. Nehru who, as a retired civil servant, had to take the Government's permission to accept the post. But the new Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur, refused to accord permission. One of Nehru's PA's resigned without earning a pension and joined Teja's Jayanti Shipping Company on a salary and perquisites he could never dream of getting at any time in the Government or else-

where. Ultimately, of course, the poor PA lost everything.

As Prime Minister Nehru's hostess, Indira was over-indulgent to Teja and his wife. At social functions in the PM's House the Tejas were conspicuous guests. During one such function in the PM's House, where important Ministers and some senior officials were present, Teja's wife had the temerity to kiss Nehru. This was deliberately done to create impressions. What can even a Prime Minister do if a calculating woman grabs him and kisses him except to look embarrassed?

For a considerable time this was the talk of the town. And Teja and his wife strutted about triumphantly in Delhi and elsewhere. Later, after the death of Nehru, Indira paid the price for it in the form of several embarrassing questions in Parliament about Teja looking after her two sons in England and France. Neither was Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit spared, as it subsequently came out in the court from a statement by Teja himself that he had given money to Mrs Pandit to buy a jeep for her election. Mrs Pandit has not contradicted it so far.

Teja over-reached himself and came to grief. Because of the precautions taken by Nagendra Singh, the Government lost nothing. Recent Press reports about Teja's final exit from India and the "losses" the Government is going to suffer as a result are highly uninformed. Teja's income-tax arrears are a different matter. In any event they are inflated and include fantastic expropriatory fines. Teja's foray into India only resulted in his ruin. All his shares in the Jayanti Shipping Company stand forfeited to the Government. Then there is the value of ships taken over by the Government from Teja's company. All these add up to much more than anything Teja owes to the Government by way of income-tax or any other dues. Teja's mistake was that he did not realise that it is impossible to become an Aristotle Socrates Onassis by gambling with Government money. Teja should have stayed on abroad either in Panama or in Monte Carlo. He could have remained there as a millionaire but for his insane desire to be a multi-millionaire.

IN November 1970 Dharma Teja said in a London court that in 1968, while Indira was the Prime Minister, Uma Shankar Dikshit, Indira's factotum, asked him for Rs 10 lakhs for the *National Herald*, and that subsequently there was a meeting for Teja with Commerce Minister Manubhai Shah in the presence of Dikshit. At the meeting Manubhai Shah told Teja that if he did not give Rs 10 lakhs for the *National Herald*, that would be the end of him. That was a time when Teja was having trouble with the Government of India. Teja's evidence before the London court was reported in detail in the Indian Press, and remains uncontradicted.

It is well known that many of the shipping firms declare dividends even

when there is no profit. A shipping firm in the South indulges in lavish self-entertainment at an expensive hideout and enters the expense under the head "amenities." Amenities for whom? Workers and low-paid staff? No but well-paid senior executives and their wives. This firm paid Rs five lakhs for advertisements in the souvenir of the Indira Congress for the ill-fated 1977 general elections. The company has a vested interest in political Parties.

Probably because of his early exit from the Ministry of Transport and Shipping, Nagendra Singh was unable to stop payment of commissions to directors of shipping firms in the private sector and to ensure their entry in the accounts of the firms. Recently a South Indian shipping firm bought a large second-hand ship for Rs 14 crores. Was any commission on it received and, if so, has the amount been distributed among the directors in foreign exchange abroad, or has it been credited to the accounts of the shipping firm? Five per cent of Rs 14 crores amounts to Rs 70 lakhs. This shipping firm has the distinction of the former Chairman of its Board of Directors having been hauled up by the Reserve Bank of India for giving a lavish party in New York for which there was no foreign exchange sanction, and the frequent travels of himself and his entire family to Western countries without foreign exchange sanction. On suspicion that he was doing all these on dollars which came out of the commissions on ships tucked away in foreign exchange abroad, the Reserve Bank of India started its proceedings. I do not know if the proceedings ended first or that death, timely and kind, saved him from possible ignominy and worse.

Why should the South Indian shipping firm put up the wife of a senior official of the Government of India for an extensive period in its guest house? Why should the Lieutenant Governor of a Union Territory stay in the guest house of this shipping firm and be lavishly entertained with everything thrown in? Why can't he stay in the Raj Bhavan?

The Chief Executive of the Hindustan Shipyard at Vishakhapatnam, a Government of India undertaking, called on the Managing Director of the South Indian shipping firm in the early Seventies in an effort to induce him to keep the shipyard in view when planning for long-range requirements of new ships. He had the audacity to say that he was neither interested in the shipyard nor in the Indian shipbuilding industry. This South Indian shipping firm has so far successfully avoided placing a single order with the Hindustan Shipyard or any other Indian shipyard.

Prime Minister Morarji Desai recently cautioned the shipping firms against unhealthy practices and hinted at Government takeover in this connection. He seems to have gradually come to the same conclusion as Nagendra Singh did 18 years ago that nationalisation of shipping was desirable, easy, the only solution. ■

**“Ours is investigative reporting.
You publish gossip.
He deals in yellow journalism.”**

The famous ‘conjugation’ game.
We all play it in our own ways.

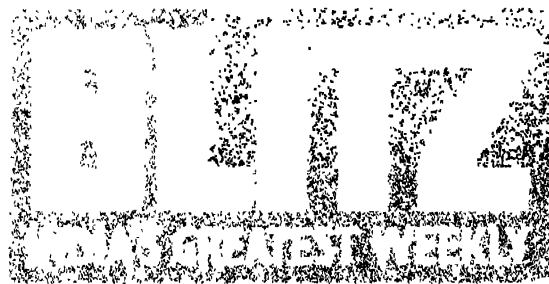
For example, the politician’s definition
of ‘yellow journalism’ is any report that
reveals his own misdeeds, or those of
his party.

‘Investigative reporting’ is that which
exposes the wrongdoings of his opponents.

By these standards, Blitz is obviously
universally guilty; but it doesn’t bother us.

The highest and the mightiest in the land
have learnt, through bitter experience, that
Blitz will support them so long as they
deserve it; and crucify them when personal
ambition begins to take precedence over
national interests.

And the people love us for it.
Hundreds of thousands of them.



Principles; not personalities

The dust jacket

By O. V. VIJAYAN

THOSE terrible tribal put-ons don't surprise us any more; they come all the way from Walong and Bastar and Gonda, dropping names and speaking with clipped accents, and devastating poor city slickers like us. But somehow, we had thought differently about the peasants. Until that evening, when we had gone to Chaudhury Saheb was relaxing on his lawns, where his personal buffalo grazed on the grass roots.

"Sir," we said, "shall we say your opposition is only to the London School of Economics types?"

"That's right," said Chaudhury Saheb. "There was this earlier peasant interlude, when Lal Bahadur was Prime Minister. He swore by the undergraduate textbook of economics by Jathar and Berry. Now, I carry my own text book of Gandhian economics. The peasants of this country will fight any book which is more than three hundred pages."

"Sounds like the ceiling law," we said.

"Anything more than three hundred pages is privilege," said Chaudhury Saheb. "We're going to demolish all privilege."

"Did Mao's cultural revolution interest you?" we asked.

"Is he still at it?" asked Chaudhury Saheb.

"Mao's dead," we said.

"I'm sorry to hear that," said Chaudhury Saheb.

"Mao thought along the same lines," we said. "He said books needn't have too many pages. So he made this little Red Book, like an income tax ready reckoner any peasant could read."

"But I'm not like Mao," said Chaudhury Saheb.

"We understand that," we said. "But what would you say about Lenin?"

"Who's Lenin?" asked Chaudhury Saheb.

"Lenin was the one who floated the Soviet Union," we said.

"Oh, I know those T. N. Kaul-D. P. Dhar types," said Chaudhury Saheb.

"But, sir," we said, "Lenin spoke about the electrification of the countryside."

"Did he?" said Chaudhury Saheb.

"But Lenin's dead too," we said. We were newsmen, and knew who was dead and who was not.

"I'm sorry to hear that," said Chaudhury Saheb. "But did this Lenin of yours advocate indiscriminate electrification of the countryside? Did he, for instance, demand that Harijans be given leads for their pumpsets?"

"It's a rather difficult question, sir," we said. "Because there weren't any Harijans then. Harijans have come up since, like the

Uzbeks, the Tadjiks, the Tartars." Chaudhury Saheb looked amused.

"It's curious," he said.

"Some countries are curious," we said.

"True," said Chaudhury Saheb. "Once I went to a place called Madras, near Ceylon. The natives spoke an alien language called Tamil. Even children spoke Tamil."

"That's strange," we said. "One could understand adults picking up other languages."

"Strange?" protested Chaudhury Saheb. "It's incredible!"

The personal buffalo nuzzled up to her master and mooed with a clipped accent. Chaudhury Saheb fed her a brandy-centred chocolate. Suddenly we realized we had seen the animal somewhere.

"Good gracious!" we said. "Does she come every morning to graze along the golf links?"

Chaudhury Saheb smiled with pride.

"She does things in style," he said.

Just then a wind rose and blew the jacket off his copy of Tulsidas.

We were stunned. The book inside was Saul Bellow. Chaudhury Saheb saw our embarrassment, and gave a friendly wink.

"But, sir," we said, "when you talked about Lenin and Mao, you led us on to think very differently about the peasants..."

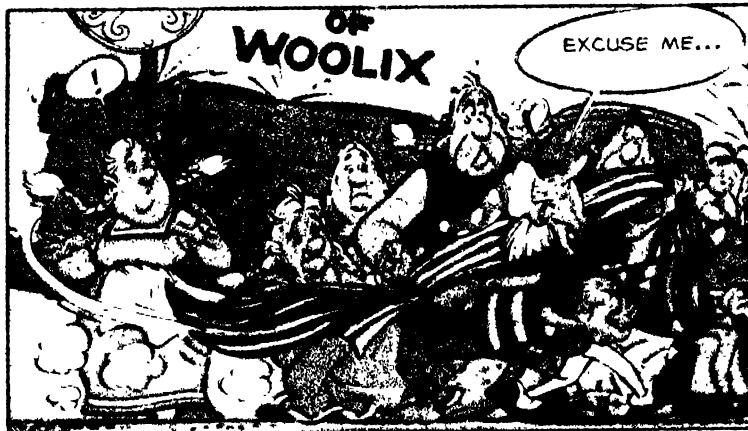
Chaudhury Saheb recovered the dust jacket and disguised the Saul Bellow once again.

"Let's face facts," said Chaudhury Saheb. "I'm a professional peasant, a career peasant, and..."

The personal buffalo looked on snootily.







ISLAMIC Courts have been sentencing to death senior functionaries of the deposed Shah regime in Iran by the dozen almost every day since the Government headed by Mehdi Bazargan and inspired by the Shi'ite leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, came to power in Teheran. After night-long trials, the condemned men are executed by Islamic firing squads before daybreak. Among those executed is the former Prime Minister, Amir Abbas Hoveida, and the list of those sentenced to death in absentia is headed by the former Shahanshah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Aryamehr, and his wife, Shahbanou Farah. The Shah and his family are in exile in Paradise Islands in the Bahamas (according to the Shah, he is on a "vacation"), guarded by heavily armed bodyguards provided by an American firm, Wackenhut International. The Iranian Government has declared that anybody who kills the Shah or his wife would be carrying out the verdict of the Islamic Court in Teheran. An Iranian businessman has announced a reward for the Shah's killer -- a trip to the Holy City of Mecca. The PLO leader, Yasser Arafat, has said that he would soon be sending PLO guerrillas to the Paradise Island to carry out the executions. The Shah is reported to be spending his time playing tennis with a local tennis pro in the island, John Antonas. According to Antonas, the people around the Shah are visibly upset over the news of executions pouring in from Iran. The Shah is "very concerned and riveted to any news reports he can get", says Antonas.

The Shah and his wife: according to reports in the British Press, their marriage is on the rocks



IRAN EXECUTES

Exclusive pictures by Associated Press



Eleven Generals, Ministers, police chiefs and politicians were executed on April 11. Among them was former Foreign Minister, Abbas Ali Khalatbari (67), whose body, pictured at the Tehran morgue, is fourth from the front. The plastic bags contain the clothes of the executed.



The body of Amir Abbas Hoveida in the morgue after his execution



Major Hossem Torbatan slumps at the execution stake in Ahwaz



Police lieutenant Ezzat Olah Dashti is blindfolded and tied to a tree before his execution by an Islamic firing squad

IRANIAN Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan said in a television interview in Teheran, on May 28, that Iran "has become a country of hundreds of sherrifs". "At the moment, the decision-making poles are so numerous in our country that they have paralysed much activity," Mr Bazargan said. The poles of power included Ayatollah Khomeini, the secret Islamic Revolutionary Council, and the various Government bodies and revolutionary authorities which sometimes ignored their own central authorities. Mr Bazargan said that revolutionary committees had arrested police chiefs sent by the Teheran regime and rejected the appointments of Governors-General in some regions. Meanwhile, following attacks on religious leaders, military police contingents have provided for the security of Ayatollah Khomeini and other Shi'ite leaders.

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Revolt in Karnataka Janata

Lingayaths feel left out

THE Karnataka State Janata Party, already in disarray, is rocked by the open revolt of a major group against the party chief, Mr H. D. Deve Gowda. This faction owes its allegiance to Mr Veerendra Patil, a candidate for the presidency in the recent organisational elections of the party in the State. He was ditched in the name of consensus and unanimity by the Janata Party General Secretary, Mr R. K. Hegde, who was authorised to arbitrate under a compromise formula.

Mr Deve Gowda has, according to the dissidents, "betrayed" the confidence reposed in him under the compromise formula by not nominating all the 15 members suggested by Mr Veerendra Patil to the 34-member State executive of the party. Of the eight members (from among these 15) nominated by Mr Deve Gowda, six including a vice-president and a general secretary have already resigned from the executive. Two more resignations are on the way. The leader of Opposition in the State Assembly, Mr S. R. Bommai, is going through the motions at rapprochement while the leader of Opposition in the Council, Mr A. K. Subbiah, with his Jana Sangh-RSS background, is sitting pretty.

The difference in the party had been simmering for a long time. The scene is rather complicated. The Jana Sangh-RSS backed Vokkaliga faction led by Mr Deve Gowda is in the saddle and the Lingayat-liberal faction of Mr Veerendra Patil (who unsuccessfully fought the battle at Chikmagalur against the former Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi) is relegated to an insignificant position. Even during the 1978 State Assembly Elections there was a lot of heart-burning in the Veerendra Patil camp at the way Mr Deve Gowda had distributed party tickets with an eye to becoming the next Chief Minister of the State. A sore Mr Nijalingappa, also a Lingayath and a senior Janata leader, had openly dissociated himself from the poll campaign of the party.

The resulting ignominious defeat of 15 candidates in the 1978 State Assembly poll dashed all hopes of the Janata Party of ever becoming a formidable challenge to Mr D. Devaraj Urs. The landslide victory of Mr Urs deprived the Janata of even a face-saving accusation of rigging as the State was under the President's rule after a summary dismissal of the Congress (I) Ministry. Earlier, Mr Veerendra Patil was remo-

ved as the State chief of the party to make way for Mr Deve Gowda. Later, his Rajya Sabha seat was gifted by the party to Mr Ram Krishna Hegde, one of the General Secretaries of the Central Janata Party.

Mr Patil thus remained in oblivion till the Chikmagalur Lok Sabha by-election where nobody else was prepared to face certain defeat at the hands of Mrs Gandhi. Rumour has it that Mr Patil was induced to become a sacrificial lamb with the promise of a gubernatorial post after the Chikmagalur debacle. Even this did not materialise. The Lingayath group is out of power in the State since Mr Patil was ousted as the Chief Minister just before the 1971 Lok Sabha elections in which the then Congress (R) took 27 out of the State's 28 seats.

The grievance of the Patil group, put forth rather amateurishly and incoherently, is that the Hyderabad and Bombay Karnataka areas, integrated into the State in 1956, account for 52 per cent of the population and they have been given a meagre eight seats in the State executive of the party. It is also claimed that Mr Deve Gowda had not given adequate representation to the Scheduled Castes, minorities and the backward

classes, and that the Muslims and Harijans did not accept Mr Deve Gowda as president.

A scrutiny of the 15 names suggested by Mr Veerendra Patil showed that only five names were from the Scheduled Castes, minorities and backward classes. Questioned by reporters the group spokesman said that Mr Gowda should have given representation to these sections in the 19 seats that he was to fill up.

Mr Deve Gowda has so far refused to be dragged into the controversy but has pointed out that out of the nine office-bearers he has appointed, two were from Scheduled Castes, one a Muslim and three were from the backward classes. His executive has seven Lingayaths, six Vokkaligas, one Bunt, three Brahmins, two Muslims, two Scheduled Castes, two Kurubas, one Jain, one Vysia, one Idiga, one Maratta, one Rajput, one Potter, one Christian and one Kodava.

The Patil group has threatened in a letter to party President Mr Chandrashekhar that "if this (constitution of the executive "based on groupism") is not rectified by the High Command immediately it will lead to disintegration of the party".

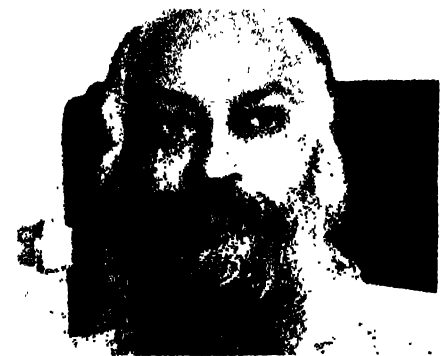
SYED ZIAULLAH, Bangalore

Pune stinks: Rajneesh

"PUNE is an old-fashioned city with rotten, age-old ideas." These are not our views. This is the opinion of Pune's most famous current resident, Acharya Rajneesh, who is so disgusted with Pune that he is thinking of shifting his ashram from there. Indeed, he might be forced to, if he does not retract this and some other provocative statements he has made about the city: the violently conservative and communal Shiv Sena has threatened Acharya Rajneesh with an agitation if he does not say nice things about Pune at once.

The Rajneesh Ashram has been in the centre of many controversies. Recently a 15-year-old girl from the ashram was molested by a police officer in Pune. The general impression in the minds of the people in Pune and elsewhere in India is that the ashram is the scene of mass orgies in which only foreigners are allowed to participate. The known views of Acharya Rajneesh, widely publicised by the ashram's Press office and picked up by the Press, have done little to remove these suspicions. In a recent discourse (after which the Shiv Sena has threatened Acharya Rajneesh) the Acharya described Indian society as a "stinking pond" and said that the country's claim to being civilised was "all hypocrisy".

"The Indian mind is obsessed with sex. India has repressed sex and this repression finds expression in Pune every day. It is difficult for the



women *sanyasins* to even move around. They are pushed physically, abused and stoned; they are attacked with sticks and iron chains....All around us there is uncivilised behaviour", the Acharya said.

Referring to the attempted rape on a 15-year-old girl of the ashram, Acharya Rajneesh alleged that there was no protection to the female disciples, because "even the police lust after them". He added: "So where will you go for protection? If you go to the magistrate, his eyes are also fixed on you". (By the way, is that contempt of court?) He told his disciples that he was thinking of shifting the ashram out of Pune, to somewhere in rural India. "There you will be able to move freely, to meditate under the trees, where no one will stare at you and attack you. Please put up with this hypocritical Indian culture for a little longer."



AIIMS is in a mess

A 'grassroots' doctor is playing havoc with research

A 'grassroots' doctor has recently been appointed director of the prestigious All India Institute of Medical Sciences, creating a ripple in the medical community. "It is like putting a bull in a china shop," commented one agitated doctor. A well-known medical specialist remarked: "Dr Agarwal's vision and views are identical with the Government's, but heaven help the medical profession." Another equally illustrious, medical scientist, who wanted to remain anonymous, observed wryly: "I have heard of grass roots politicians but a grassroots doctor is a new terminology for me. And why is it necessary for a grassroots doctor to head an institute meant primarily for medical education and research?"

The cause of the furore is Dr. Lalit P. Agarwal—who describes himself as a 'grassroots doctor'—whose remarks and actions speak for themselves. "There is no science in this country, only Political Science," is one of Dr. Agarwal's observations. Another pronouncement which created a stir was that the only research being carried out at the AIIMS was "pseudo research". Dr Agarwal has since retracted on this, but keeps making similar statements from time to time. Recently, at a reception to felicitate him he emphasised that basic research was last on his list of priorities for the institute. However, AIIMS was not meant to be just another Government hospital. Crores were spent on the institute to further medical research and raise the standards of medical education throughout the country.

Shortly after Dr. Agarwal's selection a close associate of his went around the institute campus promising that "heads will roll." Dr. S. K. Sood, who had been running the institute's blood bank for years and built it up from scratch to a stage where the reaction rate for transfusions was almost zero, was suddenly asked to hand over charge to Dr. A. K. Saraya, an associate professor, who had never worked in the department. Dr B. M. Abroll, who had headed the rehabilitation unit of audiology and speech pathology for 14 years, was overnight asked to vacate his rooms and office and was put under Dr. S. K. Kacker, professor of ENT, although the unit serves many other departments besides ENT. Mrs P. Kaushik, head of the department of dietetics who had set up the department 12 years back was equally summarily asked to vacate her office and sent to the kitchen. She was put under Dr. B. N. Tandon, professor of gastroenterology. This fortunate gentleman was also put in-charge of the department

of community medicine headed by Dr. L. M. Nath.

There were other extraordinary changes. The doctors were aghast to find that Dr. Agarwal has abolished the post operative ward where patients are kept after operations for the special medical attention needed during this critical period. Orders were frequently passed for re-locating wards, beds and patients had to be shifted to different floors for reasons which no one seemed to know. In some cases the original orders were later retracted. The psychiatry ward was moved from the ground to the seventh floor in one reshuffle. Carpenters had even taken off the grills from the ground floor windows to place them on the new ward windows when a fresh order came to move downwards.

The most visible sign of dissent against the new director came from a senior member of the institute faculty. Dr. M. M. Kapur, who filed a writ in the Delhi High Court challenging the validity of a selection committee set up to appoint the professor of surgery. The selection committee interviews took place within days of Dr. Agarwal taking over as acting director.

In his writ Dr. Kapur has argued that there was mala fide intention in changing the dates of the meeting of the selection committee from December, when Dr. V. Ramalingaswami was director, to February when Dr. Agarwal had just taken over as acting director. Dr. Kapur has charged that Dr. Agarwal was biased against him and that as acting director he was not entitled to sit on the selection committee. The writ claims that members of the original selection panel were changed by Dr. Agarwal. The High Court while admitting Dr. Kapur's writ has not only stayed the announcement of the new professor of surgery but also the names for 50 senior posts whose selection was made at the same time.

HOW did the bull get into the china shop? The indecent haste with which the entire procedure for appointing a new director was gone through indicated that things had been well planned. It seems that if the selection is challenged legally there is a good chance of the director's appointment being set aside. According to the grapevine, Dr. Agarwal has two staunch backers in the political world — Dr. Sushila Nayar and Mr C. B. Gupta. In the Health Ministry he has a godfather in the present Health Secretary, Mr Rajeshwar Prasad. The president of the AIIMS, Dr M. M. S. Sidhu, sometime general practitioner, MP and a friend of Mr C. B. Gupta, is another good friend.

In December last year the then institute director, Dr. V. Ramalingaswami, was selected for the post of director general of the Indian Council for Medical Research. Even before Dr. Ramalingaswami could officially ask to be relieved, the institute president swung into action. Letters were sent to the vice-chancellors of all universities as well as leading medical institutes asking for nominations for the post of director. A month's notice was given. Interestingly, in early December Dr. Ramalingaswami was also asked not to hold meetings of the selection committees for filling 50 senior posts at the institute, although dates for the selection committee interviews had already been intimated to the candidates.

The names of over 20 eminent doctors were sent in for consideration for the director's post. The members of the institute met in January to form a special selection committee consisting of the following persons: Mr M. M. S. Sidhu, president AIIMS, Mr Rajeshwar Prasad, Health Secretary, Dr. Balu Shankaran, DGHS, Dr. R. V. Sathe, vice-chancellor, Bombay University, Dr. C. G. S. Pandit, former director general, ICMR, Mr Atma Ram from the CSIR, Dr D. S. Kothari, scientist, Dr. B. N. Sinha, president of the Medical Council of India and Dr. V. Ramalingaswami, then director AIIMS.

On February 7 the selection committee met for around two hours. Although there were over 20 distinguished names on the panel, only two were considered — Dr. A. S. Paintal, Director of Vallabhai Patel Chest Institute, and Dr. Agarwal, head of the Rajendra Prasad Centre for Ophthalmic Sciences. Singling out Dr. Paintal, who is internationally known for his research in visceral mechanisms in health and disease and last year's winner of the Medical Council of India's silver jubilee research award, is hardly surprising. But why Dr. Agarwal's name should have been considered along with so many eminent names in the panel is itself a mystery.

At the meeting all the five well-known doctors on the committee expressed their preference for Dr Paintal. The president and the two non-medical men supported Dr Agarwal. The tide abruptly changed when Dr Sidhu calmly produced a note from Mr Kothari, who could not be present stating that Dr Agarwal was his nominee. This goes against the basic principle that the selection committee members should be free of bias before entering the meeting. With the president throwing his full weight behind Dr Agarwal, one doctor changed his mind. As a result there were five votes for Dr Agarwal, including Dr Kothari's controversial vote, and four for Dr Paintal.

That same evening Dr Sidhu announced that Dr Agarwal had been elected, although two members of the committee, Dr V. Ramalingaswami and Dr C. G. S. Pandit, insisted that their dissent be recorded. By con-

trast, the selection of the previous director, Dr Ramalingaswami, had taken several meetings, held over some months.

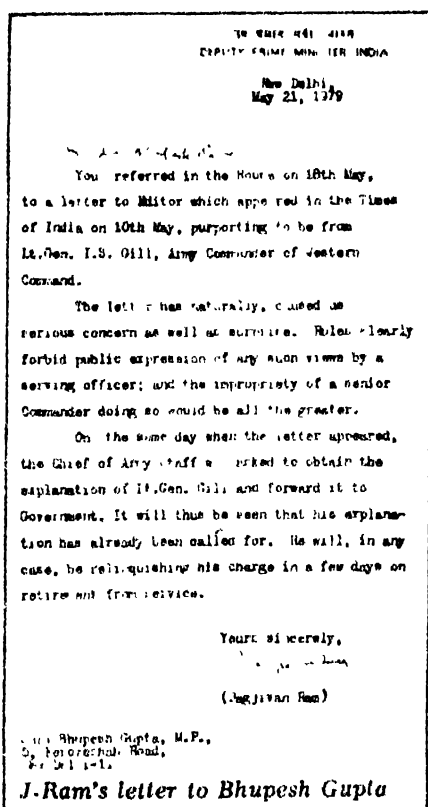
Normally, after the selection it takes some time for the appointment to be approved by the Cabinet, till then the old director continues. But Dr Agarwal's friends were obviously in a hurry. On Saturday, February 17, evening Dr Sidhu informed Dr Ramalingaswami that he should hand over charge to Dr Agarwal who would be acting director. Dr Ramalingaswami reportedly protested that as it

was a holiday it would be more appropriate to hand over charge on Monday. The president, however, insisted and Dr Agarwal took over as director on Sunday, February 18. But for all the haste he was out of the country within two hours of taking over and was not to return from Geneva before February 26. The very next day, February 27, the selection committee met to select new incumbents for 50 important posts at the AIIMS.

ABHA KAPOOR, New Delhi

Are Generals above the law?

The Defence Ministry has no answer



THE Defence Ministry is desperately trying to hush up the bizarre case of the blatantly racist, pro-American and pro-British letter written by Lt General I. S. Gill, General Officer Commanding-In-Chief, Western Command, in a letter to the Editor of *The Times of India*. Although the issue has been raised in the Parliament by the Communist Party leader, Mr Bhupesh Gupta, thrice, both the Defence Ministry as well as the Defence Minister have remained strangely silent on Lt Gen Gill's letter.

The only statement made by the Defence Ministry about the matter is in the form of a private letter writ-

ten by the Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister, Mr Jagjivan Ram, to Mr Bhupesh Gupta in reply to his short-notice question in the Rajya Sabha. In a letter dated May 21, Mr Jagjivan Ram said: "The letter has naturally caused us serious concern as well as surprise. Rules clearly forbid public expression of any such views by a serving officer; and the impropriety of a senior commander doing so would be all the greater".

Lt Gen Gill's letter would have done a Enoch Powell or Mrs Margaret Thatcher proud. Criticizing a *Times of India* editorial condemning the recent Southall riots, the General wrote: "It is past time that you and our editors gave up this England-baiting game. It seems incredible to me that all this fuss should be made about the death of some person called Blair Peach and the beating up of a few Asians in London, whereas the death of hundreds and the beating up of thousands by our own police appear to merit less attention".

There was immediate reaction to this amazing letter and the Congress Socialist Forum issued a statement signed by several MPs on the very day the letter appeared, expressing concern at such political outbursts by a senior Army officer.

According to Mr Jagjivan Ram's letter to Mr Bhupesh Gupta, an explanation was sought from the General on the same day the letter appeared but the General had so far refused to reply—this has put the Defence Ministry in an extremely embarrassing position. Lt Gen Gill was to retire on May 31 and the only possible action that could be taken against him is a court-martial, which the Ministry is afraid would offend other Army officers.

This is not the first time that Lt Gen Gill has proved embarrassing for the Government. A few years back, his son, who has settled down in Britain and holds a British passport, tried

to start a business in India and despite Lt Gen Gill's best efforts, the Government refused to give him an industrial licence.

This had been a bitter pill to swallow for the General but he was embittered even more when he was superseded in service by a few officers, including the present Chief of Army Staff, General O. P. Malhotra.

According to Defence Ministry sources, Lt Gen Gill had recently become very frustrated and his outburst in *The Times of India* is an indication of this. Technically, the General could be in serious trouble for his letter clearly violates the service rules. According to Rule 21 of Chapter IV of the General Statutory Rules and Orders, Volume III, Government of India, "No person, subject to the Act, shall publish in any form whatever, or communicate directly or indirectly to the Press, any matter in relation to political question or on a service subject, or containing any service information, or publish or cause to be published any book or letter or article or other document such question or matter or containing such information, without prior sanction of the Central Government or any officers specified by the Central Government".

AJOY BOSE, New Delhi

The letter

The following is the text of the letter written by Lt Gen I. S. Gill. It was published in The Times of India on May 9.

Sir, — I have just read your editorial entitled "Despicable".

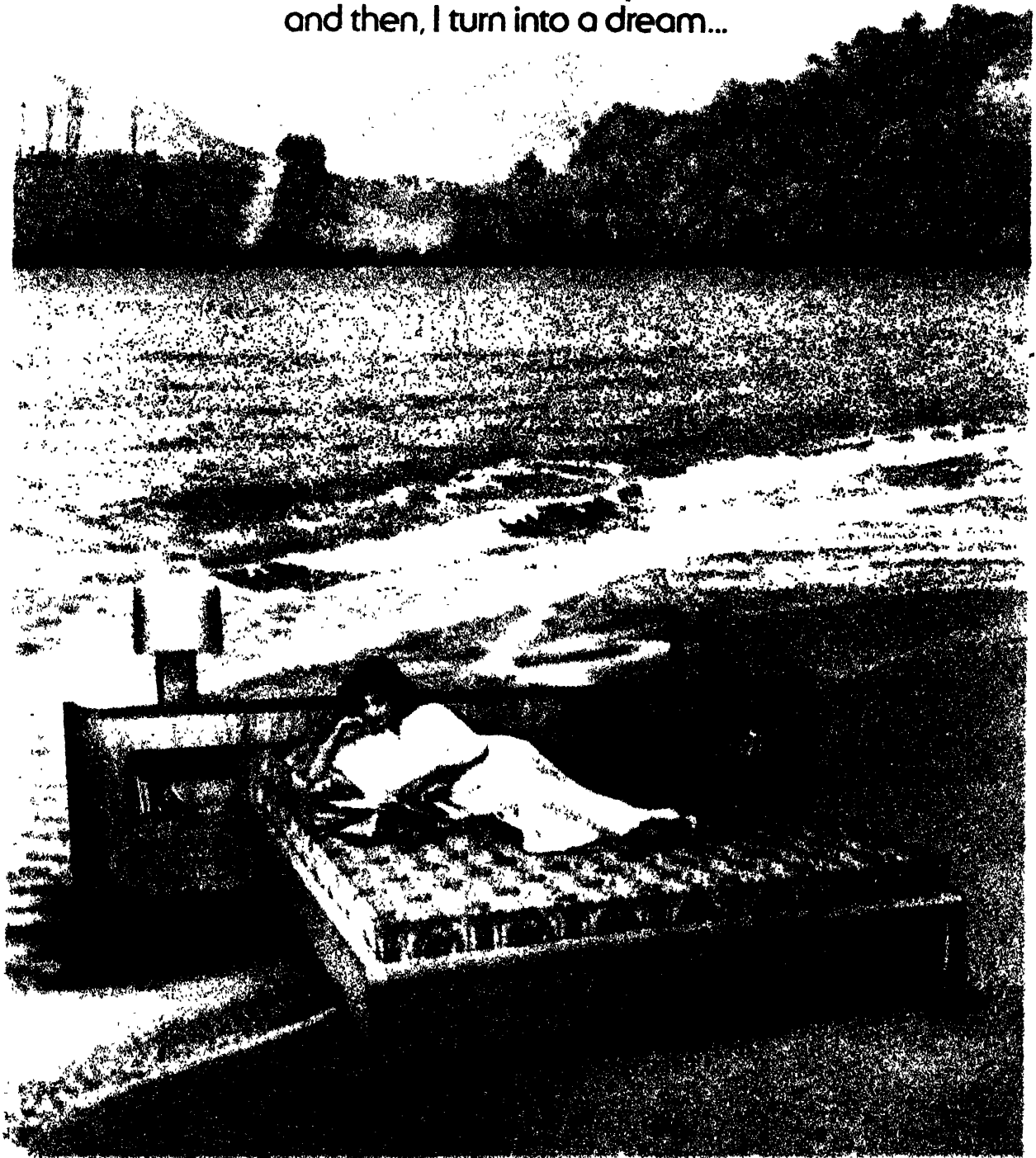
It is past time that you and our other editors gave up this England-baiting game. It seems incredible to me that all this fuss should be made about the death of some person called Blair Peach and the beating up of a few Asians in London, whereas the death of hundreds and the beating up of thousands by our own police appear to merit less attention.

No good purpose is served by these hypocritical attitudes of ours. In any case, such incidents are invariably brought to our notice initially by the BBC and then by the British Press.

The USA is another whipping boy presently in connection with supply of nuclear materials. Why don't you put us wise to the attitude of Soviet Russia in this regard? And while on the subject of Russia, we do not get any complaints about their carrying out 'virginity tests' because they won't allow us in at all.

— LT. GEN. I. S. GILL
General Officer Commanding-In-Chief, Western Command
Simla, May 1.

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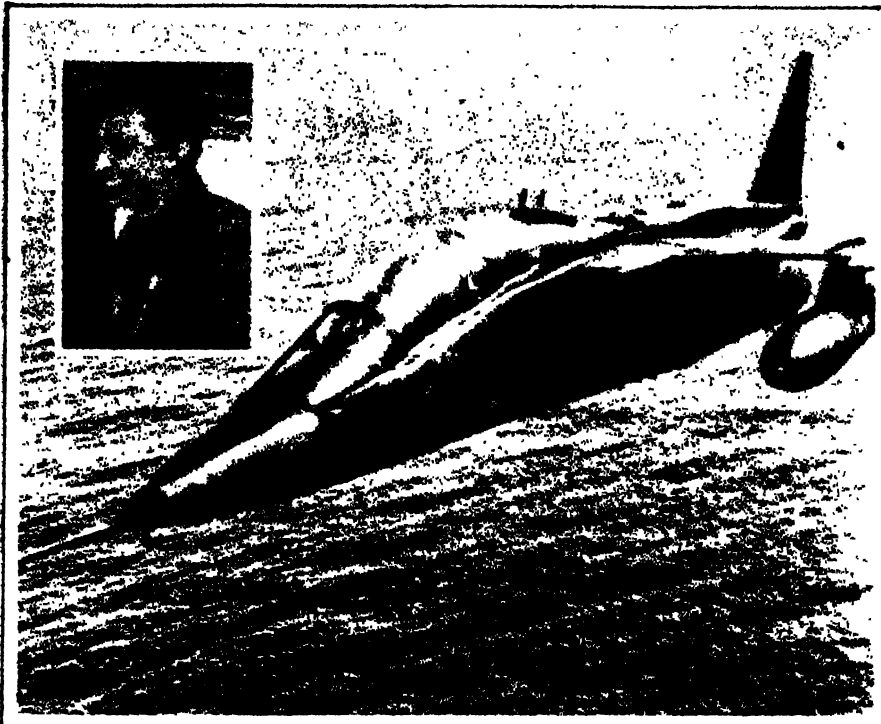
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THE JAGUARS ARE COMING



Following the purchase of the British manufactured Jaguar as the new strike aircraft for the Indian Air Force, the conversion courses for the first batch of IAF pilots and technicians are nearing completion. (Right) The Jaguar trainer photographed in flight.

(Inset) Wing Commander D. Nadkarni, the leader of the team who will command the first Jaguar unit in the IAF. (Left) Squadron Leader M. McMahon of the IAF seated in the cockpit of the Jaguar combat simulator. (Photographs by Image in Industry Ltd.)

DELHI DIARY

HERALD : NO TAKERS

MRS GANDHI WANTS a friendly businessman to take over *National Herald* and run it for her and her Party. There are many businessmen who have the money and aspire to have a mouthpiece of their own. But running it for the former Prime Minister is something that no businessman, not even those who want her and Mr Sanjay Gandhi back, is willing to do. A Calcutta businessman, who acquired a paper years ago (and is a sworn enemy of the Communists in West Bengal), was approached on Mrs Gandhi's behalf by one of her confidants. He was willing, but said that he could not board the Janata lion in its own den, that is, in New Delhi.

EXPRESS HAPPENINGS

THE GOINGS-ON IN Mr Ram Nath Goenka's *Indian Express* can provide material for many interesting stories. Mr. H. V. Pandit, the two-month wonder, has been asked to leave. Mr Pandit had, at best, a dubious kind of relationship with the company: there was no official designation, but

he behaved like Goenka's successor. One casualty of his arrival had been the Bombay News Editor, S. Krishnamurthy. Now, presumably, he will be back in his powerful chair.

FOR HIM THE BELL TOLLS

THE MINISTER FOR Steel and Mines, Mr Biju Patnaik, feels cornered by his detractors, duly aided and abetted by the Prime Minister. But there is nothing that he can do about it. The original agreement on which he gave his undated letter of resignation to Mr Desai was that the charges to be probed against him would relate to his tenure as a Janata Minister. The charges are being looked into by Mr R. C. Gattani, a Janata MP and a former judge of the Rajasthan High Court.

Now, in contravention of the understanding reached, the scope of charges and hence the inquiry is being widened to include those relating to the period when he was a Congress Chief Minister of Orissa. What he did when he was the Chairman of the Kalinga Foundation and how he funded it are issues pertain-

ing to the early Sixties and not late Seventies, but Mr Gattani is determined to inquire into them.

BANGLADESH IS CHOOSY

INDIA'S AMBASSADOR IN Moscow, Mr Inder Kumar Gujral, is in a fix. He is about to complete his term in Moscow and in search of newer pastures has set his eyes on Bangladesh. But Bangladesh's foreign office has bluntly refused to accept his name. Till now, a career diplomat was tipped to go to Dacca. But our Government now wants to send a politician. The Dacca regime has informed New Delhi's South Block that they do not want (1) a Bengali and (2) any former member of Mrs Gandhi's caucus (even though he may have broken off with her) as India's High Commissioner. Officials in the South Block feel there may be an equally strong third reason—the Bangladeshis do not also want someone with a known Soviet connection, firmly placed as they now are within the America-China axis.

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What is happening in Gujarat?

Has everyone forgotten 1974's most volatile State? SANTOSH BHARTIYA finds out.

THE LAST time elections were held in Gujarat was June, 1975. According to law, the next poll should be due after five years, in 1980. But by present indications, it will be held sooner. The Janata leadership is only too aware of its fast deteriorating image in the State, as in the other States. Not only the Party's image, but the Party itself is falling apart. There is a general loss of trust in the Government; discontent is mounting among the working class, and the purchasing power of the people is slowly falling.

The present Government of Gujarat had come to power through a powerful youth movement, which, ironically, has long ended. Even though the movement died down, discontent persists, and is believed to be more bitter on several issues, than in 1973. A consideration of these factors has led the Government to believe that it would be better if the elections were held as soon as possible. Interestingly, the same people who were enthusiastic about Gujarat going to the polls like other States after the last Lok Sabha elections, are behind the present demand for holding elections a year before schedule. And it seems likely the elections will be held in 1979 itself.

Gujarat has a significant place in India's political map. Even if the fact of the present Prime Minister's origins is ignored, it cannot be forgotten that many national movements germinated here. But did the movements achieve their objectives? The answer would lie in understanding who actually are being benefited in the name of class interests.

A degree of class consciousness has grown among the peasants of the country. The general impression that prevails is that their leader and spokesman is Chaudhury Charan Singh. But are the Chaudhury's associates men who undoubtedly have the friendship and confidence of the peasants? Like the term 'proletariat' the word Kisan too is being misused for selfish interests. The Kisan lobby in Gujarat, headed by Chiman Bhai Patel, is based on the premise that

the true leader of the peasants is not one who is himself a peasant, or works for peasants, but who pays lip service to their interests; Mr Patel is understood to be the mainstay of the Kisan lobby in Gujarat.

The Kisan lobby is growing from strength to strength. As things stand, Babu Bhai Patel's Government might easily fall if the group withdrew its support to it, although there are only 18 to 20 MLAs belonging to the group. Which in itself is a controversial question. Members of the Kisan lobby claim that they are actually 22 MLAs, after a Janata Party secretary Brahm Kumar Bhatt and Jay Ram of the Swaran Congress said in a public speech that a realignment between their two Parties was possible.

The Kisan lobby has taken it for granted that it is not duly represen-



Kanti Bhai : the son who launched a hundred protests

ted in the Ministry. They have, apparently only one post in the present Ministry—the Ports portfolio, under Bhanji Bhai Patel. Despite his willingness, the Chief Minister Mr Babu Bhai Patel has desisted from including any more Kisan lobbyists because of his anger at defections: most members of the Kisan lobby are defectors, especially the leader of the group in the Legislative Assembly, Ballabh Bhai Patel, who is known for his frequent floor cross-

ing. The leader of the lobby outside the Assembly is Chiman Bhai Patel. The Kisan lobby has strong support in Saurashtra and according to reliable sources, both Chiman Bhai and Ballabh Bhai are in search of safe electoral constituencies in the region.

How powerful are they exactly? First, their support is essential for the survival of the present Ministry, and Chiman Bhai is a person who can get things done with money. Second, there is rivalry between the Congress (O) and Jana Sangh groups of the Janata Party, and the Congress (O) group believes the entry of Chiman Bhai would bar the Jana Sangh group's path.

There is a ruling clique in Gujarat, of which Dinesh Shah, the Finance Minister, and Ramlal Parekh (who for his links with Yashpal Kapoor, is better known as Ramlal Kapoor) are prominent members. They have direct relations with Chiman Bhai Patel and their godfather is Kanti Desai; it was Kanti Desai who procured Chiman Bhai's entry into the Party. Morarji Desai had publicly promised that defectors would be admitted, but would not be given any post. And what happened? For one thing, the ruling clique is being unofficially directed by Chiman Bhai; for another, Chiman Bhai's friend, Ballabh Bhai has been made Director of IFFCO (Indian Farmer's Fertilisers Cooperative). Morarji always makes it a point to summon Ballabh Bhai when he visits Ahmedabad.

Kanti Bhai Desai has very warily set foot on Gujarat. Until now, his main fields of operation were Bombay and Delhi. He has now managed to become a Janata delegate from the Ahmedabad district. He also recently built himself a magnificent new house in a village, Hassoul, near Ahmedabad. Govind Bhai Patel, who was a Congress candidate in the last election he contested against P. G. Mavlankar, and is now a close associate of Chiman Bhai, was made a Janata delegate from Ahmedabad city. These facts indicate close relations between the ruling clique and Chiman Bhai. On Chiman Bhai's advice, Indu Bhai Patel was made president of the State unit of the Janata Party.

Well aware that he will never be accepted in Gujarat, Chiman Bhai is eager for a passage to Delhi. He has promised Kanti Desai to make him Chief Minister of Gujarat, which is another reason why Kanti has long been supporting him.

But the revolt in Gujarat against the Kanti Desai (and Morarji Desai)-Chiman Bhai alliance, which is gradually strengthening, has already begun. A study group of responsible office-bearers in Ahmedabad, being conducted for the past few years by an MLA, Babu Bhai Basanwala, started tendering resignations from

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various Party posts in protest against Kanti Desai's behaviour, on April 2. Kokil Ben Shah, Kiran Mehta, and Ajman Ben Dawe resigned from the Ahmedabad Municipal Committee and Purshottam Patel resigned his State delegate post. Resignations from the city committee and the board committee also came in. This, they claim, is their way of registering moral protest. The Socialist Dr Ashok Mehta, Russey Contractor and Jaswant Chauhan, have also joined the protest. The Jana Sangh is keenly following the protest, waiting to see its outcome.

The Jana Sangh has already started mobilising the Kshatriya caste against the Kisan lobby and Congress (O) group. This work has been entrusted to Shankar Singh Baghela, MP.

There is a simple Hindi two-letter formula for Party politics in Gujarat "Pa" for Patel and "Ksh" for the Kshatriya caste, make the "paksh" (Party). The formula was evolved by Bhai Lal Bhai Patel (Bhai Kaka), the founder of the Swatantra Party in Gujarat, when he was defeated by the Kshatriya candidate, Natwar Singh Solanki, in 1952. He realised that coming to power and running the Government in Gujarat was impossible without joining the Kshatriya-Patel alliance. In the 1967 elections this combine had strengthened, and presented the first formidable challenge to the Congress. As a re-

Party position in the Gujarat Assembly	
Janata Party	110*
Congress (I)	58**
Congress	7
Congress Independents	4
Independents	2
Vacant	1
Total	182
* Janata Party has the support of 3 Independents	
** Congress (I) has the support of 1 Independent	

Singh Solanki a Kshatriya member of the Congress was Chief Minister at that time.

When the issue of the State's leadership was under discussion, it was asked that if the Chief Minister was from Gujarat, why the Pradesh Party President could not be chosen from Saurashtra. The second contention was that if a Patel was elected as Chief Minister, the Pradesh Party president should be a Kshatriya. Presently, both these posts have been captured by Patels—Babu Bhai and Indu Bhai, both from the Khera district. A member of the Jana Sangh group told the Prime Minister that a Kshatriya should have been made president, and proposed the name of Shankar Singh Baghela.

Such persons as have not been connected with the State unit of the Janata Party, have held positions of

Das Parikh, Prakash Bhai Shah, were present in its ad hoc body. This group played a patently political role since 1974, and was also active during the Emergency. After the Emergency they raised several issues within the Party: (1) that in spite of its desire, the Janata leadership could not allot Ministerial posts to defectors; (2) anti-social elements could not enter the Party and (3) the JP group had protested against the hike in State transport fares, as a result of which the fares were not increased.

But after the formation of the Janata Party at the national level, these same people drew away from the Party. Owing to their loss, the Party has been steadily losing reputation, and, at the same time, the non-Party people are worried about what to do in the coming State elections. They might join hands to form a Sarvodaya front, but each of them realises that the Sarvodaya Party is a hackneyed and outdated concept.

The Harijans in Gujarat have no organised power, and there is no representative of Jagjivan Ram. There is only one Harijan Minister, who is also connected with the JP group. There are primarily three Charan Singh men: Chiman Bhai, Ballabhi Bhai and R. K. Amin, who has remained loyal to Charan Singh since long. The BLD group in Gujarat was made up of members of the former



Shanker Vaghela, Janata MP and Convenor of the Kshatriya Sammelan

sult, the difference between the Patels and Kshatriyas narrowed down considerably.

The Jana Sangh faction is now wooing the Kshatriyas while the dominant faction of the Congress (O) is aligning itself with the Patel group. What will come out of this remains to be seen. It is of interest that the Kshatriyas of Ahmedabad, Khera, Baroda and Panchmal (South Gujarat) had earlier voted against the Janata Party because Madhav



Indubhai Patel, President, Gujarat Janata Party

great importance in the State. This was because of the various organised mass movements the State has passed through. First, there were the "Lok Swarajya" movements, with which JP was connected. The same persons who were involved in this movement had got together to form the Lok Sangharsh Samity. When the Janata Front was established according to the proposal laid down by the Samity in 1976, several non-Party members including C. T. Daru, Bhai



Babubhai Vasanwala, MLA, Gujarat Assembly

Swatantra Party. The most curious political actor is perhaps Chiman Bhai Patel: he has found a convenient way to keep Charan Singh on his one side, and Kanti Bhai on the other. Brahm Kumar Bhatt, Chandrashekhar's representative, was made the Chairman of IFFCO. Babu Bhai and Morarji Desai are known to be hand in glove: all advice is given immediate consent. Morarji is said to have told Babu Bhai to take Chiman Bhai into his Ministry.

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MY UNDERSTANDING in 1962 of the capabilities of Intelligence organizations was limited due to my rank and experience. Numerous inexplicable and unusual incidents occurred during the course of the 1962 conflict, which were taken as normal. In my later service, having worked in the Intelligence set-up in senior appointments, and after studying the working of foreign intelligence agencies and assessing what I witnessed, I have not been able to avoid the impression that sabotage in high places appears to be the most likely explanation for what had happened to the Indian

Army in 1962, particularly in the Sela-Dirang Bomdila sector.

Intelligence, as the word implies indicates information. The primary function of all Intelligence organizations is to obtain information—both civil and military. Intelligence for civil administration may be in relation to political, economic, industrial, educational, and allied matters. Military Intelligence may be strategic or tactical. While strategic Intelligence is all-pervading, tactical Intelligence is limited to the battle area. Strategic Intelligence relates to military potentials of the target country, indicating its strength re-

serves, locations, higher commanders, communications set-up, total war resources, future plans, strategic and tactical concepts, and intentions. This can be obtained by agents, through other sources, by radar and air surveillance, photographs, radio intercepts, and by compromising officials and key persons particularly in the armed forces and the Defence Ministry. The most dangerous situation can be when the military commanders, particularly in key posts, are compromised. The developing nations are comparatively more susceptible to this possibility. Cases are on record, even in the western coun-

Sabotage in the 1962 war

These extracts are from the book "The Unfought War of 1962" by Lt. Col. J. R. Saigal (retired) in which the NEFA debacle is analysed. It is published by Allied Publishers Limited and is priced at Rs 30.



tries, where Generals, politicians and bureaucrats in important positions have been compromised and have had to act in the manner dictated by their blackmailers. Weakness for wine, women and wealth, depending upon the character of the given individual has been used to achieve the objective.

Intelligence experts devise ways and means of trapping people and later ordering them about, while many countries have strong and fairly effective counter-Intelligence organizations in both the military and civil set-ups, in India this is not the case, looking at the problem and the results achieved. I am afraid Mullick has not given in his book a correct picture of the limitations of his Intelligence Bureau and the pressures under which they work. Having known and worked with some officers of the Intelligence Bureau, and discussed Intelligence with officers of the BSF, CRP, CBI, and RAW, I have found that their major concern is with political affairs and very little with counter-Intelligence, subversion and sabotage, or locating informers, particularly people in high places who operate with impunity. The Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), which was formed in 1968 to deal with external Intelligence, also suffers from the same handicaps, i.e., its employment for political purposes, thus relegating national security at times to the secondary position. I cannot say much about its present

I have not been able to avoid the impression that sabotage in high places appears to be the most likely explanation for what had happened to the Indian Army in 1962.



The late President Radhakrishnan with General Pathania at Dirang

functioning after the formation of the Janata Government, as its re-organized operational aspect is in a fluid state.

The Intelligence organizations of the two Super Powers—the CIA and

the KGB—are all pervading and powerful instruments of their Government policies, planning far into the future. With the annual budget of the US Intelligence agencies amounting to Rs 60,000 million, and a matching, if not a greater, expenditure by the USSR Intelligence organization, their Governments have merely to indicate their aims and targets and the machinery is immediately set into motion. Basing on the weaknesses of the target people these agencies build up their networks.

WHILE the USA and the USSR are the main contenders in the field and are allocating the major portion of their expenditure to obtain information about each other, the spending of a few thousand million rupees by them in the developing countries in furtherance of their policies cannot be ruled out. It should be revealing to note that even the total annual defence budget of India (about Rs 30,000 million) is less than half of the total Intelligence budget of the USA/USSR. The total Indian budget allocation on all Intelligence agencies as per budget figures for 1976-77 is equivalent to only 44 million dollars compared to 6220 million dollars of the US budget allocation for Intelligence services. As the USSR and the USA budgets on Intelligence services are generally matching the vulnerability of the Intelligence set-ups of India and other developing countries becomes apparent—as one of the priority objectives of these Intelligence organizations. The only way to counter this is by having men of character in the top echelons of sensitive organizations.

I have it on the authority of an officer, who went on a training course to the USA, that Brig (later General) Tikka Khan of the Pakistan Army was a thoroughly compromised person by the time he had completed his training course in the USA. His weakness for sex was fully exploited by the USA Intelligence. He was photographed in compromising positions and taped, and was presented with this "memento" when he was leaving the USA. Obviously this was done as a part of a plan. Such weaknesses are most likely to have been exploited in the case of many of our visiting General officers and also the other VIP's who have made the manipulation of invitations to visit foreign countries a fine art. The actions of some of our top commanders indicate that professional and national considerations did not guide their decisions during our wars with China and Pakistan. Some unknown factors seemed to have forced them to act in the most inexplicable and unprofessional manner in the 1962, 1965, and 1971 operations, as had been brought out with regard to the Shakargarh operations in 1971, when with more than ten-to-one superiority our forces were made to fail twice. Many high civil and military officials and others in key appointments are known to



General Thimayya, who was ever-popular with the common soldier

have got under considerable obligation by hiring out their bungalows to foreigners at fabulous rents, getting education and jobs arranged for their kith and kin in foreign countries, or obtaining unauthorized benefits and cuts and commissions in major deals. Once they are overwhelmed with such favours, and if they also have a weakness for women and wine, they become the easiest targets with modern gadgets of bugging, electronic devices and secret photography. A senior officer told me that he saw a very senior officer of our Army who was dealing with NEFA war of 1962 in a compromising position with a lady when he inadvertently went in a different direction in the house of a diplomat who had thrown a party and had invited him along with other senior Government officials. The Intelligence Bureau has neither the know-how nor the resources to tackle such persons.

A well-planned subversion could also muscle and compromise the Press, and this is being done by the powerful and rich countries. This subversion, by both the eastern and the western blocs, shows up in the form of strong pro-West or pro-East groups in the country, with little consideration for national interests. Political leaders have been found acting as agents for foreign powers. Thus, the developing countries become the playground for the intelligence agencies of Super Powers.

In the light of the above, the possibility of some of our top brass, or persons in key positions, acting as agents of some foreign power, and carrying out their instructions, or insuring their implementation, cannot be ruled out, particularly in the events of 1962. The reasons for this are based on my personal knowledge of subversion in high places, of which the following incidents are only illustrative.

A Brigadier, who happened to accompany a Lieutenant General during his meetings with his counterparts after the 1971 Indo-Pak war, heard a junior Pakistani officer boasting that all the operational plans initiated in New Delhi in the Military Operations Directorate find their way to the Pakistan Army Headquarters. On being asked by me as to what did the Brigadier do to get this analysed, he showed his total disinterest as it did not affect him. On another occasion, while talking to a Major from Engineers, with his Headquarters in Chandigarh I learned that a top secret operation plan (Red Book No "X") was found missing only after a Pakistani General mentioned, during his interrogation as prisoner of war, having seen one Red Book No "X" in his Army Headquarters. The entire issue was confused by the planted agents in the Indian Army so that no trace could be found of person(s) involved in removing and passing on the Red Book No "X" to Pakistan. Officers connected with the removal of the documents may still

The Research and Analysis Wing also suffers from the same handicaps, i.e., its employment for political purposes, thus relegating national security at times to the secondary position.



Members of the Press alongside a 25 pounder gun

be serving in high and crucial appointments pursuing their espionage activities more vigorously from safer echelons.

Another well-known case before the 1971 war was the loss of a top

secret operational plan of the war in a Corps Headquarters in Mathura. Numerous rumours were afloat about it, even in the civil circles in the town. Mathura is well known to be the hotbed of spy networks, and sabotage was suspected. Top officers of the Intelligence Bureau carried out inquiries—and all suspicions pointed to some officer in the Headquarters. This episode was eventually hushed up. The culprits could not be pinpointed, and maybe they are serving today in crucial and important appointments. It is possible that they may let down the country at the crucial moment.

In yet another case in Mathura, a Brigadier's daughter who was working in a foreign mission in Delhi, which was not quite friendly to India, used to visit her father frequently. As his daughter was working in a foreign mission, I advised the Brigadier not to take top secret operational documents to his residence as a precaution, which he ignored at times. He was also ignoring the Services regulations that required prior approval of the Army Headquarters in case of employment of sons or daughters of officers in foreign missions. In any case, his taking home top secret papers dealing with future plans could not but raise suspicions. The same Brigadier, during the 1971 operations against Pakistan in Shakargarh area, was trying to deploy long range heavy artillery placed under his command



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in a suicidal manner directly overlooked by enemy observation posts, contrary to all the established practices. It was with difficulty that he was stopped from bringing disaster to our troops by me and other Colonels. His numerous actions indicated either gross incompetence or covert effort at sabotage, but reports against his activities were hushed up by higher authorities without proper investigation possibly under pressure from influential quarters.

STRANGE coincidence again—the Brigadier General (Staff) who was against holding the Sela position in 1962, and who might have had some silent but solid say in the suicidal withdrawal of Hoshiar Singh's brigade from Sela, was the Corps Commander of the Strike Corps in the Shakargarh area in the 1971 Indo-Pak war. The ignominious way in which he conducted the Shakargarh operations with a massive ten-to-one superiority over Pakistan while our troops were suffering heavy casualties in Chhamb-Jaurian sector, had led young officers of his Headquarters to call their Strike Corps "The Corps on Strike", within the hearing of their Chief of Staff, Major General Menezes. I have talked to certain participants in the 1965 Indo-Pak war under the same Brigadier in whose Armoured Brigade there was confusion—his Armoured Regiment's tanks were firing at each other rather than fighting the enemy thereby blunting their effectiveness. How all this had happened has never been investigated or explained. While slips and errors do not require investigations every time they occur during wars, once they indicate a certain pattern or regularity they need to be carefully analysed by an impartial agency.

There have been several instances indicative of deliberate subversion at a high level before and after the clamping of Emergency, which became a topic of conversation among senior officers in a Corps Headquarters in Jullundur. They were suggestive of the functioning of two groups within the top brass of the Army—one for Indira Gandhi and the other against her. Why Indira Gandhi failed to win over the Army is a separate issue, which I shall bring out later. The "Quarterly Summary of Intelligence Reports" received by Gen. Raina, the Chief of Army Staff, should have been sufficient to indicate that the entire Army would not be with him if he promised Indira Gandhi the backing of the Army in the furtherance of her dictatorial designs. Presently it would be sufficient to say that while a certain Lieutenant General in Jullundur was openly critical of the affairs of the Government, as also of the gross corrupt practices of his predecessor, and talked in the conferences of Generals and Brigadiers about the "JP wave" (recommending Jayaprakash Narayan's ways) another Lieutenant General (his predecessor) would leave an important meeting to rush up to pay his com-

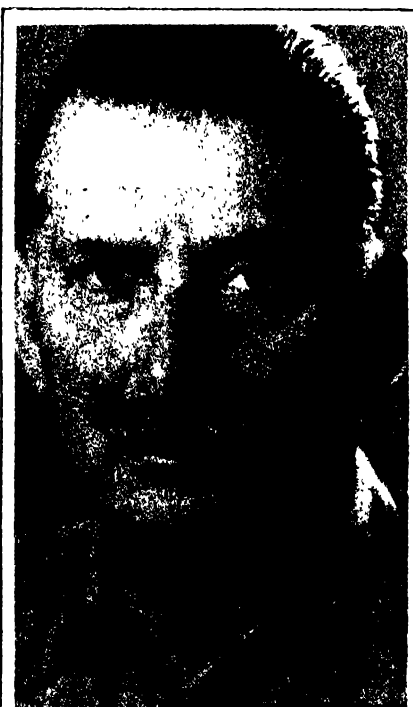


Tribals near the battle zone

pliments to Indira Gandhi who was passing through that town. While the former found his way up to be an Army Commander, the latter became the Army Chief, thus adversely affecting the professionalism of the Army.

IN the Indian Army groupism and cliques were operating in a big way during the fifties and sixties. The western oriented top brass never liked Kaul, who was trying to build up his own group, and he claimed to be nationalistically inclined. We had noticed the hostility between

A well-planned subversion could also muscle and compromise the Press, and this is being done by the powerful and rich countries.



Field Marshal Manekshaw

Kaul and Manekshaw while we were doing the Staff College course in 1960. While we could smell that there was something unusual in the atmosphere when Kaul visited the Staff College to give us a talk, it was only later that we learned how these groups were operating in the Staff College, when an inquiry was ordered against Sam Manekshaw for his indiscreet expressions before foreign as well as Indian student officers. As a good soldier, Sam was outspoken and never concealed his aversion to socialism and Oriental backwardness, and his appreciation of the western society and ways, often to the point of fault, coming from a responsible officer like him. The inquiry created cliques within the Army, pro-and anti-Kaul groups, the former operating very actively until the Kaul group was liquidated after the 1962 debacle. Sam eliminated many professionally oriented soldiers out of sheer vengeance as they belonged to the opposite group. Although I had never known Kaul, and had a great regard for Sam Manekshaw as the Commandant of the Staff College, his habit of ridiculing our culture and customs did leave a bad taste among some of us.

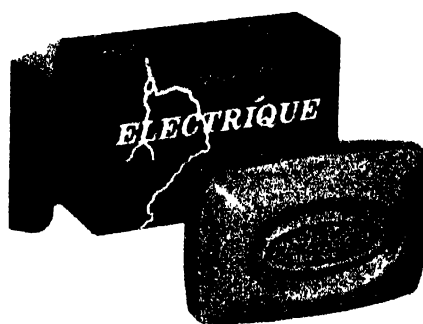
There were thus groups in the political field wanting to eliminate Menon on political and other considerations. Within the Army there were cliques which were out to finish Kaul at any cost, just as he was trying to eliminate his opponents. The professionals in a minority, were disgusted with this state of affairs.

The above state of affairs must have offered an ideal opportunity to the western Intelligence agencies to strike a death blow to the foreign policy of non-alignment of Nehru and Krishna Menon and to Kaul, who was known to be closely associated with Nehru and Menon and according to some, was pro-Russian. How they did this, is a topic on which I shall write later. There were times when even the enemies got together for the achievement of their common objective, and the possibility of the Chinese and wes-

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tern Intelligence collaboration for the achievement of their common objective cannot be entirely ruled out. This is well known to happen in the underworld of Intelligence. In Mizoram and Nagaland, the Chinese as well as the western agencies have been operating for many years, to the detriment of Indian interests at times working in unison.

To anyone who had worked in Intelligence, it would be obvious that the pattern of action by certain Commanders and Staff officers at Nyamka Chu and Dirang Dzong showed a great similarity, despite entirely different operational circumstances. A case was built up at both the Headquarters for not fighting the war. Both the Headquarters were located in a most unsound tactical position, despite the suggestion by many to shift them to secure areas. There appeared to be a move afoot even not to let the troops fight. I have reason to believe the few senior officers who have told me that the pattern was generally the same in the Walong sector, although much had been made of the "resistance" at Walong. The Chinese forces were in no way superior to our forces and could have been beaten back at Walong also, but our forces were made to abandon their positions. Once they left their prepared defensive positions, there was no control over the troops, just as there was none in the Kameng division.

THE Chinese, too, seemed to be aware of the likely pattern of action by the higher command of the Indian Army—that they were under instructions from somewhere not to fight. Though in the first phase at Nyamka Chu the Chinese had brought over a Division, and had the required conventional superiority to launch the attack, they must have been surprised at the total inactivity and sudden collapse of the Brigade Headquarters, the nerve centre, which did nothing to counter their moves.

It seems they were apprised by their Intelligence sources that the pattern would be same with 4 Divisional Headquarters and that the troops holding Sela-Bomdila would not fight. Someone seems to have organized this collapse without a fight extremely well, or else the Chinese would not have had the courage to send troops in lesser numbers, with all the disadvantages in the matter of weapons and tactical dispositions, to fight against the well-prepared defences. They seemed to have been sure that the Divisional Headquarters controlling the Indian Forces would disintegrate and the Indian troops would withdraw without a fight, in spite of their superiority in every respect, even in the second phase of war in November 1962. There can be no other plausible explanation for a well-trained and well-equipped fighting force composed of seasoned troops in dug out defences led by a competent commander, being ordered to quit the



Wounded Indian soldiers being repatriated by the Chinese

His (General Tikka Khan's) weakness for sex was fully exploited by the USA Intelligence.

defences of their own country even before an attack was launched against them.

It appears to be quite plausible that in order to achieve their respective objectives the western and the Chinese Intelligence agencies could have colluded despite their hostile relations. And they certainly succeeded in their aims. Nehru's non-alignment policy lost its significance overnight. Nehru had to seek arms from the same western powers whose policies he had been criticising. The western powers proved to be the real friends in need, rather than the non-aligned powers who showed very limited interest. So far as the Army was concerned the pro-West group of the Indian top brass took over the affairs of the Army from 1962 onwards. Looking at the pattern of the fiasco at Nyamka Chu, and a month later at Sela, Dirang Dzong, and Bomdila, the neat execution of a high level plan, there is a marked similarity which indicates their common direction by some unknown agency. To recapitulate the relevant points of the debacle:

(1) The Brigade Headquarters at Nyamka Chu was the first to disintegrate and not the battalions as should have been normal. Exactly the same pattern was repeated at Dirang Dzong.

(2) Flat ground on the banks of Nyamka Chu, a tactically most unsound position was occupied by the Brigade Headquarters. Even a junior commander with six years service would not have selected such a tactically unsound place for the Headquarters, when higher ground or a place within a battalion could be occupied. Similarly, 4 Infantry Division Headquarters was located in the

most unsound position, although better and prepared dug-outs were built and were ready. They were not even used after considerable engineering effort and resources had been expended to prepare them.

(3) 7 Brigade Headquarters and later 4 Infantry Division Headquarters breaking off communications with their higher and lower Headquarters unilaterally, contrary to all teaching and causing destruction of signal equipment.

(4) Propaganda in the Army against Kaul when he was nowhere near the operational area—and was nearly 100/200 kilometres away, at Tezpur. While he interfered to some extent with operations at Bomdila, he never interfered with operations at Sela.

(5) Propaganda in the Army that the Army should not fight as it had not been looked after well by the Government.

(6) An odd smoke bomb being lit in 65 Brigade Headquarters and a few shots fired to create panic, obviously by someone within or near the force. These persons remained untraced due to the partisan nature of the inquiry. This could have happened in other Headquarters and places as well. Later reports from Sela indicated that near-panic conditions prevailed there, which appears to be the task of the Intelligence agents planted in the Indian Army.

(7) Circumstances leading to the abandoning of well-organized and defended Sela position (which till today remains a mystery) although well stocked to fight for 15 days and maintainable by air, particularly when they had already beaten back the Chinese attacks on 17 November 1962.

(8) Superiority of the Indian Army in numbers, weaponry, supply system and quality of troops (all martial classes) in November 1962.

(9) Deliberately confusing the desertion of the force by a Major General and his Operational staff into complicated issues involving political and other considerations, by the top bureaucrats and military commanders.

(10) Appointment of Lt Gen Henderson Brooks who was more of an Englishman than an Indian, as the presiding officer of the inquiry, pretty well knowing that his roots were elsewhere and he was planning migration shortly from India.

(11) Pressures on officers who were called as witnesses for the inquiry not to tell the truth, or not calling such officers for the inquiry who were known to speak the truth and were professionally-oriented.

(12) Even Mullick has not brought out the exact happenings on the morning of 18 November 1962, which he must have known if he had any Intelligence organization.

The above salient points of the debacle indicate that it cannot be explained away as an error of judgment, lack of will to fight, cowardice, or lack of preparation. The accusing finger points only in one direction—sabotage in high places. ■

PEOPLE, it seems, are having a bit of a problem in getting in touch with Shabana. And the fault, as Shabana says, lies entirely with her mother. She gives people misleading information about her daughter's whereabouts — if she tells you that Shabana has gone to the Raj Kamal Studio, you can be sure to find her at the Roop Tara Studio. Or, if you are informed by her mother that she has gone to the Seashell Beauty Parlour, she's sure to be at Sheil's. Again, her secretary, who usually knows where Shabana is, is never around to tell you where to find her.

Vidya: will she stop at Reena?



Shabana Azmi: playing hard to get?

SACHIN is taking his self-styled Travolta image a bit too seriously. This was quite evident at a popular award-giving function held recently. With his shirt buttons open and contorting his figure, he went on the floor and did all that Travolta had done in the movie. In the process, he invited a lot of stares from all those present. He, of course, thought that he was being very smart, especially since everyone was staring at him. But what he did not realise was that a lot of his belly was revealed (probably his shirt was too short) and that this wasn't a particularly pleasing sight. Maybe he thought he would give his ex-girlfriend, who was a part of the audience, a chance to moon over him again.

WHERE is all that realism which Basu Chatterjee showed he had? In *Baton Baton Mein*, which has come in for a lot of criticism like his earlier *Khatta Meetha*, he has made a few slips. Like Tina, the heroine, boarding the train every morning to go to office dressed in short dresses with

Shabana Azmi: playing hard to get?

plunging, revealing necklines which left little to the imagination. And on the contrary, when she had to be shown in a disco or a dancehall, she is shown in a shirt, buttoned to the neck and pants. And as for Tina, little of her talents is revealed and she appears to be more a model than an actress.

EVEN though his first two women, Protima and Parveen, showed a very sporting nature (even to the point of overdoing it) when Kabir Bedi got married and brought his bride down to Bombay, one woman who showed that she hadn't got over him was Persis. And that is, maybe, because she couldn't have enough of him. Whereas both Protima and Parveen were up to their necks with him, Persis, it seems, is still pining for him and doing her best to try and forget him, now that he is well and truly married.

VIDYA SINHA has done it again. I mean, dropped another friend. And she specialises in dropping her lady friends. She's quite good at keeping her male friends, though. A point you must give her credit for. Now it's Reena Roy who has split with her erstwhile best friend, Vidya. And all for the sake of another Sinha, yes, Shatrughan Sinha. Reena, who used to be his steady and co-star, suddenly stopped getting attention from him. And before she realised what was actually happening, there seemed to be a steady increase in the roles Vidya was playing with Shatru. Now the relationship between the two girls is cold.

A LOT of girls are now feeling happy since they have been taken into the RK camp. Even Sheetal, along with Parveen and the other new girls, who are supposed to act in the recently announced series of RK films, think that they have joined the distinguished ranks of Nargis, Vyjayanthimala, Dimple, Zeenat, etc. To them it doesn't matter that not all these films are being directed by the showman, Raj Kapoor, but by other directors requiring breaks themselves.



Umesh Vas

THE suicide note said that she had been able to achieve everything she had dreamt of, except producing a film. And she was dying a happy death and no person need be blamed for it. Kalpana, once known as *Minugu Thare* (Twinkling Star), was found dead in a PWD inspection bungalow at Gotur, 35 km from Belgaum, where she was staging a play. The police were inclined to believe that she had decided her own fate. But a couple of Janata MLAs told the Karnataka Assembly that they had known her very well and despite her professional and personal tragedies, Kalpana had enough inner conviction not to commit suicide. Persuaded by this, Devraj Urs has ordered the Karnataka CID to probe into Kalpana's death.

Introduced by B. R. Panthulu in *Saku Magalu*, Kalpana acted in more than 30 Kannada hits. The famous films among them are *Gejja Puje*, *Sharapanjara* and *Belli Moda*. By '72, she could ensure that any Kannada film she acted in would be a box-office success. Three years later, her decline began. Her favourite director, Puttanna Kanagal, devoted his entire attention to an up-coming actress, Arati, and slowly the same audience which had called her *Minugu Thare* started discussing how many pimples she had, as if that was something new. Kalpana tried to keep her career going by accepting second lead roles, but this, too, didn't do much good to her career.

If some people think that she was murdered at Gotur, it is because of an alleged affair she had with the manager of a well-known drama troupe, who also has high political connections.

SHARMILA may say that she is not interested anymore in getting many assignments in Bombay, but why did she have to accept the lead role in a Malayalam film, *Chuvanna Chiragugal*? The film, to be directed by N. Sankaran Nair, won't be different from the silly entertainers which are produced in Bombay. She's paired with Soman and Jayan, two bright stars of the Malayalam screen.

Sharmila would be the third actress from Bombay to appear in Malayalam films. Waheeda had done a good role in *Trisandhya*, an FFC backed venture, unreleased till now. And then came Reeta Bhaduri, who starred with Kamalahasan in *Kanyakumari*.

THE massive success of some of *Sivaji Ganesan's* recent films, including *Kavari Maan*, has consolidated his position as never before. He was always the highest paid star down South, and with his current popularity, it is natural that he has raised his price. His logic seems to be that if Rajnikant and others can demand a very high rate, why can't Sivaji Ganesan demand sky-high rates? In any case, Sivaji has more discipline and integrity than many upcoming stars.

SRIPRIYA is looking more obese and tired than before. But she seems to be the least bothered. The audience here just love her, never mind those spare tyres around her waist. She is soon going to begin work on her own film, which may be shot abroad. Her latest success is *Alladin and the Wonderful Lamp*, directed by I. V. Sasi.

IT IS a mystery why Tamil producers are not very keen on Shoba, though she has hogged the limelight in all the Tamil films she has acted in till now. She was eager to play the lead role in *Manavuri Pandavaru*, the Tamil version of the Telugu hit, in which she was featured in the lead. The producers have signed Sarita, a Telugu girl.

SHOBAN BABU was seen doing all kinds of stunts at Vahini Studios, Madras. The set represented a villain's denizen. The film, *Joodagaadu*, is being directed by V. Madhusudhan Rao. Jayasudha is the heroine.

HE looks a bit like Amjad Khan and he calls himself *Amjad Kumar*. He uses Amjad Khan's *Sholay* style of laughing, as if he has acquired the sole right to it. Already acting in half a dozen films, Amjad Kumar is fast growing up

as the new villain on the Tamil screen.

AFTER her sensational debut in *Pappathi*, Devi's career is just refusing to take off. But her mentor, R. K. Shanmugham, hasn't lost all hopes: he has featured her as his heroine in two of his films. One of them is called *Pattavate*. Judging by the title, one knows what the film would be about: titillation and a last minute change of heart.

IN the wake of two prestigious by-elections, in Tanjore and Nagapattinam, movies with MGR as the hero, as well as those written by Karunanidhi are flooding the market. Karunanidhi's camp is rushing to complete *Aadu Pambai*, starring Jai Shankar, Sumitra and Rojaramani. Karunanidhi may also appear

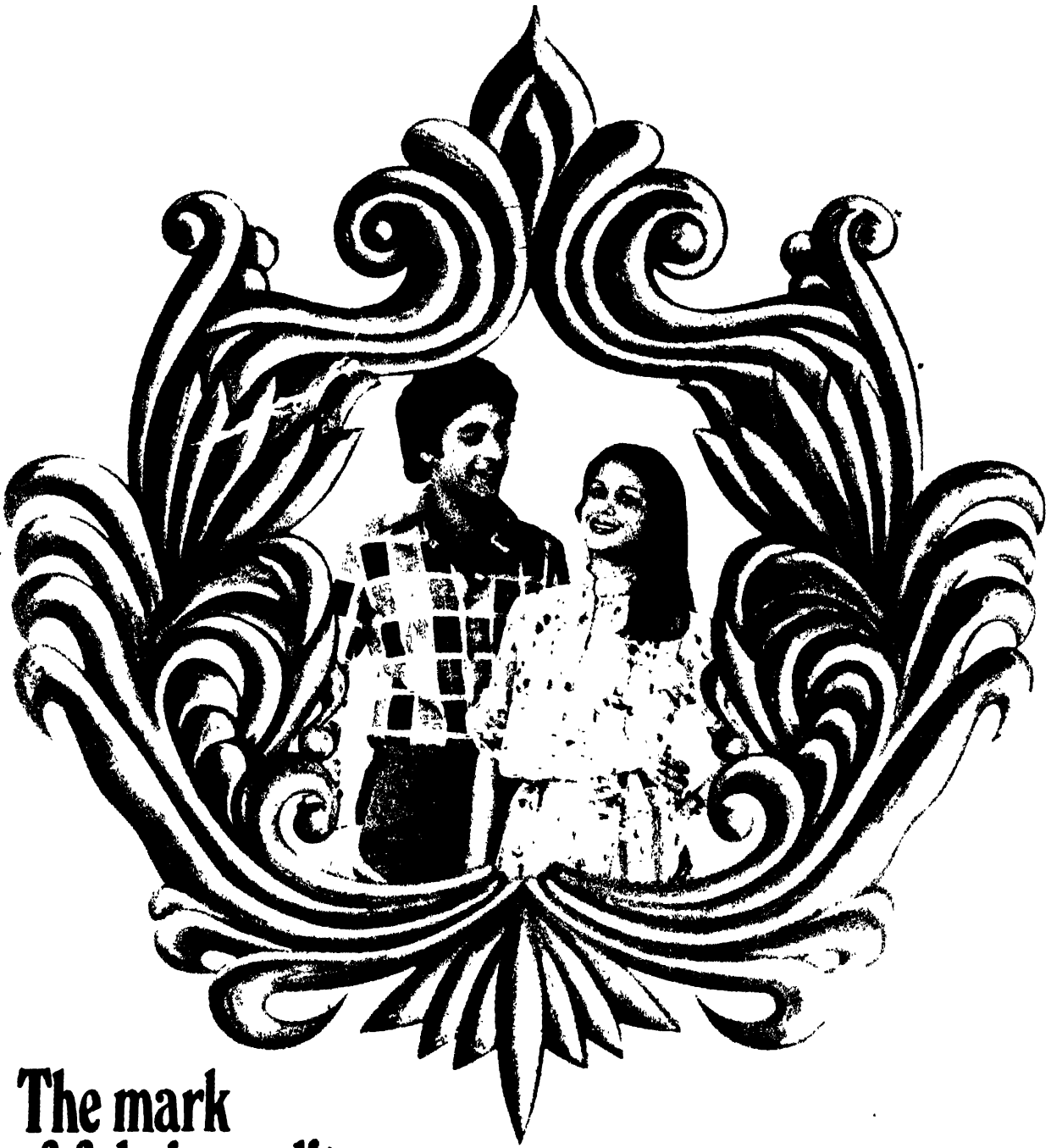
in the film as he did in *Vantikaran Magan*.

MOHAN is working hard to stop people from calling him Mr Laxmi. And it looks like his hard work is being rewarded. After a brief appearance in *Eni Padigal*, he is being featured in half a dozen films. Of them, the one which is now being screened is *Nadagamay Ulagam*, where he is acting opposite K. R. Vijaya. Mohan began his career on an optimistic note, after graduating from the Pune film institute. His first big hit was *Chattakari* (remade into Hindi as *Julie*). But the credit for the film's success went to Laxmi. He married Laxmi a couple of years later and since he was not doing too well then, people thought that Laxmi would at least keep him busy as her secretary.

PIOUSJI

Sripriya :she still carries weight





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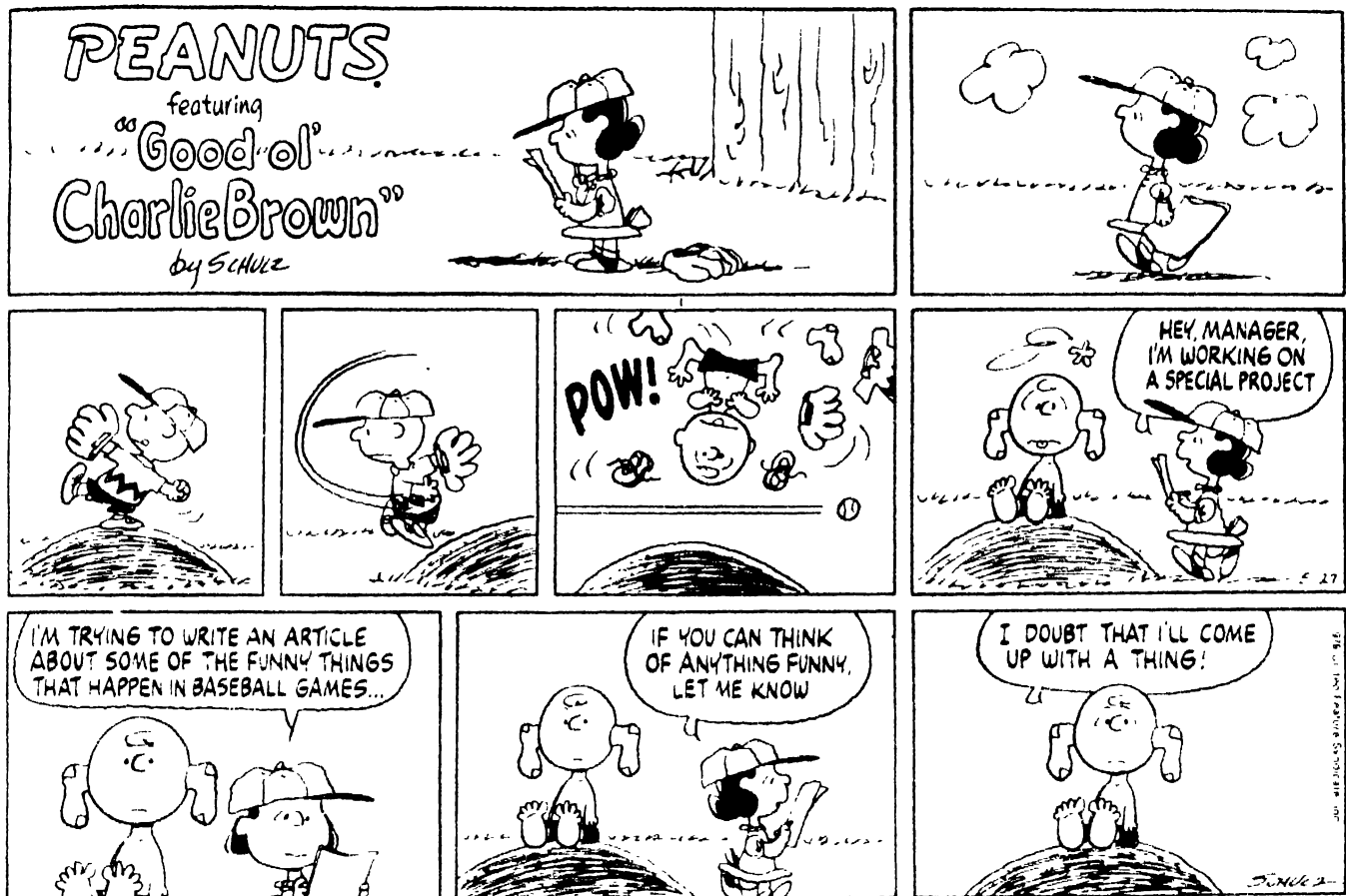
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This week the Sun and Venus are conjoined in Taurus. Mercury alone is in Gemini, Jupiter is in Cancer, Saturn and Rahu are conjoined in Leo, Uranus is in Libra and Neptune is in Scorpio. Kethu alone is in Aquarius and Mars is in Aries. The Moon will be moving through Sagittarius, Capricorn and Aquarius from Scorpio.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) The beginning of the week is good for finalising contracts, correspondence and negotiations regarding marriages. Meet people and discuss your difficulties with them before taking any decisions. Court cases will not bother you. Some travel is on the cards. A happy news will reach you through a letter from a distant place. This is a good week for sports and entertaining people. **Good dates:** 10, 11, 13 and 14. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 5. **Favourable direction:** South.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) Your friends will not be very affable towards you this week. Avoid bad company. Do not go into any sort of controversy and useless talk. Don't take any hasty decisions. Your problems will aggravate towards the end of the week. Women will find happiness and acquire presents. The time is not opportune for love affairs, matrimony or speculation. Deal tactfully with elders. **Good dates:** 12, 13, 15 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



GEMINI (May 23—June 21) This is going to be a good week in many respects. You might have to go on a journey suddenly. Discuss your problems regarding career with elders and then take a decision. Love and matrimony is forecast. Enter into new business contracts and acquire new stocks. Pending legal suits will be decided in your favour. Some may get promotions. **Good dates:** 10, 11, 13 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



CANCER (June 22—July 22) Think and take steps in the right direction and your business ventures will be profitable. Do not be tempted to make easy money by gambling or betting. There will be opportunities for you to attend parties and entertain guests. This week will be a good time for lovers. Correspondence from distant places will bring in good news. Some may be transferred. Keep away from bad company. **Good dates:** 11, 13 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 7. **Favourable directions:** North and West.



LEO (July 23—August 22) This week will be one of mixed fortunes for you. Your associates are likely to let you down. This may cause you some worry. You will have to cross many hurdles in order to achieve success. Your domestic life will be relatively peaceful. However, do not quarrel with your spouse or get into controversies. The time is not ripe for transfers or promotions. **Good dates:** 10, 12, 14 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 4. **Favourable direction:** North-east.



VIRGO (August 23—September 22) This week your talents will be appreciated by your superiors. You should make the best use of this opportunity. Act swiftly. You will not have financial problems this week. Even if you seek loans to make both ends meet, you will succeed. A good week for correspondence. Ladies may receive unexpected gifts. A journey is forecast. **Good dates:** 10, 12, 13 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



LIBRA (September 23—October 22) The beginning of the week will not be as favourable as the last days of the past week. Try to postpone decisions till the middle of the week. Be careful in your movements since there are chances of an accident. Financial problems will not bother you. This is an excellent week for love and correspondence with those close to you. At the weekend you will be a guest at a party. **Good dates:** 12, 13 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 6 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.



SCORPIO (October 23—November 21) Concentrate on your family problems. You will not be able to make both ends meet, in spite of the fact that you will try your best. But be very judicious in dealing with your family members. Look after the health of your children. You may have to enlist the help of others. Businessmen are advised to depend more on their partners. **Good dates:** 12, 13, 14 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable directions:** West and South.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22—December 22) Some matters will require immediate attention, and you may face new critical problems. Even though your income is adequate you will face a shortage of funds. You are likely to travel. The weekend is auspicious for business, love, matrimony and showbusiness. Revive your contacts with well-wishers, and do not be dismayed by failures. **Good dates:** 13, 14 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 10. **Favourable direction:** West.



CAPRICORN (December 23—January 20) There will be happiness on the domestic front. You may, however, incur losses in business due to hesitant and thoughtless decisions. So, be careful. Keep an eye on your children's health. Some may receive letters with good tidings from friends far away. **Good dates:** 14, 11, 13 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 3. **Favourable direction:** South-West.



AQUARIUS (January 21—February 19) The week is not very favourable for you. You will find it difficult to surmount problems. Borrowing money will not help. A great deal depends on your calculated efforts. Some may have to dispose of property. Shun love and speculation, but treat matrimonial talks with urgency. Businessmen should be careful. **Good dates:** 13, 15 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 8. **Favourable direction:** North.



PISCES (February 20—March 20) You may be in for an unexpected transfer. Take it easy, everything will be all right. You may not succeed even in your sincere endeavours, but do not be dejected. Wait for the opportune moment. All efforts you make in a partnership will bear fruit. This will prove particularly helpful to those engaged in business. Avoid gambling and speculation. **Good dates:** 10, 11, 15 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 9 and 3. **Favourable directions:** South and West.

M. B. RAMAN



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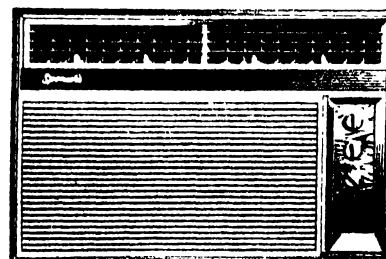
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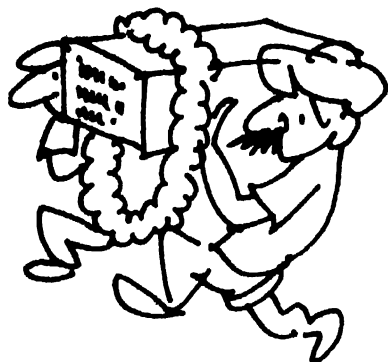
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AMBETAH: Harijan State Minister Tri-
lok Chand failed to turn up to lay the
foundation stone of Ambedkar Bhawan
in a western UP village recently. The
frustrated villagers, who waited till 10
p.m. finally carried the foundation stone
with the Minister's name inscribed on it,
along with a garland and the printed
welcome address to the Government
guest house where he stayed. They woke
him, handed over the stone etc. to him
and walked away without saying any-
thing. The Minister ran after them, but
they were in no mood to talk to him.
They had enough of him!—*Blitz* (O. P.
Bajaj, Jabalpur)

PATNA: Failure to light a gaslight in
time cost a young man his life in Sutha
village, 14 km from here. Police said the
Harijan youth, working as a ploughman
with a rich farmer, had gone to the vil-
lage along with his master for the mar-
riage of his (the farmer's) son. He was
asked to light the petromax, but as he
took some time, his master asked his
brother to shoot the youth. He died on
the spot.—*Hindu* (G. B. Simpson, Hydera-
bad)

MADURAI: A "samiyar" was arrested
by the Chellur Police at Melakallasapu-
ram on a complaint from a woman. It is
said that the woman (30), approached
Pothimalaisamy (50) for help in finding

the whereabouts of her son aged 13, who
is missing. The "samiyar" wanted Rs 700
for the poojas to be performed at her
residence for one and half months. On
receipt of Rs 500 from her, he began
the poojas in a room stipulating that she
alone should remain during the poojas. It
is alleged he insisted on the woman be-
ing naked. The woman, sensing mischief,
lodged a complaint with the Chellur Po-
lice.—*Hindu* (C. V. Rajagopal, Hydera-
bad)

PATNA: Young entrepreneurs "crema-
ted" the "body" of Bihar's small indus-
tries at Patna Bans Ghat. Protesting
against the Government's attitude to-
wards the small-scale sector and the non-
implementation of the promises made to
them, the entrepreneurs took out a pro-
cession through the streets of the State
capital, chanting "Ram nam satya hai, Bi-
har ki laghu udyogon ki yahi gati hai" (God
is great. This is the condition of Bihar's
small industries) and carried the "dead
body" of the small industries on their
shoulders. The entrepreneurs propose to
immerse the "remains" in all the religi-
ous centres.—*Sanmarg* (Dinesh Mehrotra,
Calcutta).

UJJAIN: A Brahmin job-seeker has of-
fered to become a sweeper to help end
the disparity between Harijans and the
high caste. Applicant Madan has written
to the Ujjain Municipal corporation that
he would not mind cleaning night-soil or
sweeping the streets for the cause. The
corporation chairman has forwarded the
request for suitable action.—*Indian Ex-
press* (Ch. N. S. Krishna Murthy, Vijaya-
wada)

NEW DELHI: Questions were in search
of their authors in the Lok Sabha. The
Speaker, Mr K. S. Hegde, had to liter-
ally "thank" a member who stood up after
10 listed questions could not be answer-
ed by waiting Ministers since those who
had tabled them were absent when the
House met after the weekend. Mr Dalpat
Singh Paraste was the recipient of the
Speaker's gratitude.—*Hindu* (C. V. Raja-
gopal, Hyderabad)

THEY (the Janata) want to hang
me like Bhutto and what are you
all doing—Mrs Gandhi to her
Party colleagues

SANJAY GANDHI should be sent
to a reformatory—Bhupesh Gupta,
CPI MP

BY bringing Mr Gandhi to the
forefront once again we are push-
ing politics to a childish level—
Shankar Dev, Congress (I) MP
from Karnataka

I DO not get my orders as a Mi-
nister from the RSS nor will I
accept it—Foreign Minister A. B.
Vajpayee

I AM not in any dilemma on the
issue (of bonus to the railwaymen).
I supported the railwaymen's de-
mand in 1974 and I stand by it
even today—Industries Minister
George Fernandes

I KNOW the Janata Party cannot
really expel me, because those
who want to do it are afraid they
themselves will be expelled from
the Party—Raj Narain

THERE is a Tamil proverb which
says 'Don't venture into a river on
a mud horse'—M. Karunanidhi
referring to Mrs Gandhi's reliance
on M. G. Ramachandran for the
Thanjavur by-election

EVERY Bengali must have won-
dered what we would have done
with the radio if Tagore had not
written all those 3,000 songs—
Statesman Radio Review

humour in real life



AN advertisement in a doctor's
chamber proclaims: "Your first
visit will be your last one"—
Mahesh Chandak, Calcutta.

A SIGN in a factory reads: Sa-
turday — Half-holiday. Sunday —
Fool holiday — Sankar Rao, Orissa.

India abroad

WASHINGTON: People of Indian
origin are buying motels across America
and are now estimated to own hundred
thousand motels. Brokers across the
country, "have turned a sluggish
market into a hot one." In the United
States there is a traditional prejudice
against first generation immigrants
trying to get a slice of the American
pie, and this prejudice is reflected in
a *Washington Post* despatch against
the Indian-origin motel owners, most
of them Gujaratis. The FBI and im-
migration authorities are said to be
investigating the source of their funds.
But there is no suggestion that they

are doing anything illegal...The *Post's*
despatch says that Gujarati motel-
owners help other Gujaratis to get im-
migrant visas by making them "part-
owners in paper transactions." Another
charge is that sometimes a Gujarati
will find out financial terms from a
broker and settle with the owner. How-
ever, that happens also among Anglo-
Saxon Americans or Americans of other
ethnic origin. That cannot happen if
the broker has an arrangement with
the owner to have an "exclusive" list-
ing. The "problem" of Indian-origin
motel ownership is considered large
enough by the *Post*—*Indian Express*.



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PANTENE

THE NON-GREASY GROOMING AID THAT CHECKS HAIRLOSS.

a word or two

A whipping boy, hapless as he was and always at the receiving end, seldom, if ever, had the opportunity to crack the whip himself. The expression implies all that he was not nor could hope to achieve: to be in the driver's seat, in full control, to have complete dominance; to rule the roast. The Florida "cracker" nowadays tries to persuade himself and others that this nickname originated, not, as was actually the case, because his ancestors were well-known boasters i.e. cracked tall tales—but, as was not the case, because they were drovers, who cracked the whip over herds of animals especially cattle or teams of oxen and mules.

To crack the whip did in fact originate from the skilful handling of the vicious bullwhacker whip of the last century by these



drovers. Before the days of the railways in America, or in areas still unreached by trains, large wheeled wagons drawn by two or more pairs of horses, mules or oxen carted freight across plains and over mountains to the ever-extending Western frontiers. The whip or bullwhack of the drovers, though short-handled carried a long, heavy thong, which properly wielded, could be snapped through the air to sound like a shot from a gun. It is said that some drovers became so experts, as reputedly, to be able to kill a horsefly from the flanks of the leading horse without so much as disturbing the hair of the animal, or with a light quick stroke, to remove a piece of hide from a recalcitrant "critter". All these legendary-mythic figures were the ones who, originally, "cracked the whip".

WORDSPINNER

stranger as we were telling you, than fiction

BUFFON, the famous French naturalist, did not like cats. "Cats", he complained, "easily assume the habits of society but never acquire manners." Well, 'acquiring manners' means conforming to the social norms and accepted patterns of behaviour. But the cat has remained a non-conformist so far as its relationship with human beings is concerned. It has retained its independence and individuality while the dog has long since—in fact from the very beginning of its association with man—reconciled itself to tail-wagging servility. Probably this non-conformism and streak of individuality in the cat is the reason why its lot down the centuries has been full of ups and downs.

Ancient Egypt was certainly the golden age for cats. It was then worshipped as Bast, the goddess of moonlight, fertility, wisdom and hunting. Bubastis, in Egypt, one of the major cities of the ancient world, was dedicated to the cat. To kill a cat was a capital offence, noted Herodotus. When cats died the entire Egyptian household went into mourning and cats were buried with pomp befitting a Pharaoh, in bronze coffins and laid to rest in mausoleums. Mummified mice were provided for delectation in the next world. A large number of mummified cats have been unearthed at Tel Basla. In Siam breeding of cats, like that of white elephants, was a royal prerogative. They were also the temple guardians and companions of Buddhist priests.

To the Hindus it was a sin—to orthodox ones it still is—to kill a cat since it was considered to be the bearer or carrier of Sasthi, the goddess of fertility. In Islam the cat has found honourable mention. It is said that when Prophet Mohammed was called away to heaven his pet cat was sleeping against his sleeves. He cut off his sleeves so that his pet cat would not be disturbed.

In the Western world, during its early days of civilization, cats were accorded a privileged status. They were the only animals admitted in the Roman temples. The choice was quite normal if one considers the Romans' love for order and cleanliness. Even in pre-Christian Britain, the Welsh prince, Howel the Good, passed an edict in 936 AD laying down stiff penalties for the theft or murder of cats.

A drastic decline from this exalted state came about with the advent of Christianity and the emergence of the Church in the West. Perhaps because of its special position in the pagan or old religious traditions, the Christian Church concluded that a cat was a dark minion of Satan. Demonologists regarded it as the favourite witches' 'familiar'. So the cats were solemnly put on trial along with their masters or mistresses, tortured for extracting confessions and were even burnt at stake. In a confession, taken from the St Osyth witch trials in 1582, one finds this description of 'familiars':



"One 'he', like a grey cat, is called Titty; the second, like a black cat, is called Jack ...The two 'hes were to punish and kill unto death..." No wonder the zealous authorities seized upon cats as a convenient piece of evidence to lead yet another unfortunate man or woman to the gibbet. After all pet cats were as common in those days as they are now. Their fate reached its nadir in the Middle Ages, when cats began to be treated with sadistic cruelty. Public celebrations, specially during religious feasts, were often climaxed by burning of basketful of cats.

A condemned man was often pushed into a sackful of cats, who in their frenzied terror virtually clawed him apart. In the 16th century the courtiers of Prince Philip of Spain presented him with a feline organ. To its keyboard were attached the chords which were tied to the tails of about a dozen cats. When the player, usually a bear, pounded on the keys the chords jerked the tails and the cats screeched.

Cats apparently, like Protestants, found freedom from persecution in the New World. It is believed that they first arrived in the company of the pilgrims aboard the *Mayflower*, although it might have been earlier with the Spaniards in the 16th century. In any event, they thrived, in America though not as objects of worship but often as the prized pets of housewives, spinsters and rich dowagers. There are at present 200 to 300 clubs of cat lovers in the United States alone, not to speak of those on the Continent. In most cases where legacies are left to pets it was the cats who were found to be the usual beneficiaries.

Few people can remain neutral where cats are concerned. It has too fascinating a personality to be ignored: most either love it or hate it. The roster of distinguished cat lovers includes Cardinal Richelieu, Petrarch, Montaigne, Newton, Poe, Dickens, Teddy Roosevelt and Mark Twain, to name only a few. On the other hand high on the list of cat haters are Alexander the Great, Louis XIV and Napoleon.

PARTHA GHOSH

Consumer Council of India Survey reveals

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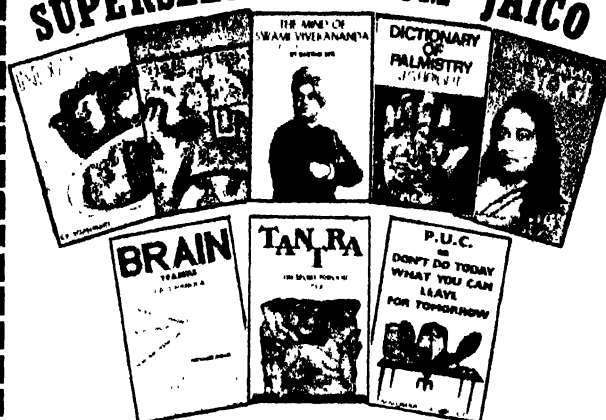
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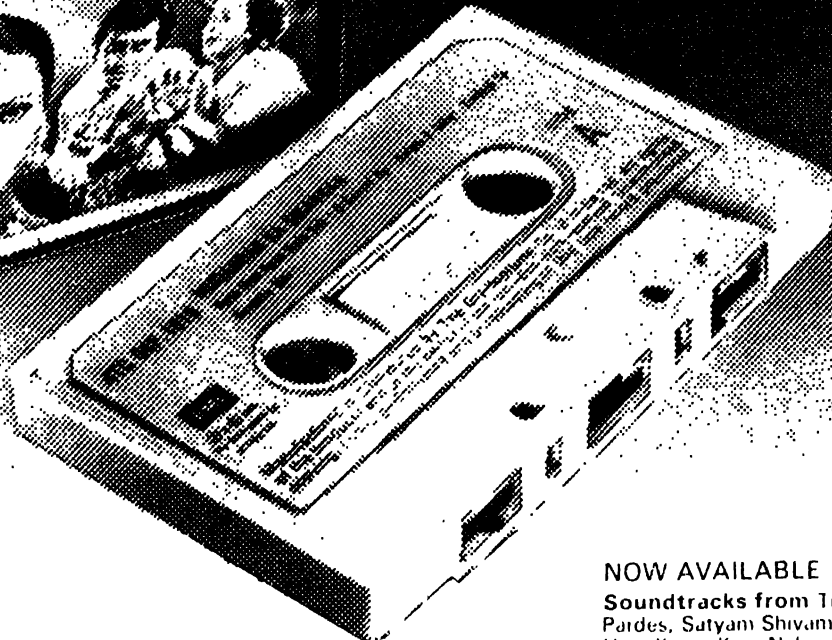
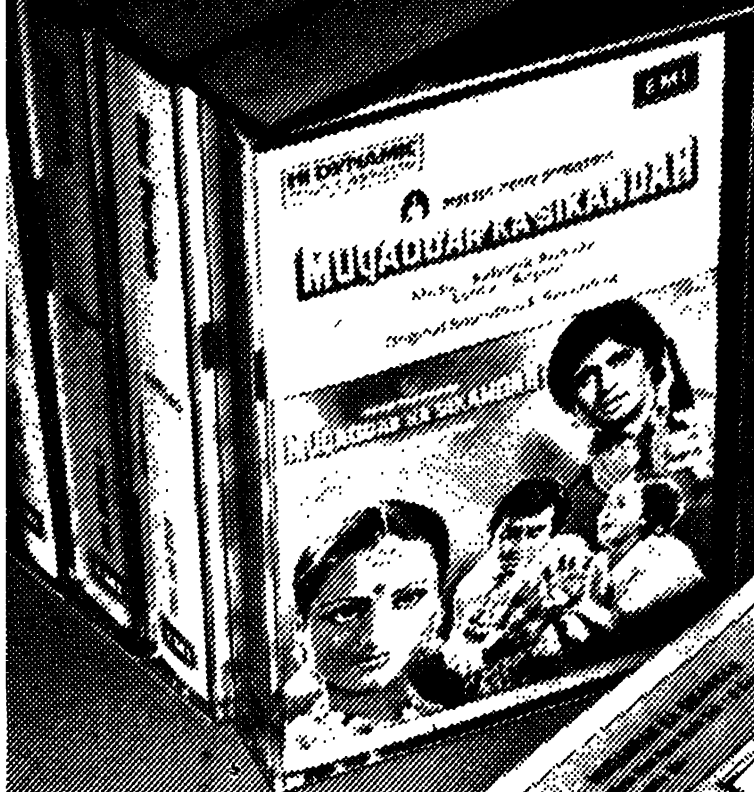


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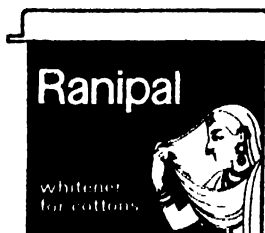


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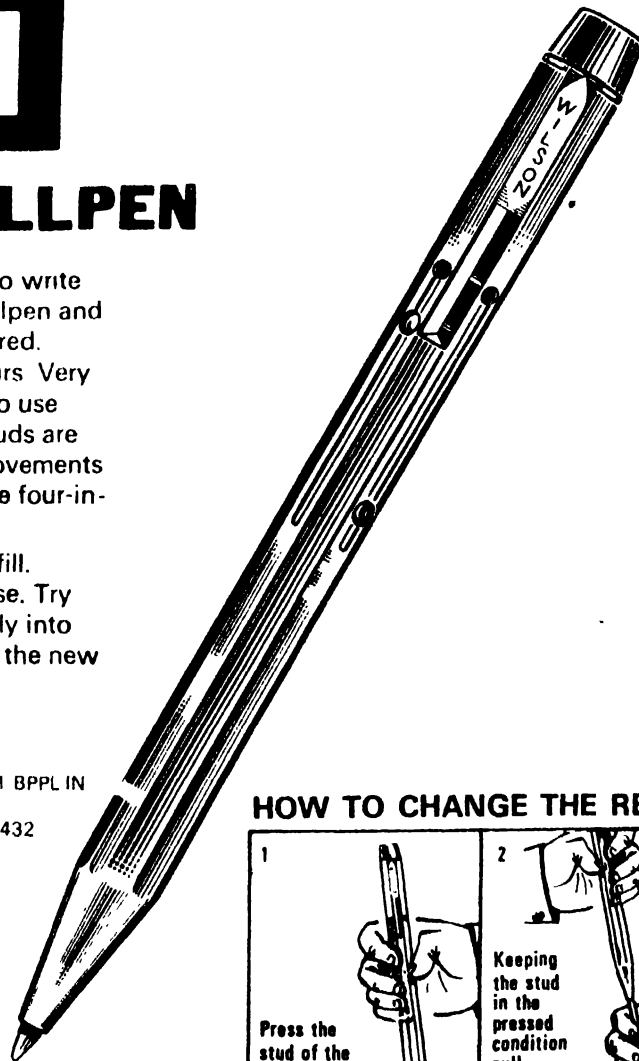
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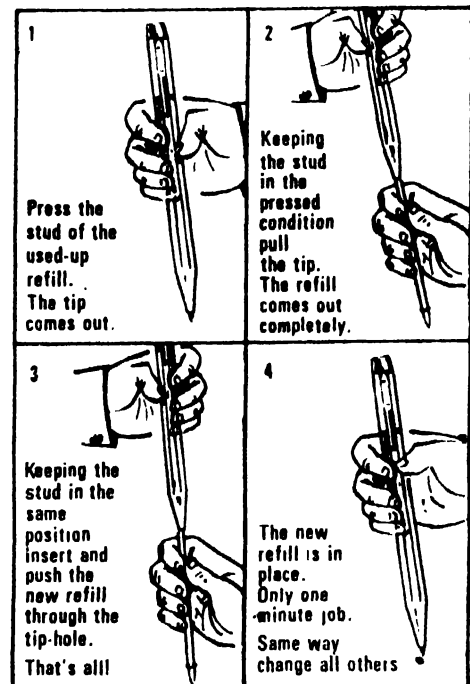


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Lure

I am glad I defeated her

He looked exhausted. He had just returned from Thanjavur after having addressed two dozen meetings in three days, canvassing support for Anbil Dharmalingam, the DMK candidate and a former Minister in his Cabinet. His face lit up when Mr M. Karunanidhi began to speak to ARTHUR PAIS at his Gopalapuram house. A few weeks ago he looked a bit lost. Now the fighting spirit has seized him once again. Murasoli Maran, a relative of his and a publisher politician of some standing, translated Mr Karunanidhi's answers. He understands and can speak English. But he uses Tamil on principle.



Q: Are you disappointed that you missed a chance of challenging Mrs Gandhi in Thanjavur?

A: (Smiles). Not really. Though the Kurukshetra battle didn't take place, I am glad that I defeated her: Couldn't she have contested without MGR's support? But she chose not to...

Q: How did you react when you heard about MGR's U-turn in Delhi?

A: (Laughs). How did I react? I remembered what I had told Thanjavur advocates on May 6, many days before the drama took place in New Delhi. I had said that Mrs Gandhi was depending on an undependable politician like MGR and that she'd regret doing so.

Q: MGR says all that he did was to advise Mrs Gandhi regarding the possibility of violence being unleashed by the DMK men. As it happened during Mrs Gandhi's visit to Tamil Nadu in October '77.

A: Didn't he know all this for so many weeks? In fact, it was MGR who went on persuading Mrs Gandhi to contest from Thanjavur. But his excuses (for withdrawing his support) are quite nonsensical. Does he not know that there was more violence in Bangalore when Mrs Gandhi went there after returning from Madurai? And there was so much of violence in Andhra just then that she was asked to cut short her trip. Mind you both States were ruled by the Congress (I). Yet she accepted Devraj Urs' suggestion that she should contest from Chickmagalur. If she's so worried about violence, she shouldn't go back to contest from Chickmagalur since there was enough violence there during the last election. You have forgotten the Gayatri episode?

Q: Taking it for granted that Mr Morarji Desai and MGR discussed this business of violence on May 19 in Delhi...

A: Well, from what MGR says,

one feels that he himself broached the subject of potential violence. Generally it is the State Governor who sends such reports. If the Chief Minister of a State himself comes out with such statements, you can imagine what the State of affairs is.

Q: How much of support is the Congress (I) getting from AIADMK in Thanjavur?

A: It is quite strange... Two Congress (I) leaders, Swaminathan and Moopanar, have declared that they do not want any help from MGR. But after having embarrassed Mrs Gandhi considerably, now MGR is trying to make atonement by literally falling at Congress (I) leaders' feet. The AIADMK is naturally throwing all its might behind the Congress (I) candidate.

Q: It is generally believed that women vote in a big way for MGR and Mrs Gandhi...

A: I do not think such observations can be taken for granted. The women folk in Thanjavur have heard about the atrocities perpetrated by MGR's police on helpless women caught unwittingly in the recent farmers' agitation.

Q: How much of value is the help you'll be getting from CPI(M), CPI, Muslim League and Janata?

A: Though we are quite strong in Thanjavur, the help given by these parties is of great help. In the '77 Assembly elections, we singlehandedly polled in about 162,000 votes. AIADMK allied with CPI(M) and Muslim League got 137,000 votes. Congress (I) and CPI alliance brought in 119,000 votes and Janata collected 34,000. So you notice the factors weighing in DMK's favour this time.

Q: MGR has put up a candidate in Nagapattinam to fight the CPI candidate in the parliamentary election on June 17.

A: Nagapattinam is also an im-

portant constituency for us even though we have not put up a candidate there. The former MP from there was murdered in cold blood. Yet the ruling Party here was not in a generous mood to allow the CPI to win that seat uncontested. In '74 when CPI and MGR's newly floated AIADMK were together fighting us, there was this talk of lasting alliance between them. MGR has thoroughly alienated the CPI.

Q: But as you yourself have said so often, there cannot be permanent friends and foes in politics.

A: (Smiles).

Q: You have often mentioned how MGR is reneging on EVR's "rationalist" policies, claiming at the same time to have great respect for EVR?

A: Then why is it the permission has been denied to put up EVR statues in several towns in Tamil Nadu? He is just using EVR centenary meetings to criticise the DMK and publicise his Party. You know Periyar (EVR) associates in Dravida Kazhagam wanted to put up a statue in EVR's honour some distance away from Sankaracharya's murti in Kanchipuram. We support the DK stand but we are not going to start an agitation for this. MGR has said that he has met Sankaracharya and found him a man of great learning and humility. You must note that Annadurai, whose name MGR uses every third minute, never met the Sankaracharya even though Annadurai hailed from Kanchipuram. Nor did I feel the political need or any other urge to meet him at any time.

Q: Kannadasan, the poet laureate, is supposed to have made some nasty remarks on EVR's first wife. And he is supposed to have got the information from you.

A: Nonsense. Kannadasan is a time-server. He has no business to drag my name in to unnecessary controversies. And how many people read the magazine he writes in? Hardly 5,000.

Q: Wasn't Kannadasan's great support to the DMK valued by you once upon a time?

A: We never asked for it. He gave it on his own and we accepted it. But remember this much, we never made him the poet laureate.

Q: Aadu pambai, written by you, is being readied for an early release. How much of politics is there in this film?

A: You must judge after seeing the film. I have written dialogue and stories for more than 30 films. Can you really call them political films? Yet, there were undercurrents of politics in them.

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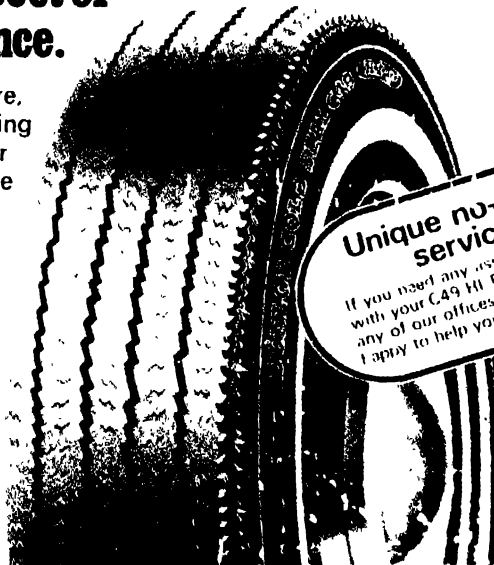
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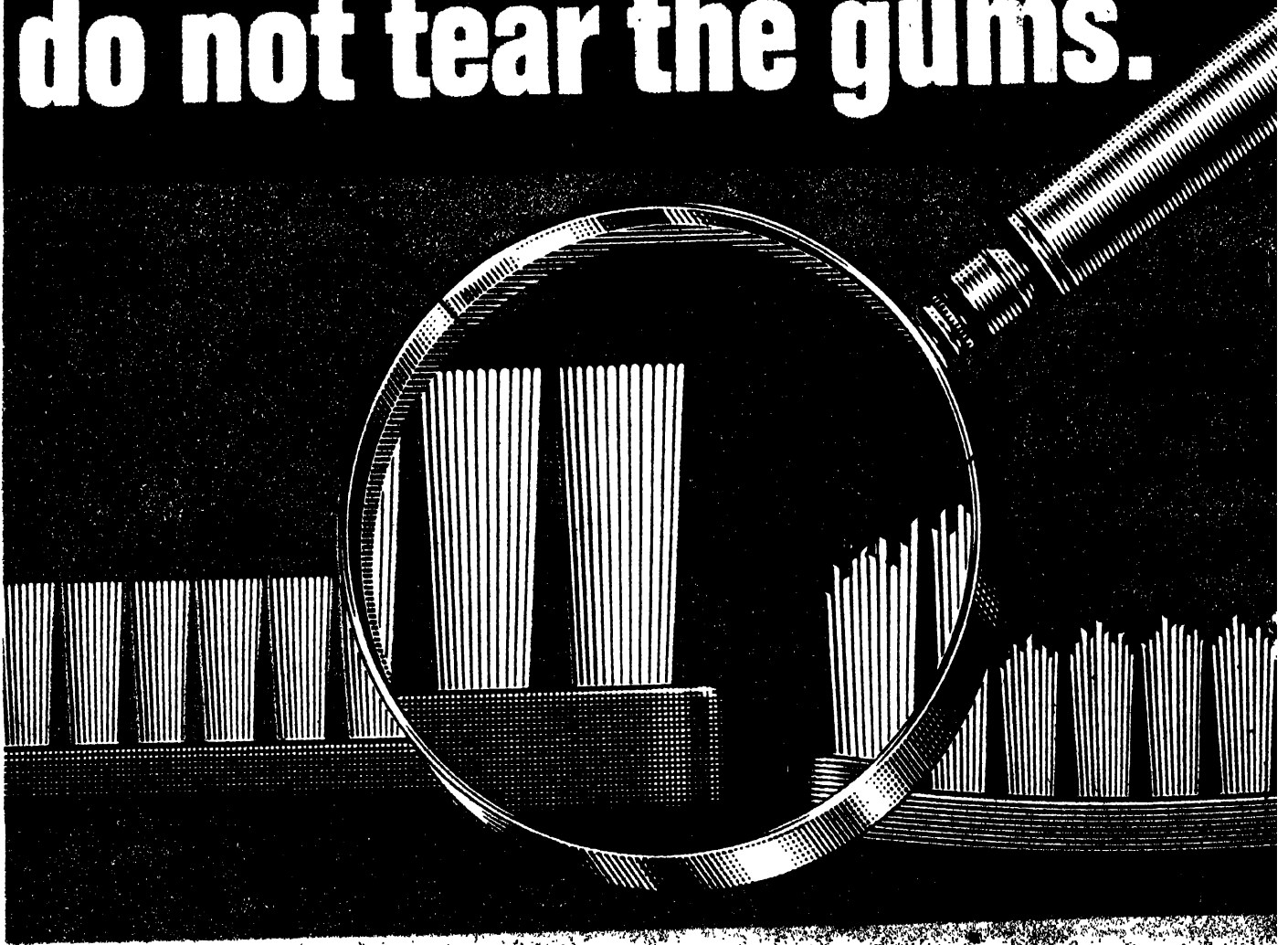
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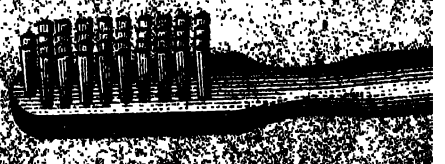
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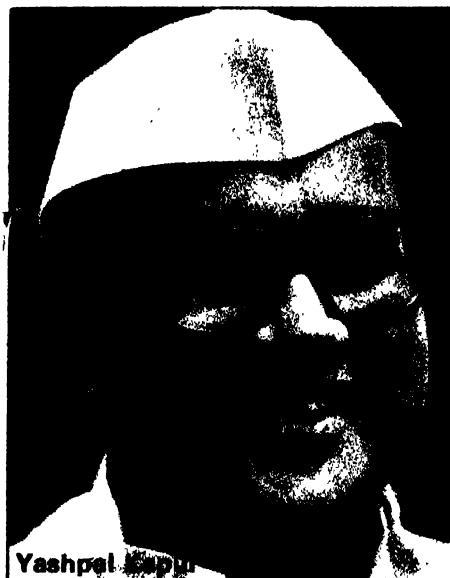
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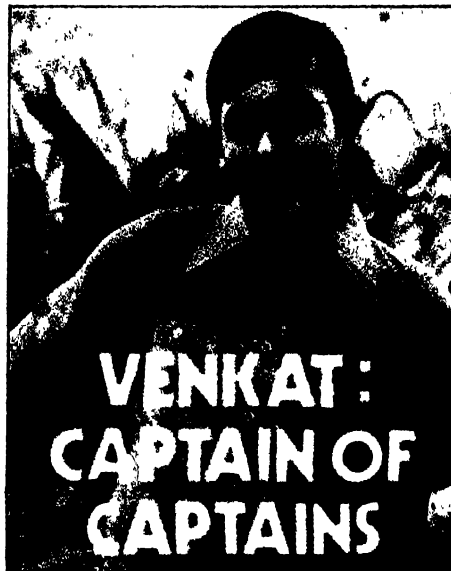
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**Bad
Management,
corruption
ruin historic
Mouthpiece**



Mathai's Garbage

By Khushwant Singh



**VENKAT:
CAPTAIN OF
CAPTAINS**

**Mrs Gandhi's
Mysterious
Bihari
'Astrologer'**

At the great decision
board meeting...

Thirsty minds drink alike!



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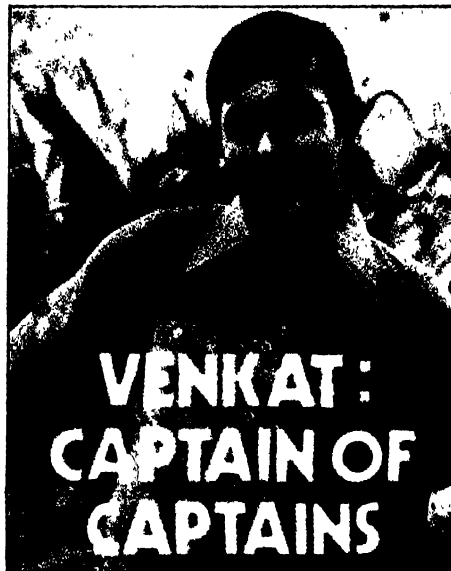
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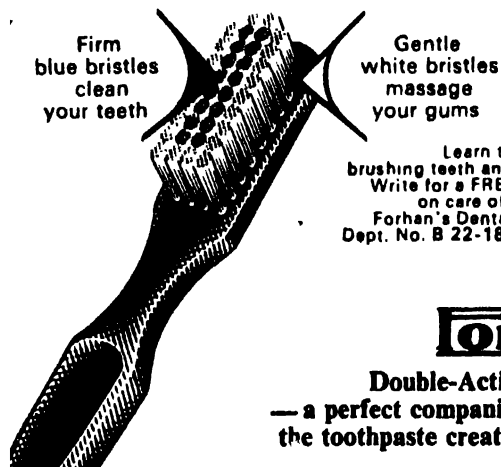
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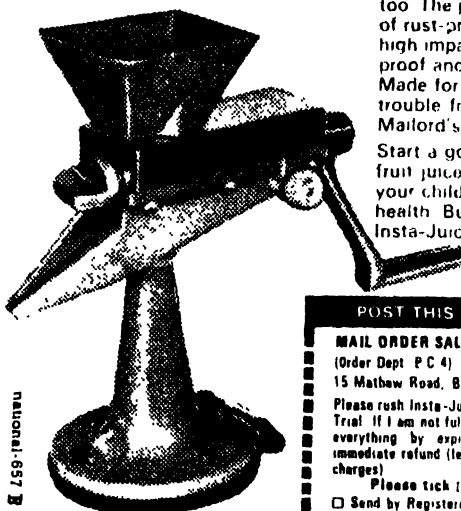
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NATIONAL HERALD

IT IS INDIRA



Chikmagalur spells
Janata's doom

Financial mismanagement, labour unrest and questionable transactions have finally sounded the death knell for Nehru's paper, the **National Herald**. The **Herald** management, however, claim that it is the Janata's vindictiveness against the former PM that is to blame. **AJOY BOSE** traces the rise and fall of this once-great institution, while **S. C. ANANTHARAMAN** analyses the implications of recent amendments to the Industries Development and Regulation Act.



Who was the mysterious fortune-teller Mrs Gandhi met in the lounge of Patna airport on May 18? **ARUN RANJAN**, who took a week to locate the man, **PANDIT DINESH MISHRA**, provides a thrilling account of the search as well as an exclusive interview with the **PANDIT**.

All roads, this summer, lead to the Second Prudential Cup tournament in England. **HARESH MUNWANI** speaks to Test veterans to find out how they would have led the team. **P. N. SUNDARESAN** profiles India's new captain and examines the task ahead. **RAJ CHENGAPPA** describes the 10-day conditioning camp for our players. **ASHIS RAY** from London says the Windies are favourites for the title.



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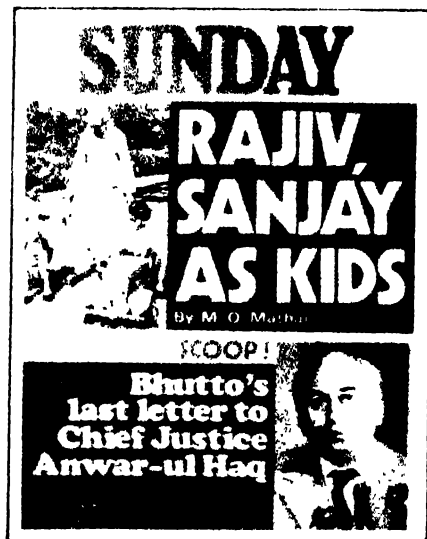
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No kidding

"RAJIV, Sanjay as kids" (May 6), the extract from M. O. Mathai's book, reveals many anecdotes about life in the Nehru family when Rajiv and Sanjay were children, and the role of their mother. The article might be taken as a guide by modern mothers for rearing their children. *Mrimmoy Kr Paul, Darbhanga*

PLEASE convey my warmest thanks to M. O. Mathai for his titillating anecdotes about Rajiv and Sanjay. Sanjay Gandhi appears to be the only man in India who has established the veracity of the proverb: "The child shows the man as morning shows the day." The germs of his conduct during the Emergency were borne in his childhood. *Dipankar Pattanayak, Calcutta.*

MR MATHAI's penchant for detail makes his account all the more exciting. I had read his earlier book *Reminiscences of the Nehru Age* and find his narration thoroughly amusing. I do not think any other person has written such a frank, and candid story of the Nehru household. The bits about the huge Hungarian lady physically attacking Indira, the boys stealing apples from Mr Mathai's desk, and the book *My Life and Work* by Henry Ford being found with Sanjay were particularly enjoyable. It seems Mr Mathai was very close to the family, and had Nehru been alive today he (Mr Mathai) would still have remained attached to the household. *P. G. Deb, Bombay*

IT IS unfortunate that Mrs Gandhi's children were brought up in an environment of aristocratic hauteur. They were not taught to understand reality, but given every opportunity to show off their status.

This has eventually produced harmful effects, especially in the case of Sanjay Gandhi. Unless their mother realises this point, the situation might get out of hand. After all, democracy cannot survive in these circumstances.

Prahlad Ghosh, Calcutta

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU is known to have asked: "Do democratic leaders choose their crown prince and princess?" But he himself sowed the seeds of dynastic rule by allowing his daughter to become president of the monolithic Indian National Congress, superseding senior Party leaders. The history of Indian politics bristles with names of famous leaders' children. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, Shankar Giri, Hari Kishen Shastri, Mritunjay Prasad, Kantibhai Desai, Padmaja Naidu, all came into prominence by virtue of their blood. Worse than this, in India, whenever a politician dies in harness, attempts are made to induct members of his family into politics. Chicanery in politics is bad; heredity in politics is diabolic. No one can deny that Sanjay's arrogant and high-handed manner was a major cause of Indira's unpopularity, and downfall. *Jahar Das and Kartick Chandra Das, Calcutta*

IN THE last paragraph, Mr Mathai narrates a mythological tale. The author says that the mythical Parvati was wearing a necklace when her children, Ganesh and Kartikeya, were quarrelling over it. It was not the necklace that attracted their attention but a fruit she was holding. The rest of the story would appear to be in order.

N. Srinivasan, Madras

IN HIS earlier book, Mr Mathai related how Nehru was a mere figure-head who acted on his (Mr Mathai's) advice on all national matters, and how he was involved in clandestine affairs with women. Now we are told, Mr Mathai was companion, friend, philosopher and guide to Rajiv and Sanjay Gandhi during their childhood. That would seem to explain, in part, Sanjay Gandhi's alleged Emergency 'excesses'!

M. N. Nair, Pondicherry

THE contents of the cover story are the outpourings of a disgruntled, selfish and unscrupulous private servant of a great family. Like any discarded servant's tale, the article is replete with malicious and filthy halftruths to make the book sell well.

Sufiur Rahman, Murshidabad

I CALL Mr Mathai a rabid opportunist. His writings about the Nehrus are a disgrace to this country. *Rungadeep, S. S. Bangalore*

I READ M. O. Mathai's second volume of his memories of his years with Nehru. When I finished reading

it, I was reminded of a story I read as a child: An elephant and a flea crossed a bridge together, the flea resting on the tail-end of the elephant. When they reached the other side of the bridge, the flea boasted, "When I and the elephant crossed the bridge, we made it swing".

Anuradha Duda, New Delhi

Full Marx

I REFER to the article "Bose: Born fighter, born loser" (May 6). A born loser Bose was certainly not. In fact, he sowed the seeds while others reaped the harvest. Mr Mathai is wrong in saying that Bose aroused not socialism but nationalism. It is well known that he had great regard for the Soviet system and organised his planning commission on socialistic lines, when he was president of the Congress. If Mr Mathai were familiar with Bose's economic ideals, he would have found that they tallied closely with those of Marx. Bose, for his bravery, secularism, patriotism, and extraordinary personality, can be compared with revolutionaries like Mao, Ho Chi Minh and Che Guevara. The only difference is Bose was a failure, unlike leaders of other countries, because we Indians are an ungrateful tribe.

Prateep Sen, Digbol

BOSE never reduced himself to a symbol of Bengal. He defeated Gandhiji's candidate and became president of the Indian National Congress at the Haripura Congress meeting. But he was not allowed to function as president and made to resign. It is a mischievous lie that he exiled himself from the country. His vision of fighting the British with arms and ammunition was fulfilled only when he left India with the conviction that freedom could not be won by begging. It was Bose who dealt the final blow to the tottering pillar of the British Empire; historians will admit that his military action had hastened India's freedom.

K. P. Banerji, Raipur

THE author has made one notable error. He writes: "She (Mrs Gandhi) did not realise that somebody would quote Carlyle and say of Sanjay 'politics is the last refuge of the scoundrel'." It was Dr Samuel Johnson and not Carlyle, who said "Politics is the last refuge of the scoundrel". *Mrimmoy Kumar Bhattacharya, Gauhati*

Editor's note: You are partially right. The correct form of the quotation however, reads: "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel" (see Boswell's Life of Johnson).

MR MATHAI says that Subhas Chandra Bose was destined to fail. But did he really fail? It is an accepted

historical fact that without the INA, India would not have achieved independence in 1947. Even Michael Edwards has written in his book, *The Last Days of British India*, that "the ghost of Subhas Chandra Bose was to inhabit the conference rooms four years later as India moved through the last days of British rule and in death he was to have the success denied to him in life." Again, Mathai has questioned Subhas Bose's "understanding of international affairs." But, in 1942, sitting in Germany, he told Admiral Canaris: "You know as well as I do that Germany will not be able to win this war, but this time victorious Britain will lose her grip on India." This, as it happened, proved to be correct. Does this not prove how unsubstantiated Mr Mathai's statements are?

Bidyut Kumar Mukherjee, Calcutta

THE tragedy of Bose was that he "loved his motherland not wisely", as others did, but "too well".

Santanu Banerjee, New Delhi

Who's guilty ?

WITH reference to Ajoy Bose's "Dharna by army wives" (May 6), I think it is a pity that Indian army-men are denied their fundamental rights. They cannot file a writ of habeas corpus for their personal liberty. The Government should give full details about the said espionage charge after proper investigation, so that the axe does not fall on innocent people.

Asif Kumar, Dhanbad.

PASSING secret military information to other countries is the most serious offence for an army officer and the highest punishment should be awarded to him in case the charge is proved. It is therefore most distressing that the wives of the army officers should go on a dharna in front of Mr Jagjivan Ram's house to protest against the detention of their husbands, who may be involved in an espionage case.

B. N. BOSE, Jamshedpur.

Unpious

IN Khaas Baat (May 13), Piousji says, with reference to Sarada's having won the National Best Actress Award for the third time, that "Jayalalitha, too, has been critical about it." I wonder where he got this piece of information from. At no time have I passed any remark about Sarada having won the award for the third time, nor has anyone asked for my opinion about it. I have the greatest regard for Sarada as an actress of undisputed excellence. Piousji, would do well not to attribute such an immature and childish attitude to me, particularly when it is baseless.

Jayalalitha, Madras

PIOUSJI has created an impression among readers that the South Indian matinee idol, Sivaji Ganesan is yet to appear in a guest role in a Kannada film (Khaas Baat, May 6). This

is not quite true. Sivaji Ganesan had acted in a Kannada film, *School Master*, fifteen years ago.

R. G. Seshachalam, Bangalore

Obsessed

HAVE SUNDAY and its editorial board gone off the rails that they must harp on the theme of Bhutto, issue after issue? Poor man, he is all but forgotten in Pakistan and India. The desire to keep his name alive and to imbue him with qualities is sadly sentimental and irrelevant. He is undoubtedly of considerable stature as a person and a leader, but of ephemeral importance and of absolutely no consequence to India or the world at large. If attention is to be focussed, it should be on the personality of Government, thrown up by the system of polity, thrown up by cultural ethos, which brings successive regimes so constantly to an unsavoury end in Pakistan and elsewhere. The nation is jolted every few years and its progress retarded. Democratic hopes and aspirations seem to wither in the absence of a spirit of tolerance, with incipient violence at home and classically at the frontier. An analysis of this would be food for thought in Pakistan and India, for Hindus and Muslims.

Suresh Chopra, New Delhi.

Anyday

SUNDAY is no more SUNDAY. It's now ANYDAY.

Asoke Kumar Ganguli, Bankura.

Editor's note: Sorry for the frequent delays. After the June 10 issue we hope to establish regularity. But do remember, we publish from Calcutta.

Tourists be blown

THE figures quoted by Mr Mahesh Sarin, Managing Director (on leave), Indian Airlines, were intriguing (Opinion, May 6). With regard to the "exaggerated reports" of discourtesy by IA staff, I suggest Mr Sarin get off his high horse and come down to earth. The following will illustrate my point. Place: Dum Dum Airport. Date: May 13, 1979. Scene: IC 261 (Calcutta / Bhubaneswar / Visakhapatnam) checking-in counter.

Passenger to IA booking clerk: "Could you please allow me two hand baggages? You see, I am an international passenger and I have these two small packages. Could you also give me a window seat, if available?"

IA booking clerk: "Who cares for what you are? You are asking for not one, but two favours. Why should I favour you? And don't keep saying that you are an international passenger."

I could go on with such anecdotes. But the basic point remains: The IA staff is very discourteous.

B. K. Yadava, Cuttack

Not so bad, after all

THE report, "Maharashtra's working women speak out" by Shubhasani Ali (May 6), was rather lopsided. Perhaps, it is true that women are not paid the same wages as men in the unorganised sector or in rural areas, but women working in the organised sector have little to complain about. Women working in banks, insurance companies and in established private sector organisations are paid the same wages as their male counterparts, and sometimes, treated even better than them.

S. Raj, Bombay.

Money grabbers

I AGREE with Gautam Kundu when he says in "Not so great after all" (May 6) that India is the only country which has such an "organised bunch of vicious, conscienceless, socially irresponsible money grabbing filmmakers." Our filmmakers are, perhaps unaware of the fact that films have a tremendous impact on the masses. And even if they are, they don't seem to bother about it, considering the fact that they produce such trash.

Jaya Chohan, Secunderabad

I HAD the opportunity of reading Gautam Kundu's film review. In the review Mr Kundu has said that the film is "one of the worst-written and worst-directed big pictures of the year." I was under the impression that a critic, before making comments, at least knows the subject about which he is writing. But it seems that though the critic is a Bengali, he has not cared to read the Bengali book of the same title and compared it with the film version. However, I would like to point out that I do not want to be taught by anyone the art of writing a story, least of all by a film critic. Incidentally, I would like to bring to your notice that recently, in the Cannes Film Festival, the film *Ganadevata* was branded as "trash" by previewers, but merely because of this you cannot say that Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay's book was trash.

Vikramaditya, Paris

MR KUNDU, while mentioning the sequence of Amitabh fighting Shetty, says, "...the kids around me were taking in all this with open mouthed awe." One wonders how kids managed to sneak into an "adults only" movie.

Renuka Prasad, Patna

Mis-kick !

P. K. BANERJEE, while reporting on the young footballers of this year ("Tomorrow's Superstars", May 6) has, inadvertently, made a few incorrect statements. Tarun Mukhia, after an abortive year with East Bengal, has joined Rajasthan Club and not his former club, Kidderpore. Again, Pradip Datta will be playing for Tollygunge Agragami and not for George Telegraph.

Indrajit Barori, Calcutta.

NEHRU'S PAPER DEAD

By AJOY BOSE

"THE *National Herald* is an institution. It has a directorate which has no personal or financial interest in it," wrote Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harizan* in 1942 condemning its forcible closure by the British Government. Today, 37 years later, as financial bungling and racketeering pushes the *Herald* swiftly towards total liquidation, the words of the Mahatma sound almost absurd.

The Associated Journals Ltd. which runs the *National Herald* from New Delhi and *Navjwan* and *Qaumi Awaz* from Lucknow, is perhaps the most mismanaged public limited company in the country. Beset by labour strikes over the past two years because of delayed payment of wages to its employees, management finally declared a lockout on 6 March this year. The company is also facing several inquiries into charges (made by the workers) of largescale financial corruption, questionable transactions, retrenchment of staff, delay in deposit of provident fund, ESI and LIC contributions and income tax deductions of the staff, thus creating the conditions for closure.

What is not being investigated, however, is how, without any concrete investment whatsoever, Mrs Indira Gandhi has turned the whole *Herald* organisation into a monopoly firm. The present *Herald* management has now left it to Mrs Gandhi to decide the fate of the company and its 1,500 employees although she is not even a minor shareholder in the company. It is being made out by the *Herald* management that the Janata Government's various enquiries into the affairs of the *Herald* are a part of the "personal victimisation campaign" against the former Prime Minister, while her only connection with the paper is her father's association with the name of *National Herald*.

In fact, despite the masthead, it was not really Jawaharlal Nehru who founded the *National Herald*. While it is true that Nehru's name was used extensively in the paper to boost its popularity, the man who gave the idea of the *Herald* is Mohan Lal Saxena, an Uttar Pradesh lawyer and Minister in the interim UP Government in 1937. A dynamic organiser, Mohan Lal Saxena got together with the legendary freedom fighter Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and between them laid the foundations of the *National Herald*. It was Mohan Lal Saxena who went from door to door for the funds needed to start the *Herald* and



contributed a large sum himself. There is not much evidence to show whether the Nehru family at any stage of the 40-year-old history of the *Herald* made any financial contributions to the paper.

Early in 1938, the *National Herald* was started. Nehru was its chief editor, while the first managing editor was Rama Rao, known in his time as "the ablest sub-editor in the country". Within a few months M. Chalapathi Rau, known till then as more of a literary writer than a journalist, joined the *Herald*. Temperamental by nature, Chalapathi Rau started his career in the *Herald* on a controversial note. The problem rose over MC's designation. While Chalapathi Rau insisted that the management had promised him the post of an assistant editor, he was given the post of a senior sub-editor. Which caused him to write a very bitter letter to K. Iswara Dutt, editor of *People's Voice* where MC had worked for a brief spell as a leader writer. "First I was to be the second assistant editor, then the third, then a kind of fourth and finally an order (not, even an offer) was given to me that I was senior sub-editor on Rs 125," he wrote in his letter. It was the start of a 40-year-long spell of strained relations with the management for Chalapathi Rau. He was, however, soon made an assistant editor.

For the first three to four years, the *Herald* had a precarious existence. "We started disastrously because the paper was printed very badly", recollected T. N. Singh who joined in 1938 as assistant editor and later was general manager of the *Herald*. "It had a poor circulation despite the association of Jawaharlal Nehru's name and advertisement revenue was meagre. The paper incurred heavy recurring losses. So much so, by early 1940, our accumulated losses were more than the total subscribed share capital. The staff and workers did not get their salaries regularly," remembered T. N. Singh.

The financial crisis deepened, till early in May, 1940, it appeared that the paper would have to close down. A crucial meeting of the board of directors, presided over by Nehru, was held on the premises of the *National Herald* and the workers were told that the question before the directors was either to close the *Herald* forthwith or sell it to some industrial magnate. R. P. Dalmia had been approached to take the paper over.

The staff, led by M. Chalapathi Rau, were, however, violently opposed to either the closure or the takeover by an industrialist. They proposed that they should be allowed to take the paper over for six months and Nehru, who was by then extremely close to Chalapathi Rau, agreed to the proposal. In a strange quirk of history, 39 years later, the same proposal is now being put up by the *Herald* workers with the backing of Chalapathi Rau, but Nehru's daughter obviously does not have the same faith in the staff.

The workers' management succeeded in 1940 and within six months, the *Herald* was back on its feet. Chalapathi Rau would later describe this as "the most glorious period of the *Herald* history."

Soon, the second world war started and the *Herald*, because of its pro-Congress policy and association with Nehru ran into trouble with the British authorities. Chalapathi Rau recounts an interesting anecdote about those days in a recent article in the *Working Journalist*. At the height of the anti-war campaign by the Congress, the British Government issued an advertisement to all newspapers calling the Congress programme "goonda activities". The *Herald* management was in a dilemma. Its need for advertisement revenue was great, but the contents of the advertisement would go against the grain of its policies. Finally, Nehru decided the issue. He said that although the *Herald* would continue its anti-British editorial policy, it would carry the advertisement. Thus, the *National Herald* carried an advertisement boldly proclaiming the Congress leaders as "goondas".

Nehru's magnanimity with British advertisements however did not help much, and the *Herald* had to close down in 1942 under pressure from the British Government. The forced closure brought a lot of support to the *Herald* and contributions from various private parties and, in fact, at a certain point Rama Rao had to issue an appeal to the donors not to give any more money.

After three long years, in November, 1945, the *Herald* reopened with almost the same staff. Rama Rao took over again as managing editor, and Chalapathi Rau resigned from the *Hindustan Times* where he was working during the closure period and rejoined as assistant editor.

Within a few months, however, serious differences of opinion on how to run the paper started between Rama Rao and Chalapathi Rau. Old hands remember that the two were, on some days, not on speaking terms. Matters came to a head early in 1946, when Rama Rao went to Allahabad to cover a Congress conference and Chalapathi Rau was acting editor. Rama Rao found that the *Herald* was not carrying his despatches from Allahabad, and when he returned he is reported to have had quite a scene with Chalapathi Rau.

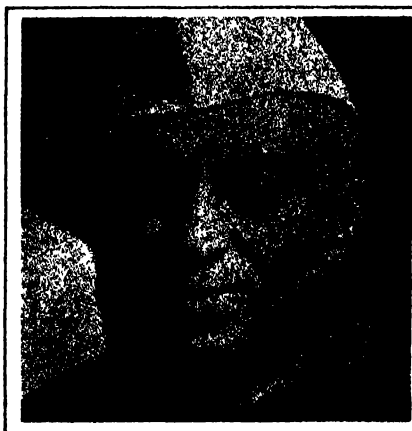
Soon, in July 1946, Rama Rao left

the *Herald* and Chalapathi Rau became the new editor — an editorship which he would have to finally relinquish in great shame and humiliation a good 32 years later.

AFTER independence, with the British gone, the *Herald's* first major target became Govind Ballabh Pant. Although the *Herald* was not the official Congress paper, its vehement support of Nehru and Kidwai in their political battles with Pant very quickly linked it to the politics of the era.

By the early Fifties, the Pant lobby had made some inroads into the *Herald* management and one of Pant's chief lieutenants, C. B. Gupta, with the help of his friend Krishnaji who was manager of the *Herald*, made a determined bid to take over the paper. His attempts were thwarted by Kidwai, and Krishnaji had to leave.

The financial affairs, however, got from bad to worse since Nehru quite



clearly refused to divert any Government money towards the paper, nor use his influence to get the paper advertisements. In 1954, there was a strike over non-payment of wages and for a short while, the workers, for the second time, took over the management and ran it, but this time without much success.

Finally, a trust called the Janhit Nidhi Trust was formed and this trust till today controls nearly 70 per cent of the shares.

Among the first trustees were Jawaharlal Nehru, Padmaja Naidu, P. L. Saprú and Mrs Indira Gandhi. The trust however did not solve the main problem, which was the lack of a competent management. Financial difficulties continued to plague the institution till in 1957, the workers went on a strike on the issue which has continually plagued the *Herald* throughout its history—delayed payment of wages.

It was at this point that the *Herald* at last found a saviour. Uma Shankar Dixit, one of the most loyal soldiers of the Nehru family, was inducted to manage the *Herald* in late 1957. "The topic was first broached to me by Mr Jidula Sarabhai who also told Nehruji to persuade me to manage the *Herald*," Uma Shankar Dixit recalls. "So, one night, I was called for dinner and after we

had finished food, Nehruji and Indiraji sat on either side of me on the drawing room sofa and talked me into taking charge of the *Herald*, said Dixit.

For the Nehru family, Dixit was an ideal choice. He was loyalist to the point of fanaticism, absolutely honest, and also had an uncanny shrewdness in money matters. These qualities reflected in the dramatic improvement of the *Herald's* chronic ill health after Dixit took over. By 1959, the paper had become self-supporting and its circulation, which had never been over 10,000, climbed to 12,500. A proper wage structure, with yearly increments, was also given to the employees and for the first time the monthly salary was distributed on the first of every month. Soon, the *Navjwan* and the *Qaumi Awaz*, a Hindi and an Urdu daily, were started, and although both ran at a loss, they were not a strain on the company.

Encouraged, Nehru became keen on starting a daily from Delhi and since Chalapathi Rau was also eager to shift his base from Lucknow to Delhi, in 1961 an effort was made to launch a Delhi edition. A plot of land was purchased in Najafgarh and printing machinery was bought. However, the effort proved abortive because of a lack of organisation. Dixit at that time was busy campaigning for the Congress in the elections, and Chalapathi Rau suddenly fell ill. The *Herald* lost Rs 5 lakhs in this aborted venture. But in spite of this loss, the total deficit of the *Herald* came down from Rs 13 lakhs in 1957 to Rs 7 lakhs in 1965, and the circulation of the Lucknow *Herald* kept steadily increasing.

Meanwhile attempts to start a New Delhi *Herald* continued, and although Nehru himself died in May, 1964, Chalapathi Rau was insistent.

Dixit himself was against the idea. He pointed out to Chalapathi Rau, "It is one thing to maintain a paper in a city where there are few competitors, over whom you have in any case a head start; it is quite another to compete with established newspapers who have big industry backing them."

His words, however, were not heeded either by Chalapathi Rau or Mrs Gandhi, who, after her father's death, had become 'the guiding spirit' of the *Herald* even though she resigned her trusteeship after she became Information and Broadcasting Minister in 1966.

So, Dixit, loyal soldier to the Nehru family that he was, started on the thankless task of running a newspaper in a capital city which had already five newspapers, four of whom were run by big industrialists.

ON 5 March, 1968, the Delhi *Herald* was launched and almost immediately trouble started. In the editorial wing, Chalapathi Rau clashed with Mr Baptista, who had become the first news editor of the Delhi edition. Rau wrote a letter to Dixit who was still managing director



Mrs Gandhi with Uma Shankar Dixit

Central Newsphoto Service

accusing Baptista of coming to office drunk.- Dixit, after failing to find a solution between the two, shunted Baptista back to Lucknow where he had been previously news editor.

Dixit himself, meanwhile, was having trouble with the general manager, Sitaram Guntare. Relations between the two deteriorated to the extent that at one point Dixit would not enter the *Herald* office but gave instructions from outside. Moreover, now the paper started losing money heavily and matters became worse when Dixit became a Minister and resigned from the *Herald* early in 1971. Col. Zaidi, who was chairman earlier, also took over as managing director. In September 1971, after workers started agitating because of delayed payment of wages, a 23-day lockout was declared. Guntare left quite soon after this and a new manager, P. L. Sondhi, was brought in.

Sondhi could not get along well with Col. Zaidi, whom the former accused of corruption. Amongst the various charges which Sondhi brought against the chairman and managing director was that Zaidi used to get the maintenance and repair of office vehicles done at the workshop managed by a relative of Col. Zaidi. It was obvious that a replacement was needed for Dixit, and it was at this point that Yashpal Kapoor made his entry. Kapoor, who had been private secretary to the Prime Minister in 1967, was an "officer on special duty" (sic) for the Prime Minister in 1971, and was regarded as one of the rising stars in Mrs Gandhi's orbit after the Congress split.

Kapoor was seen quite regularly in 10

1971 at the Lucknow offices and word went around that he was becoming managing director. He also took an initiative in some financial transactions relating to the *Herald* although legally and formally he still had nothing to do with the organisation. Meanwhile, in 1972, Sondhi left, and in his place came S. D. Pillai, reportedly at the insistence of the Narang family of Narang Breweries, who were financially backing the *Herald*.

Watching, with alarm, these new developments was Chalapathi Rau who found that his powers as an editor were slowly being whittled away by the new masters of the *Herald*. Angered at this, Chalapathi Rau wrote a seven page letter in late 1972 to Mrs Gandhi complaining of being left out in major decisions regarding the *Herald* and named Yashpal Kapoor as the main person working out the new equations. The angry editor threatened that if Yashpal Kapoor was made a director, he would immediately resign. This, for the moment, stopped Kapoor, but instead of him another member of the rising caucus which would later promote Sanjay Gandhi, Mohammed Yunus, became the managing director shortly before the Emergency.

The Emergency, of course brought a dramatic change in the fortunes of the *Herald*, and suddenly from being a financially bankrupt organisation it became a paper which had all the business organisations at its beck and call. Advertisements became no problem. Yunus used to tell the advertisement department, "Just go and meet the Chief Minister of so and so Government and show him my card, and he will give you the

advertisement". According to employees of the advertisement department, this always worked. Bahuguna, for instance, when he was the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, was told to order all educational institutions of the State to subscribe to the *Herald*. The subscription money was cut from the grants given to the educational institutions. At first, Bahuguna resisted this quite arbitrary order slightly, but he was firmly told to comply and he had no way out. Later, when he was ousted, the totally captive Narain Das Tiwari gave no trouble whatsoever. In Haryana, Bansil Lal gave orders to every office and institution in the State to subscribe and there were not many who dared to disobey his orders in those days. In addition to the daily paper, fat supplements full of advertisements were issued by the *Herald* costing over a rupee, and they too were forced on the already reluctant subscribers.

Donations also started flowing in, and sitting in Delhi, Yunus sent letters all over the country to rich industrialists and wealthy persons to contribute. Once, Yunus asked the Nizam of Hyderabad to send Rs 15 lakhs but the Nizam sent only Rs. 5 lakhs. The cheque was angrily returned by Yunus, such was the level of his arrogance. There is no exact estimate of the enormous amount of money made in the form of subscriptions and donations by the *Herald* in the Emergency period, but some estimates take the figure into crores. The management also tried ambitious projects. A new building was put up in Lucknow and the old building was sought to be demolished and a shopping complex was planned in that area. The Delhi office was renovated completely and a plush board room and conference room were constructed. A stereo system was installed in the office ostensibly to broadcast Nehru's speeches. *Herald* workers however allege that bugging devices were planted along with the stereo system!

WHILE everything changed during the Emergency, the only thing which still held out against the changing times was the editorial policy. The ageing Chalapathi Rau hung on determinedly to his old editorial style and while there was the usual pro-Congress tilt, there were no signs of the sickening paeans to Sanjay Gandhi which most other newspapers were indulging in.

Not that there were no efforts to give publicity to Sanjay through the *Herald*, but the old man held on grimly and though this ultimately would lead to his downfall, Rau became even more obstinate under pressure. In Lucknow, the resident editor C. N. Chittaranjan in his own way was also resisting the powers that be, but with great difficulty. When he wrote in the editorial log book not to carry any photographs of Sanjay, Chittaranjan found, the next day, that the page on which he had written these instructions had been torn off.

The editorial staff, and particularly

Chalapathi Rau, were proving quite inconvenient to the management and the caucus, and this was ironically reflected in the 30th anniversary of Rau in the *Herald* in July, 1976, when a large function at the Delhi office was addressed by various Congress luminaries including Mrs Gandhi. While speakers paid lip-service to his work, some however hinted that it was perhaps time that Rau took a rest after what they described as "such a glorious innings".

It is a matter of speculation whether Rau would have remained editor if the Emergency had continued, but in March, 1977, things again

changed dramatically: From euphoria to total panic. The fortunes of the paper followed closely those of Mrs Gandhi and suddenly Yunus and the rest of the board of directors was desperate to get out of the *Herald*. Soon after the Janata Government took over, Rau resigned from the post of chief editor and became instead the chairman of the editorial board. He would be allowed to keep this position for only one year.

In October, Mrs Gandhi's arrest put even more fright into the *Herald* management and in November, the board of directors, including Yunus and Col. Zaidi, approached Mrs

Gandhi and asked her for permission to sell off the *Herald*. They said that it would not be possible to run the *Herald* in the changed situation and the sale of the building and property could perhaps help them save something. On 9 December the board of directors met formally and decided to sell all the land and assets, and on 26 December, met again to call an extraordinary shareholders meeting on 3 January to ratify the proposals of the sale. An alternative proposal came from Uma Shankar Dixit, who said that he needed Rs 25 lakhs to run the paper but Mrs Gandhi refused him, saying, "Where shall I get that amount of money?"

Has the management been turning black money into white ?

HAS the *Herald* management over the last several years been concentrating on turning black money into white rather than managing the organisation? The 1978 enquiry by the Company Affairs Department has revealed some very interesting facts. Some of the major finds of the enquiry are: I) miscellaneous receipts to the tune of Rs 35.15 lakhs between 1974-75 and 1976-77, in respect of which the sources of such receipts were clearly available. In certain cases, the company itself was shown as the source of such receipts; II) receipt of substantial advances against subscription to the extent of Rs 23.39 lakhs during the period 1974-75 and 1976-77; III) receipt of advances against advertisements between 1974-75 and 1976-77 in several cases and in some cases such advance exceeded Rs 50,000; IV) receipt of share application money to the extent of Rs 4.4 lakhs from certain parties without receiving the share applications in respect thereof. These include Rs 50,000 received from one individual which was credited to the unclaimed balance account in the accounts for the year ending 31.3.75; V) Advance of interest-free loans amounting to Rs 1.45 lakhs. However, as a result of adverse remarks made by the auditors, the company decided to charge interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum with effect from 1.1.78. Interestingly, the Rs 1.45 lakhs was given out in loans to one Sudhir Sarin who happens to be the elder brother of Yashpal Kapoor's son-in-law.

The *Herald* workers' union in its report to the Srinivasan enquiry committee has alleged large-scale rackets in converting black

money into white. For example, the workmen were paid bonus for the year 1977-78 on October 25 after a strike at the rate of 8.33 per cent but there was no indication as to the source of this amount in the books of account. Funnily enough, however, in the next month, November, the circulation receipts suddenly soared and amounted to Rs 1.58 lakhs, compared to only Rs 93,000 in October. With what money were the workers paid?

The union has given an example of how black money is being converted into white by giving the total receipts for one day, namely 16 February, 1979. Of the total amount of Rs 35,250 collected on that day, only Rs 250 was through cheques. This is strange, since all the parties who paid on the day were outstation people coming from as far away places as Varanasi and Patna, and it would be more convenient for them to pay through cheques. Curiouser still is the case of one Jai Kumar Singh of Ranchi who paid in February 1979 a total of Rs 11,500 in three instalments of Rs 3,500 on the 1st, Rs 5,500 on the 16th and Rs 2,500 on the 17th. Why Mr Jai Kumar Singh could not pay the full amount on one day instead of troubling himself thrice remains a mystery.

The union has also charged that bogus receipts were being issued to benami parties, or parties who have not made payment in fact, and shown as receipts against sale of newspapers to agents and subscribers. Bogus receipts for such subscriptions or even share application money were being issued in large numbers every day and then being destroyed immediately since the parties who were supposed to receive them are non-

existent. A number of such torn receipts, which the union presumes were issued in this manner and destroyed, were found in the wastepaper basket. They have been handed over to the Srinivasan committee. Black money is also converted into white by clearing off old outstanding payments against advertisers and circulation agents without any actual payment being received from the parties concerned. As a result, advertisement collections for November suddenly jumped to Rs 1.05 lakhs from Rs 50,000 in October. Why did the advertisers decide to pay up loans which they have not paid for years suddenly in November?

Basing their investigations on torn receipts discovered in the wastepaper basket, the union approached a number of parties who were supposed to have paid. Many of them were either untraceable or had not paid. D.G.L. Pvt Ltd of Connaught Place, for instance, denied paying Rs 589.05 on 18 November, 1978, as recorded in the company ledger folio No. M. 1402. The receipt No 1609 was found torn in the wastepaper basket.

Other charges included the sale by the management of the newsprint quota allotted to it, in the blackmarket. In the Delhi establishment alone, newsprint worth Rs 80,000 obtained at controlled rates on the basis of inflated circulation figures is believed to have been sold in the blackmarket every month. Incidentally, the circulation rose sharply in 1978, although there is very little reason why it should have, given the misfortunes of the *Herald*.

A.B.

Meanwhile, Yashpal Kapoor had entered the scene again. There are two versions of how Kapoor returned—one his, and the other of *Herald* workers. According to Kapoor, he was approached by the workers to save the situation and he said that although "he was not willing, he was a loyal soldier of Mrs Gandhi and if she ordered him, he would comply". The workers say that Kapoor had been angling for the *Herald* for a long time and used this opportunity to fool the workers and used their cause to take over the organisation.

ON 31 December Yashpal Kapoor walked into the Delhi *Herald* office along with Vimal Mehrotra, a trade unionist-cum-industrialist close to Yashpal Kapoor, and told the workers that *Herald* would not be closed and that he would run it. On 4 January, 1978, a new board of directors took over. Yashpal Kapoor became managing director, Vimal Mehrotra, director, and Charanjit Singh, the Coca Cola magnate, the chairman. The old board of directors resigned. Incidentally, no meeting of the shareholders was called before the change. In fact, Yashpal Kapoor's appointment was confirmed by the meeting of the shareholders only on September 30, 1978 with retrospective effect from 4 January that year.

The new management appointed its own men. A former clerk of the Congress campaign committee—the fund collection machinery of Mrs Gandhi—who had never worked in a newspaper before or had any managerial experience was appointed general manager. Another new appointee

was R. P. Gupta who was only a semi-skilled worker in the *Herald* press before he left the establishment taking retrenchment compensation, gratuity and benefits. Gupta was now appointed as general foreman of the press with a salary three times what he had drawn before. Significantly, the wage bill of the Delhi establishment went up to Rs 1.92 lakhs in 1978 from Rs 1.55 lakhs in the previous year.

Editorially, there were also some drastic changes. Chittaranjan, who had for a long time clashed with Yashpal Kapoor and his group, was forced to leave. Ironically, management used differences between Chittaranjan and Chalapathi Rau to get the former out. Chalapathi's turn came soon. The new management started humiliating him in every little way. They did not inform him of Khushwant Singh's coming in as the new editor. Rau was refused the office car and one day, instructions were given to all typists in the office not to type his editorials. For Chalapathi Rau this was the final insult. In a resignation letter to the *Herald* chairman Charanjit Singh, Rau wrote, "I am not writing it in bitterness. This is a short epitaph which can later be extended of 40 years of dedicated and frustrated journalism... I promise to forget *National Herald*". This was the 13th time that Chalapathi Rau had tendered his resignation in his 40 stormy years. And this unlucky time the management accepted his resignation without a murmur of apology.

Khushwant Singh came in August as the new editor of *Herald*, fresh

from his own humiliation by the *Times of India*, but soon found it impossible to function. "It was absolutely chaotic. Nobody seemed to have any clue of how to run the organisation," he recollects of his brief five-month stay in the organisation. Khushwant Singh worked for these five months without any salary because he had promised the workers at his welcome reception that if the workers did not get their salary on time, he would not draw his own salary. As Yashpal Kapoor told him later, "Khushwantji, how could you make such a rash promise? Workers will never get paid on time". But Khushwant Singh never did draw his salary.

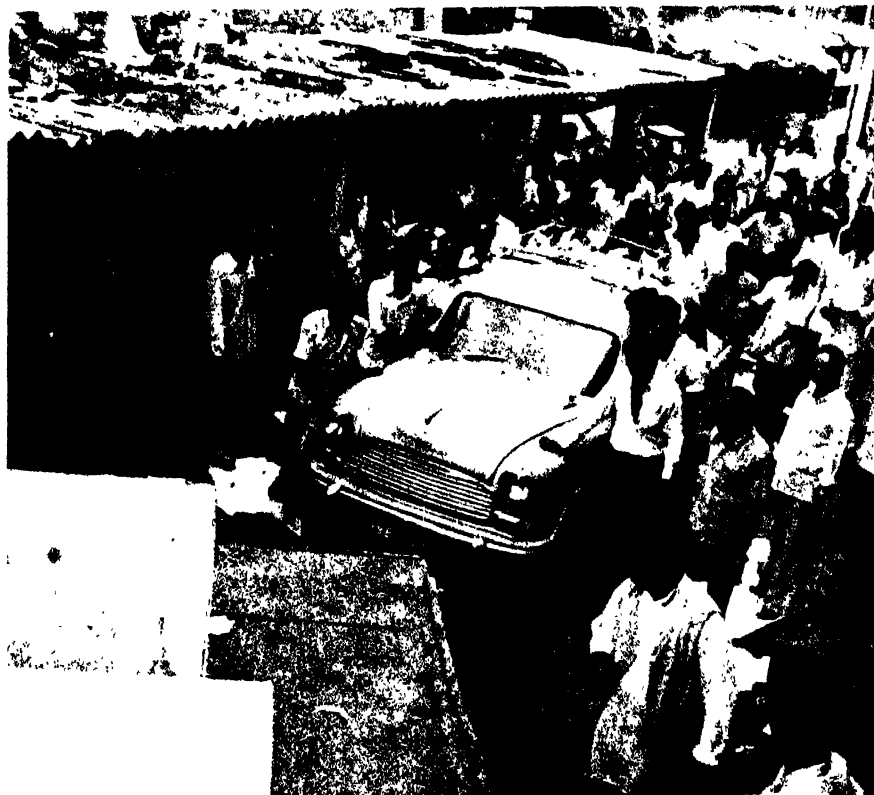
Finally in December Khushwant Singh decided to leave, and repeated requests to Mrs Gandhi, who had asked him to take charge of the *Herald*, finally forced her to relieve him. The little hope that the *Herald* workers had that under an editor like Singh the paper would survive, slumped. Resentment with the new management reached a peak. Salaries were due for months together. Their provident fund, ESI and LTC and income-tax deductions had not been deposited and there were reports of questionable transactions. On 3 March, the Lucknow *Herald* union struck work, and the company declared a lockout on 6 March. In Delhi, the union followed suit and struck work on 10 March, and a lockout was declared five days later.

Workers, however, occupied the premises of both the Delhi and Lucknow offices fearing that records and important documents pertaining to the paper would be destroyed by the management. The workers also made a number of representations to the Central and State administrations in Lucknow and Delhi. On 15 April, the registrar of companies, Uttar Pradesh, Kanpur, issued a show cause notice resultant of an enquiry by the company affairs department in the beginning of 1978, which had shown serious discrepancies in the *Herald* management's accounts, and asked the company to send its reply within 15 days. The very next day, the Government of India issued a gazette notification appointing an investigation committee under IDR Act directing the committee to submit its report within 15 days.

On 19 April, the company law department issued an order appointing another investigation committee for an in-depth inquiry into the affairs of the company. The CBI is also making an inquiry into certain irregularities of the *Herald*.

In Delhi, the labour commissioner, Delhi administration, ordered the recovery of Rs 1,50,278 towards the wages of workers for the month of February. The management did not pay and on 22 May, two cars, one matador van, six newsprint reels and cheques worth Rs 41,000 and all the bank accounts and the rents of the *Herald* building were attached.

Thus, the *Herald* is on the verge of total liquidation, and its 1,500 workers are facing unemployment.



Attachment of *National Herald's* movable property on May 22

While the management says that it has just no money to immediately pay the workers dues and pay the deposits, workers point out that the *Herald* is not actually running at a loss but that the management has created an artificial financial crisis through its acts of omission and commission. According to a statement given by the workers to the Srinivasan investigation committee on Associated Journals Ltd., the fixed

assets of the company have increased enormously. As per the balance sheets of the company, the fixed assets of the company rose from Rs 45 lakhs in 1968-69 to over Rs 1 crore in 1977-78. In a Press statement, Col. Zaidi on 21 November 1977, said, "The market value of the assets of the company at present are worth over Rs. 3 crores". Another question the workers are raising is where the enormous money collected

during the Emergency by the *Herald* management has gone.

The various enquiry committees who are investigating into the affairs of the *Herald* might lead to some very interesting findings which would not only involve the present and past masters of *Herald* but also some bigger fish, perhaps also including the former Prime Minister who has so far very shrewdly kept out of the *Herald* drama.

Kapoor wants a free Press

LIFE is full of ironies. Sometimes it brings together strange bedfellows. No one could have imagined that Mr Yashpal Kapoor, trouble-shooter and strong man in Mrs Gandhi's camp, would make common cause with Mr C. R. Irani, managing director of the Statesman Limited, and that too, to protect the freedom of the Press!

Life is like that. But did Mr Vasant Sathe ever think he would be the cause of such unity? Vasant Sathe is an irrepressible Congress (I) MP, who moved an amendment to the industries (Development and Regulation) Act in the Lok Sabha last March. Mr Sathe, when he did this, could not have even dreamt of the repercussions.

Mr George Fernandes, Industry Minister, had moved some amendments to the IDR Act, and Mr Sathe wanted to have his own amendment too. He wanted inclusion of "litho-printing industry" also to be augmented in the first schedule of the Act, along with other industries like zip fasteners, pressure cookers, oil stoves, etc. suggested by Mr Fernandes. Mr Sathe said he was "pleading this because of a particular case with which I am connected.... it is called Shivraj Fine Arts Litho Works".

The further irony is that the amendment which Mr Sathe moved (which was later changed, with his consent, to "printing including litho printing industry" thus bringing the entire printing industry under the ambit of the IDR Act) was, hardly two months later, to affect an institution which was very closely linked with Mrs Gandhi's family—the *National Herald*. The company which publishes *National Herald* is associated Journals and its managing director is Mr Yashpal Kapoor. If he had clairvoyance, would Mr Sathe have moved the amendment and accepted the change suggested? This will remain a hypothetical question, unanswered.

The late Feroze Gandhi fought a battle royal to enable the Press to report what was said in Parliament.

The privilege was taken away during Emergency, and is now restored. It has fallen again to the fate of one of the minions in Mrs Gandhi's camp to move an amendment which gives the Government the powers to bully the Press, if it chooses to. Once "printing including litho-printing industry" got included in the first schedule of IDR Act, the Government had the power to order an investigation. In view of the trouble that has been going on in *National Herald*—the newspaper has remained closed since March—the Government appointed a two-man commission to look into the affairs of Associated Journals. Mr Kapoor, who did not display any soft corner for the freedom of the Press during the Emergency, promptly challenged this, but the Delhi High Court, on May 25, dismissed the Associated Journals' petition against the appointment of the commission.

One thing must be said about Mr Kapoor. He is a clever and alert man. He knew the implications, that is where he scores over Mr Sathe, who was worried only about mere litho-printing. Kapoor sensed that the Press could be in peril as a result of the amendment, and brought this to the attention of IENS, and also the ever-alert champion of the freedom of the Press, Mr Irani, were unaware of the problem. This is an issue the IENS cannot ignore and a committee under Mr Irani is reportedly considering what steps to take. In considering these steps, who else to consult except the man who first thought about the threat to the freedom of the Press? This is how Mr Kapoor and Mr Irani met at IENS building in Delhi to pursue a common cause.

IENS has put the fundamental issues in a nutshell in a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister on May 18 by its president—a full six weeks after the amendment became the law of the land. The memorandum described the inclusion of printing industry in the first schedule of IDR Act as most "inappropriate". It added: "The reference to 'printing inclu-

ding litho printing industry' was not originally a part of the Bill. It was an amendment moved by a member of the Opposition and accepted by the Government. But we are faced with the effect that newspapers are included. It is imperative that Government make their intentions plain. Further, amendment is necessary to make it clear that newspapers and newspaper establishments are not intended to be included in this act".

The amendment does raise certain key issues. Newspapers have obviously to be printed in a printing press. So newspaper establishments do come under the ambit of the amended IDR Act. Are newspapers to be treated as another industry like "zip fasteners (metallic and non-metallic)", "oil stoves" and "pressure cookers"? Should the Government be vested with this sweeping power? Even in a democratic set-up, this power can be misused. True, the amended act could be challenged in a court of law. But a relevant point is that when the Government appoints a Press Commission and a Press Council, obviously to protect some basic freedoms of organised society like the freedom of the Press, does not the inclusion of the amendment, though sponsored by an Opposition member, albeit without any forethought, go contrary to these steps?

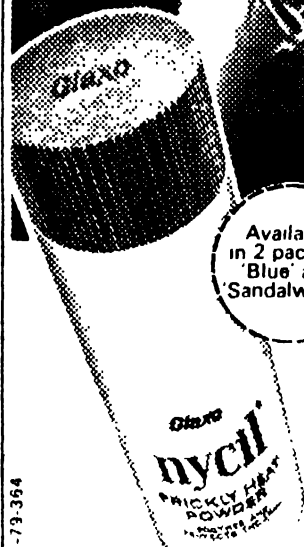
On the other side is the question: What to do with cases like *National Herald*? Here is where those who want the freedom of the Press to continue in this country must give some thought, including the IENS. Is the IENS at all bothered about the employees of *National Herald*? The memorandum of IENS to the Prime Minister states that "we make no comment at all on the question of whether the particular newspaper establishment (the Associated Journals Limited) has acted or is acting in violation of specific provisions of law...." Yes, but what about the employees who are starving?

S C ANANTHARAMAN.

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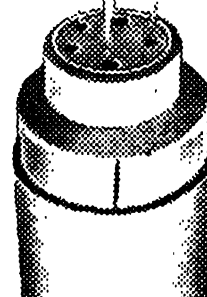


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"Yunus is a thief"

Yashpal Kapoor, the present 'Herald' managing director, talks about his paper's past to AJJOY BOSE.

Q: The *Herald* workers' union has charged you with serious breach of promise, converting black money into white, editorial interference and creating conditions for the closure of the *Herald*. Can you answer these charges?

A: These workers are terrible people. They are absolutely heartless people. It was they who requested me to take over the *Herald* in 1977 and look what they are saying about me. I tried to save the *Herald*.

Q: But is it not true that you were angling for the managing directorship of the *Herald* for a long time?

A: I myself was not interested in the *Herald* at all. When Yunus and all those people had given up on the *Herald* and were trying to sell it off, the workers approached me to save them. Nobody wanted the *Herald*, I tell you. Yunus wanted to sell it off, Dixit wanted large sums of money from Indiraji to run it; it was only I who listened to the workers. I told Indiraji, "I am your loyal soldier, if you tell me to jump into fire, I will jump into fire."

Q: But didn't Chalapathi Rau write in 1973 to Mrs Gandhi that you were trying to become managing director and he would resign if you did so?

A: Yes, I remember Indiraji asking me at that time. "Yashpal, do you want to be director?" I told her that I was her loyal soldier and only wanted to serve her. I don't know why Chalapathi Rau should write like this. I have always shown him great respect.

Q: When you did take over, both Chalapathi Rau and Chittaranjan complained about editorial interference by you.

A: Lies, all lies. I have never interfered at all. I never called these editors to my room, I went to their room. When I took over in 1978 I once went to Lucknow and called a meeting of editors. Chittaranjan was openly rude to me and called me names, but I did not say a single word. I felt that editors should be absolutely free. It is now that I am reconsidering this.

Q: How about all the dues of the workers including the non-payment of their ESI, provident fund, LIC contributions and income-tax deductions?

A: What was I supposed to do? I had to pay the previous year's dues. They had not been paid by Yunus. I don't want to criticise them but you must realize my position. Where would I get the money?

Q: Where did all the money col-



Yashpal Kapoor

lected during the Emergency go?

A: How do I know? When I took over there was no money, only liabilities.

Q: The company board enquiry in 1978 levels serious charges against the *Herald* management, including misappropriation of funds.

A: I will not comment on that. It was before I took over. Ask Yunus about that.

Q: Even after you took over there are charges against you of turning black money into white. Sudden rise in circulation figures, bogus receipts and sale of newspaper in the black market are some of the charges.

A: There are several investigation committees looking into this. I will not say anything about it.

Q: But answer me on the strange phenomenon of application money coming in without the applications being filed.

A: You don't understand. The *Herald* desperately needed money. I went all over the country after I took over as managing director to raise money. I contacted hundreds of people and persuaded them to buy shares. Many of them are Ministers. Devraj Urs for instance bought Rs. 12,500 worth of shares. Some ministers in the Andhra Pradesh Government have also done so. These people are busy people. They have just given the money and will send the applications later.

Q: How about the torn receipts for advertisements and circulation bills in the wastepaper basket?

A: Look, I was managing director. I am not expected to keep track of receipts. If the advertisement department has not sent receipts, it is their fault, not mine.

Q: But why should the receipts be torn?

A: How do I know? Maybe the union found some receipts which were not sent and then tore them up.

Q: But some of the receipts have been entered in the ledger.

A: I don't want to talk about it. There is an enquiry about it.

Q: Then there is the charge of selling newsprint in the black market.

A: I don't understand why workers should be so concerned about all this. It has got nothing to do with them. They have no right to level all these charges. I tell you they are being instigated by vested interests to level these charges.

Q: Who are these vested interests?

A: Well, I know for a fact that meetings of workers have taken place in Kanwar Lal Gupta's house. They have also gone to George Fernandes. It is a plot against me.

Q: A plot against you personally or the Congress Party?

A: A plot against me. This Janata Government has not been able to catch me out on anything. That is because I have always been absolutely honest. Now they are trying to pin charges on me. Look at the attempt to revive the L. N. Mishra case.

Q: Why should the Janata Government try to pin charges against you?

A: There are many in the Janata Party who hate me personally. Bahuguna is one. He is a sworn enemy. If he gives Rs. 10,000 to the workers in the Lucknow *Herald* to open a kitchen, can you imagine how much money he is giving secretly?

Q: You say there is not enough money to clear the workers' dues immediately. Why doesn't Mrs Gandhi organise the Congress Party to collect funds for the *Herald*? Why can't the *Herald* become the official Congress paper?

A: Nobody wants to give money for the *Herald*, not even, (people) in the Congress Party. I asked the Punjab Pradesh Congress to give me some of the lakhs of rupees they collected when M s Gandhi visited Jullundur, but they said no.

Q: What does Mrs Gandhi say about the situation?

A: Indiraji is behind me.

Mrs Gandhi's Mysterious Bihari Astrologer

It took ARUN RANJAN a week to locate Pandit Dinesh Mishra whom the former PM met at Patna airport on May 18.

SEARCH

AT last we found him. It had taken us four days to find out the name of the mysterious 'astrologer' who met Mrs Indira Gandhi at the Patna airport on May 18. It took us another two days to find out his address. We were entering an obscure bylane of Sokhara, a locality in Barauni, the industrial town in north Bihar. Sokhara is in the Kalambagh area of the town. We saw a huge yellow mansion across a field. The big tin gate was closed. A marble plaque near the roof had the words "Saubhadra Nivas" inscribed boldly. We had to enter through a side door in the rear of the mansion. It was 11.05 a.m. on May 25. We entered a long, wide corridor. That mysterious man was sitting cross-legged in one end of the corridor. His hands gripped the legs of a cot, he sat straight-backed. He had shining eyes. There was a *saafa* (piece of cloth) around his neck. He wore a mysterious smile and his face exuded confidence. He had thick grey hair on his head. "We have come from Patna. We are carrying a letter from....." (We disclosed the name of the senior Congress (I) leader who had helped us in reaching him.) We handed over the letter to him. He read it and looked at us. The letter described us as "reliable" people and requested Pandit Dinesh Mishra, the man who now faced us, to talk to us. Photographer Krishna Murari Kishan (who accompanied the author on this mission) said, "So, this is Pandit Dinesh Mishra," and readied his camera. "Please stop it," Pandit Mishra roared and quickly got up. "Please come this way," he gestured towards a room across the corridor. It was a small room. There were almirahs full of thick volumes along the walls. In this room we settled down to talk to the man we had been searching for a week. He looked straight into my eyes and said, "I am Dinesh Mishra. How did you find my address? I had explicitly told doctor *sahab* (Bihar Congress (I) chief, Dr. Jagannath Mishra) that my identity should not be disclosed, otherwise I would be bothered by



many people. You Pressmen are publishing all sort of things about me. I am not a *tantrik*. Do you see these books? I am a scholar of Sanskrit and religious philosophy. Sometimes what I predict on the basis of my knowledge comes out true. Does that mean that I am a *tantrik*? Some selected people come to me with their problems. I advise them. If the predictions made by me (on the basis of the knowledge acquired from books) are correct, then it does not make me a special man. It is all due to the nature and God."

Pandit Mishra got up from the easy chair, on which he had been reclining, and walked back to the cot in the other end of the corridor. "People are spreading rumours. You have been sent by (he named the Congress (I) leader who had helped us), so I will talk to you. Please do not misquote me. I will tell you what transpired in the airport lounge on May 18. But please make one thing clear to your readers—that Pandit Dinesh Mishra is neither a *tantrik* nor is he an astrologer." We were not prepared to let our weeks' labour go waste. The editor had instructed us that the interview had to be got. So, we agreed to his request and Krishna Murari Kishan put his camera away.

OUR quest for the mysterious man with whom Mrs Gandhi had a closed-door meeting in Patna airport lounge on May 18 was right out of the pages of a thriller. We had a glimpse of the man at the airport, but no one could tell us who he was, or from where he came. Till May 22 we went from pillar to post to find out his name. We met all the top men of the Congress (I) in Patna. No one could help us. At last we met our benefactor. On being assured that we would uphold the basic rule of journalism — secrecy of source — and protect his identity, he agreed to help. But it took us two days to convince him that we did not wish him ill. Armed with his letter we left Patna for Barauni by scooter. When we reached the outskirts of Barauni we saw a *Durgasthan* on the national highway.

We stopped our scooter and went to a pan shop to enquire about the whereabouts of Pandit Dinesh Mishra. We were told that he lived in the *Durgasthan*. We went to the building. There was a courtyard, with two lush green trees and a big well. There were many temples, of Durga, Kali, Shiva and Ganesh. There was also a Sitaram temple, flanked by two statues of Hanuman. The place appeared to be the right spot to find a *tantrik*. As we entered the courtyard, a young servant came forward. His head was shaven. "Please go out, whom do you want?" he said. We told him that we had come to meet the *swamiji* with a letter from a top politician. The servant told us that the *swamiji* had gone to a client, Madan Babu. Photographer Krishna Murari Kishan persuaded the boy to take him to his master. The author waited in the courtyard for half an hour; he was approached by six people during this short period for explanation regarding the purpose of his visit. Kishan came back crestfallen. It had been an exercise in futility. He had located a *sadhu* some 7-8 kms away, whose name was Pandit Dinesh Mishra, but said that he had never met Mrs Gandhi, nor

did he know the Patna politician whose reference we had given. He also told Kishan that he had not been to Patna recently. The most disturbing piece of information brought back by Kishan was that the *sadhu* claimed to be the only Pandit Dinesh Mishra in Barauni who was a *tantrik*. So the search began all over again!

We mounted our scooter and went to the railway station. One *panwallah* pointed at a house and said that Pandit Dinesh Mishra lived there, but added that as far as he knew, Pandit Mishra was away in Bhagalpur, where he worked. When we mentioned the important letter we were carrying from a politician in Patna, he showed us a man who was cycling down and said that we could approach him, he was the younger brother of Pandit Mishra. The man in question was annoyed when we told him why we were looking for Pandit Mishra. "My brother has not met any Indira. The Pandit Dinesh Mishra you are searching lives in Kalamnagar." He then pointed to a building which he said was a Sanskrit College. "You will never find Dinesh Mishra in the way you are going about," he said. He told us that Pandit Dinesh Mishra was the younger brother of the principal of the Sanskrit College and that he was not a well-known man in Barauni. "The people know him as the younger brother of Pandit Diwakar Mishra, the principal," he said. We went to the Sanskrit College and met the frail-looking Pandit Diwakar Mishra and explained to him our mission. He asked a servant to take us to the "real" Pandit Dinesh Mishra. And thus we reached the man.

SOME refreshments were brought for us. Pandit Mishra's eldest son, Harinarayan Mishra, joined us. A freedom fighter, Ramchandra Mishra, who is a disciple of Pandit Mishra, was there too. Pandit Mishra was saying: "Indira loves the nation, therefore, I like Indira. I think I can give a correct assessment of situations. I wanted to meet Indira and advise her regarding the coming events. In this I saw the good of the nation. I do not know from whom Indira heard of me. I am known to Dr Jagannath Mishra and L. P. Shahi (a Congress (I) leader). On the morning of May 18 Shahi's son Hemant came to me with a car and told me that I had to go to Patna. I knew that Indira was coming to Patna airport that day. I immediately got ready and left for Patna. At first we went to Shahi's residence in Rajendra Nagar. From there Shahi took me to the airport. I had told Dr Jagannath Mishra that my meeting with Indira should not be publicised and we should be allowed to meet alone. Indira too wanted to meet me alone. I spent around 20 minutes with her. Please believe me, we never discussed astrology. I told her that dark days were ahead for the nation and unless something was done (by her) the nation would see a situation which

would be worse than the days under the colonial rule. People would have to put the nation before self. I pleaded with her that she should immediately resolve the differences in her Party. She would have to do something similar to what was done by Emperor Ashoka, who had evolved *Dharmavad* to resolve the differences between the warring religious groups in his empire.

"Indiraji told me that she too wanted this (to do something concrete for the nation), but was being obstructed from all sides. She said that she had done many things, some good and some bad, but now there was an attempt to not only run her down, but her father as well. She said that she had always worked

for the good of the nation, and not her family. She sought my blessings for herself and the nation."

Pandit Mishra went on: "Most of our discussion was on politics. She did not discuss anything about her family. I blessed her by reciting a *shloka* from the *Upanishads*, the meaning of which is, 'Whatever you desire would be fulfilled; you have determination, it will bring results. May your enemies be doomed, may your wellwishers thrive' then I told her to intervene in the infighting in the Congress (I) ranks in Bihar. I told her that if she spent two days in Bihar she should be able to stop the infighting. Unless she did so, Bihar was doomed."

During our meeting we learnt that

JOURNEY



26-year-old Hemant Shahi is the younger son of Mr Laliteswar Prasad Shahi. He is talked about in Patna's youth circles. Hemant Shahi brought Pandit Dinesh Mishra from Barauni and accompanied him to Patna airport where Mrs Gandhi spoke to the fortune-teller. This is what Hemant Shahi said:

"On May 18, at 3.30 in the morning I was instructed by my father to go to Barauni by car and return with Pandit Dinesh Mishra. It was imperative that I returned to Patna by 9 a.m. Mrs Gandhi's plane was due to arrive at 9 in the morning. I set off and reached Barauni at about 5 a.m. Panditji was already awake. I told him that Mrs Gandhi was arriving in Patna and she wanted to meet him. I requested him to prepare himself for the journey. After his *pooja*, Panditji and myself left Barauni at 6.10. At 8.15 we reached Patna. On the way I asked him about Mrs Gandhi. He replied that he had written to Mrs Gandhi telling her that she should meet him before contest-

ing any election. From Rajendra Nagar, where we live, Panditji was accompanied to the airport by my father, my elder brother Sharad and myself. He was carrying some flowers. There was a big crowd at the airport. I began to wonder whether it would be possible for me to take Panditji to Mrs Gandhi. I knew that Mr Gandhi had come to Patna to meet Panditji. I took him inside and made him sit on the sofa opposite the ticket counter. Then I began to devise plans to reach Mrs Gandhi to inform her of Panditji's arrival. A little later I saw Mrs Gandhi with Panditji. We entered the V.I.P. lounge along with Jagannathji. Munna Shahi and another person who looked a *chamecha*. Here, Mrs Gandhi said that she wanted to be left alone with Panditji. Panditji also agreed with her. Jagannathji was not able to understand this fully and he said that some of us should go out. On hearing this I had to say that everyone should leave the lounge. Mrs Gandhi repeated that she wanted to be left alone with Panditji. Then, everyone, including Jagannathji, left the lounge. At that moment Raghunath Jha, M.L.C., tried to enter the lounge shouting "Press! Press!" Mrs Gandhi immediately said that she was here to meet Panditji and would meet others later. After this, with the doors and windows shut, their meeting continued.

"On the same day after his meeting with Mrs Gandhi, Panditji met the ex-Speaker of the Bihar Assembly, Harinath Mishra, Small Industries Development Corporation's chief B. N. Singh and B. Prasad of the Fisheries department. Next day, at nine in the morning, Jibu Jha came with Jagannathji's car. Panditji met Jagannathji's son-in-law and gave him his blessings. Panditji returned to our house at 12 noon. In the afternoon he was sent back by Patliputra Express so that he could get down at Mokamah and return to Barauni. After the meeting with Mrs Gandhi Panditji looked very happy."

Pandit Mishra had been close to the late Lalit Narayan Mishra. But despite our best efforts we could not find out the reason for Mrs Gandhi's interest in this unknown man, living in an obscure part of Barauni. Before we left, Pandit Mishra allowed photographer Kishan to snap him in various poses.

But the question remained: Why did the meeting take place?

AFTER leaving Pandit Mishra, we went around the Sokhara locality trying to find someone who could help us in knowing Mrs Gandhi's mysterious caller better. We met an aged gentleman who spoke to us in detail. He desired anonymity, therefore his name is not being mentioned here. He said: "Dinesh Mishra had predicted the defeat of the Congress and Mrs Gandhi in 1977. At that time people like L. P. Shahi had taken him lightly. Mrs Gandhi came to know of this much later. She evinced interest in him since then. He had predicted the defeat of Tarakeshwari Sinha in the recent byelections at Samastipur. He had

told Dr Jagannath Mishra that Mrs Sinha's stars were such that even if she stood for a panchayat election, she would lose. But Dr Mishra was adamant. After Mrs Sinha was defeated, the anti-Jagannath Mishra lobby passed on the word to Mrs Gandhi. This increased her interest in Pandit Dinesh Mishra. She expressed a desire to meet him. Because he had not gone to Delhi in the recent years, he could not meet her. In the past two years Dr Mishra had made many attempts to take him to Delhi. On May 17, around midnight word came from Delhi to L. P. Shahi that Mrs Gandhi was coming to Patna the next day to meet Dinesh Mishra. In fact her belated visit to riot-affected Jamshedpur was only a ploy to pass through Patna and meet him."

Back in Patna, a senior Congress (I) leader told us in confidence that the meeting between Pandit Mishra and Mrs Gandhi was held in connection with the Thanjavur byelection. He said that Pandit Mishra had told Mrs Gandhi that she should contest the poll and if she could overcome the

initial hurdles then she was sure to win. He asserted that Pandit Mishra had not advised Mrs Gandhi against contesting. "Had that been so, we would have known her decision on the Thanjavur byelection on May 18 itself," he said. The senior Congress (I) leader said that the Special Courts also figured in discussions between Mrs Gandhi and Pandit Mishra. Mrs Gandhi reportedly told Pandit Mishra that she feared that there would be an attempt to remove her from the political scene in the Bhutto way. The *shloka* recited by Pandit Mishra while blessing Mrs Gandhi represents the nature of the talks, he said. He also said that Pandit Mishra had promised Mrs Gandhi that he would do some *puja* to ensure that the threats to her were removed.

That evening we overheard a conversation in a restaurant in Patna's Fraser Road. Someone was saying, "Money, women, muscle power, etc., are being used by the politicians today. Even worse, *tantriks* and astrologers too are being used. And Indira is not the only one to use them..."

ENCOUNTER

ARUN RANJAN interviewed Pandit Dinesh Mishra, but did not find him very communicative.

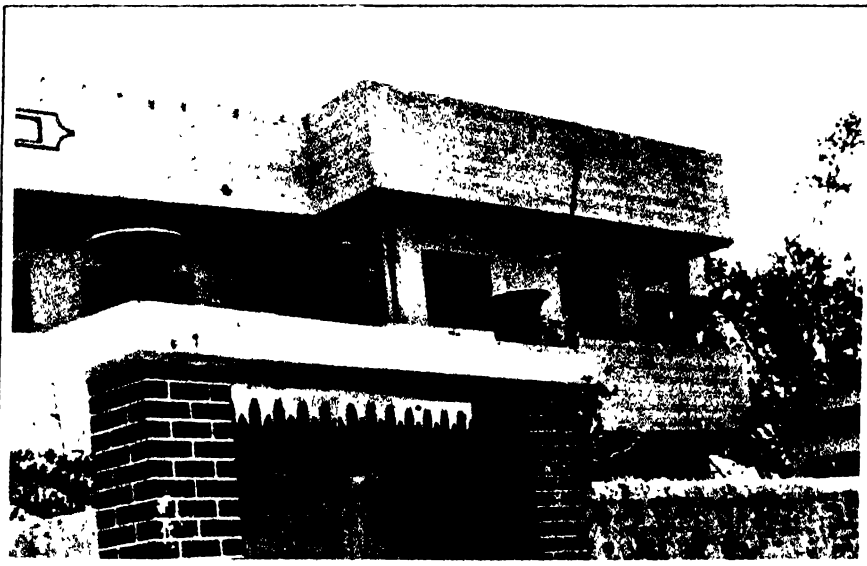
Q: Who are the politicians you know in Patna? How was your meeting with Mrs Gandhi arranged? How did you reach the airport?

A: I know Mr Laliteswar Prasad Shahi, Dr Jagannath Mishra, Mr Harinath Mishra (ex-Speaker of the Bihar Assembly) intimately. I have been giving my blessings to all good men. I would meet Mr Shahi and Mr Mishra whenever I came to Patna. It was through them that the meeting with Indira was arranged. Mr Shahi knew that I wanted to meet Indira and Indira wanted to meet me. This time, he was the first to know that Mrs Gandhi was coming to Patna. Immediately, he sent his younger son Hemant to Barauni. I came to Patna with Hemant. Jagannathji knew about my visit. As soon as he reached Patna he learnt of my arrival. I came to the airport with Mr Shahi.

Q: What did you tell Mrs Gandhi about the Thanjavur byelection? Was Thanjavur the main reason behind the meeting?

A: I asked her whether she was contesting the election. She replied that the matter was yet to be decided. That's about all.

Q: Panditji, I only hope you are not joking. Is Mrs Gandhi the type of person who decides at the eleventh hour? Or perhaps you do not want to answer my question. Some people say that she had come all the way from Delhi to speak to you about the forthcoming elections and her trip to Jamshedpur was only a cover-up,



Palatial house of Pandit Dinesh Mishra

A: I have told you the truth. You are free to make your own interpretations.

Q: In Patna's political circle you are known as a tantric and soothsayer. One hears many true stories about you. Tell me, who are you?

A: I have nothing to do with tantrics or palmistry. I pray and meditate. If I am able to gain a solution through *Gunakshra Nyaya Kidhi*, I communicate the same to my

devotee. By god's will, many of my predictions proved true and obtained the respect of people.

Q: How did you come to know Mr Jagannath Mishra? Is it true that you were also a favourite of Mr L. N. Mishra? How did you meet Mr L. P. Shahi?

A: On February 6, 1969, Mr L. N. Mishra called me to Delhi. Dr Tajmath Mishra was then Bihar's Minister for Agriculture and he



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wanted to see me too. I met him on December 18, 1974. I had met Mr Shahi, an ex-Minister in September 1973. In the same year I was introduced to Mr Harinath Mishra. I do not normally go to meet anyone. If anyone comes to me, I do meet him. I try to help anyone who comes to me to seek solutions for his problems, be it Dr Jagannath Mishra or a common worker.

Q: When do you stay in Bihar? Otherwise where can one find you? Do you have any business interests in Calcutta?

A: I devote my time to studying. During holiday I come to Bihar. In Calcutta, my address is 147, Cotton Street. I am connected to a few Jain and Buddhist Sadhu organisations. I have no other profession besides studying. In Calcutta, I teach students of religion at my house; I don't run any school or institute. I stay in Calcutta with the Rampuria family which is quite affluent. There I met Maharaja of Bikaner, Ganga Singh.

Q: Do you charge any fee for your services?

A: I charge nothing. I am self sufficient: I earn enough money by



Pandit Dinesh Mishra with grandchildren

teaching alone.

Q: Who are the other people you know and what kind of people are they?

A: A few rich intellectuals are known to me intimately. I know many professors of Calcutta University, Dr Pattabhiran Shashtri, Dr Gaurinath Shashtri, Dr Lakshmi Singhvi, Delhi's Lt. Governor, Aditya Nath Jha, Patna's Brahmadrutt Diwedi and a deputy director, Adhyasharam. Among politicians, I know Hariji, Jagannathji, Shahiji, and within the Janata Party, the ex-Minister Thakur Prasadji, etc. Daroga Rai also meets me now and then.

Q: Are you a political sadhu? Why are you interested so much in the Congress Party?

A: I prefer staying far away from politicians, otherwise I would have stayed in Patna and not Barauni. The Congress Party would have made me an MLC whenever I wished. I can gain some place or position for myself even today but I have no such ambition. Can you show me that I have a special interest in the Congress Party? Perhaps, you have come to this conclusion because I have a large following among Congress leaders.

OPINION

L. P. SHAHI, former Congress Minister, is close to Pandit Mishra. ARUN RANJAN spoke to him.

Q: Shahiji, how were you introduced to Pandit Dinesh Mishra? What do you think of him?

A: He was introduced to me in 1963 as a pundit. He is not a professional palmist. He is a Sanskrit scholar. He is attached to some organization in Calcutta where he teaches Sanskrit. He is also interested in devi puja.

Q: Did Panditji ever perform any spiritual rites for your benefit? Did it prove successful?

A: He did not conduct any spiritual rites for me. However, he once told my younger brother that he would meet an accident on the road. He also gave my brother a kind of yantra for protection against such eventuality. My brother did have a very serious car accident. But luckily no one was seriously injured. In between prayers he meditates and while meditating, if someone asks him a question he is sure to get the correct answer. Otherwise, there is possibility that the reply would not be correct. I have never put any questions to him about myself. He visits my family often. He generally tells us a few things whenever he comes.

Q: Panditji knows the tantric art. He can predict the future. Is he an astrologer too?

A: He knows a little about everything, but he is neither a professional tantric nor an astrologer. He be-

Photographs by Krishna Murari Kishan



L. P. Shahi



Harinarain Mishra, Panditji's son

lieves more in mantra and puja. Yes, he predicts the future, and that makes him a fortune-teller.

Q: Is he a political sadhu? Does he know a lot of people in politics?

A: It is not that he knows many people in politics. After Lalit Narain Mishra, he came to know a few politicians. If in Patna he meets other politicians beside Jagannathji, Harinathji and myself, I am not aware of it. He is not in any way a political sadhu. He is not interested in politics. He knows politicians as individuals.

Q: Will you kindly tell me about any of Panditji's miracles related to politics?

A: In October 1974, Dineshji had written to me saying that "Lalit Narain Mishra chauda aane khatm ho gaye" (Lalit Narain Mishra is almost finished). His prediction proved true that very year when Lalit Narain died. Before October too, Dineshji had been informing me in such terms, "Woh char aane khatm ho gaye", "Woh aath aane khatm ho gaye" etc. At that time I did not treat his letters seriously. A few people had seen those letters. Now they are lost.

Q: How did you come to know that Mrs Gandhi wanted to meet Panditji?

A: Someone from Delhi informed me that Mrs Gandhi could meet Panditji at Patna airport. So I sent a car to Barauni and called him over. I took him to the airport. Then I moved away in order to avoid journalists. What transpired between Mrs Gandhi and Panditji is not known to me.

To lead is to know what it means to be last

Autumn. Bimini Coast, the Bahamas.
Fifty-four lobsters had received the signal
from their group leader to move from shallow
reef to deeper off-shore breeding grounds.

They lined up in a single file. Each individual
hooked one pair of front legs around the tail
of the comrade in front. The marchers
would now move faster than a single lobster
ever could...

The group's enemies generally attack the weak
hind quarters. They remember their leader's
clever manoeuvring to elude a hungry octopus
not very long ago... The leader, usually a
veteran, therefore, literally leads from the rear.
To lead is to know what it means to be last!

**Nature abounds in those qualities
we seek in ourselves**

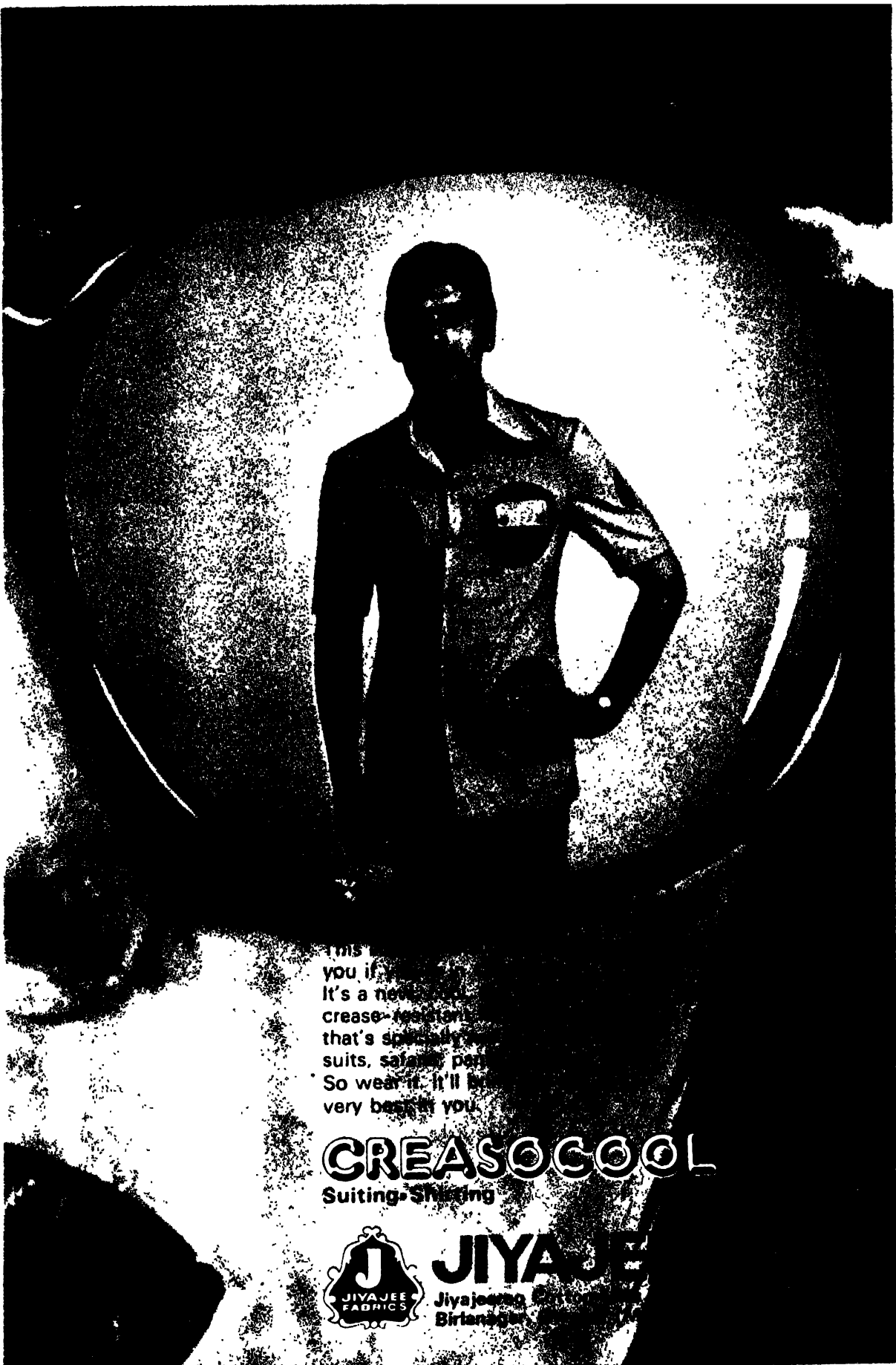


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“WARNED Nehru that this man was the kind of viper who bit people after they were dead,” said Shradha Mata to me a few days ago. The man she referred to was M. O. Mathai. Shradha Mata, now a somewhat corpulent but attractive woman in her mid-sixties was engaged in performing Tantric rites in Delhi’s Nigambodh cremation ground. The air was heavy with fetid odours of burning corpses and wailing of mourners. She reclined on a wooden plank telling the beads of her rosary. I sat on the hard cement floor, beside her sandals. I confessed that I had come for her *darshan* largely out of curiosity to see the person whose name Mathai had linked with that of our late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. She knew what Mathai had written about her in his first book; she was eager to know what he had said in the second. It was not I but she who brought up the subject: “What has he said now?” she asked.

I told her that the very first chapter was devoted to her; the association which was said to have begun in 1948 and ended sometime in the summer of 1949 when she had been delivered of a male child in a Catholic convent in Bangalore. I also told her that Mathai had refuted the version published by the *Deccan Herald* and what had appeared in *India Today*. Mathai had once again affirmed that what he had written was authentic, and that the account published in the *Deccan Herald* and her own assertions were false. On my own I added that a couple of years ago I had received several letters from a gentleman who claimed to be her husband and promising to give me the true facts if I came to visit him in his village. I had not done so. Shradha Mata heard me in silence till I had finished and then made her comment in one sentence in the form of a query: “And are you going to write the same kind of *bakwas* (rubbish) about me?”

I gave her my word of honour that if I wrote anything about her, it would be published only after she had approved of it and that my chief purpose in calling on her was to find out why a young, educated and attractive woman (which she undoubtedly was by accounts given by most men who had met her at the time) should have renounced the world and become a *sannyasin*; what had she got out of it and the Tantric rites she was said to have performed? Had she found God? Could a *naslik* (agnostic) like me hope to get a glimpse of the Reality that she spoke about? Shradha Mata smiled and retorted: “Get rid of this pant and coat, take on a loincloth, join my ashram in Jaipur and maybe after some time I may be able to remove the tiny twig you hold before your



Mathai's Garbage

By KHUSHWANT SINGH

eye which deprives you of the sight of the Sun.”

Despite the Socratic dialogue on matters spiritual that we carried on in the macabre surroundings into the late hours of dusk, the name of M. O. Mathai cropped up again and again. And every time it did I was confirmed in my early view that Mathai had been a time server who had proved to be a *namak haram*—untrue to his master's salt.

I find it hard to find anything kind to say about Mathai. When he was serving under Nehru he was a servile factotum to the Nehru family compensating his sycophancy towards his master's household by arrogance towards the rest of the world. He used Nehru's broad shoulders to rest his gun to shoot down people he did not like. After he was kicked out of the Teen Murti mansion he went into a sulk chewing the cud of bitterness, biding the propitious moment to spit it out. He waited till Nehru died. Then he had to wait another eleven years till Indira Gandhi was out and her persecutors were in power. When

he saw that the Janata Government was more than eager to demolish the memory of Nehru and malign Indira Gandhi, Mathai spat out the bile he had stored within him. Protesting loyalty to Nehru, he painted him as a debauch; and having more than hinted that he enjoyed the confidence of Indira Gandhi, he now describes her as vain, flighty and unreliable.

WHEN Mathai made his entry into Nehru's life, he was an unknown, ugly little man. For years he threw his weight about till Nehru was constrained to get rid of him. Now that he is in his dotage he reveals himself smaller and uglier than ever before. In his earlier reminiscences he had been guilty of betrayal of trust. In the second he has gone further and added penchant for blackmail to betrayal. He tells us that he means to hold back a chapter entitled “She” (which is presumably about Indira Gandhi) and has in addition a film secretly taken of the goings on in the Dwarka Suite of Rashtrapati Bhavan in which she appears. These “startling revelations” he promises to reveal at a later date—and undoubtedly for greater profit to himself. He claims that his motive is not muckraking to make money but to record for posterity what he alone saw at close quarters. He asserts that the “philosophy” which guided him in his earlier publication continues to guide him in the second. The only comment I can make is that when his first book came out, I called him a *namak haram*. After having read the second I am constrained to say that *namak haram* is too mild a euphemism for anyone who indulges in the kind of character assassination that Mathai has made his *forte*. It is after reading his second book that I wished that as General Zia did in Pakistan, someone in India would introduce a code of punishment which provided for public flogging of people who indulge in murder by print.

Like the earlier volume, the present one is a disjointed and jumbled assortment of unconnected events of very little importance. Interspersed with these are Mathai's bilious asides on members of the Nehru family, Indian politicians and civil servants. To wit: Nehru loved animals and flowers; Rajiv and Sanjay loved apples. Nehru did not believe in astrology; Indira always believed in it. Nehru received a lot of letters. Syed Hassain was in love with Vijayalakshmi Pandit; Mrs Pandit spent a few days with him in Cairo. Rajiv always wanted to fly planes; Sanjay thought that a Mr Goel was the same as the cuckoo bird Koel. Mohammed Yunus was a “half-wit”; K. K. Sahni was the only one who knew oil business. Many of our Ambassadors (including Mrs Pandit's son-in-law, Ashok Mehta) were in deep trouble on charges of

MY DAYS WITH NEHRU

M O MATHAI
author of *Reminiscences of the Nehru Age*

corruption; Mathai played a decisive role in getting them out of it. As a matter of fact if Mathai had not been Nehru's aide, Nehru could hardly have functioned as Prime Minister. Mathai concedes very generously "if the truth were to be told, I was as much indebted to Nehru as he was

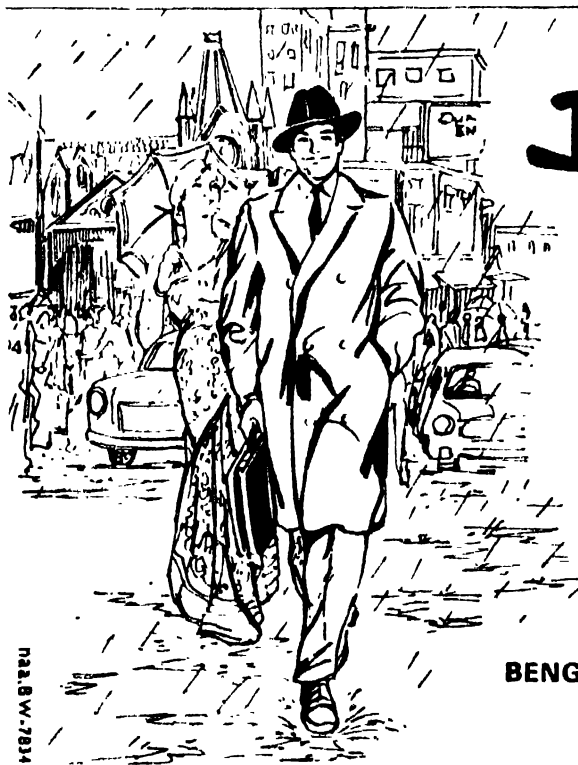
In this book Mathai has gone further and added penchant for blackmail to betrayal. He tells us that he means to hold back a chapter entitled "She" (which is presumably about Indira Gandhi) and has in addition a film secretly taken about goings-on in Dwarka suite of Rashtrapati Bhavan in which she appears. The only comment I can make is that "namak haram" is too mild a euphemism for anyone who indulges in the kind of character assassination Mathai has made his forte. I wish someone would introduce a code of punishment which provided for public flogging of people who indulge in murder by print.

to me". It is like a stenographer claiming equal credit for a literary masterpiece which he or she had taken down in dictation. And no sooner did Mathai leave the PM's house than Nehru became "a bewildered man, ill-advised by incompetent and unimaginative officials". Nehru's post-Mathai years were, according to Mathai, a succession of blunders: the abortive deal with Voice of America, the Kamraj plan (Mathai would have sacked only Kamraj) and the planting of the nuclear device on Nanda Devi. It is a miracle that India has survived another 20 years without Mathai's sage counsel to guide it.

Mathai's style of writing is little better than that of a bumptious high-

school lad whose reading ends with the *Reader's Digest*. He throws in quotations and anecdotes wherever he can in the vain hope that this will pass for learning. He rates himself at par with E. M. Forster, Koestler, Aldous Huxley, V. S. Naipaul, Radhakrishnan and K. M. Panikkar. He assures us that an organisation which prepares candidates for the Indian Foreign and Administrative Service examinations has included his book in the list for compulsory reading. If that is really true then not only Mathai but also members of the board of that organisation need to have their heads examined.

My Days with Nehru; By M. O. Mathai; Vikas: Price Rs 35



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"'V.I.P.' Gliders," we prompted helpfully.

"They're terrific! Don't know about you, but I find waitin for porters sure is a drag."

"Back where I come from," she said, "we make some great stuff. I won't say your 'V.I.P.' is better. It's better than better! It's tough stuff. And that, coming from me is some compliment!"

"You know, I am one of them real American products.

Say luggage, and I see stars. And stripes. And Touristers! My old man ribs me that my favourite colours are red, white and blue."

Noting the colours of her outfit, we couldn't but agree.

"Talking of colours, your 'V.I.P.' shades are real snazzy! Like the Fourth of July!" she said.

"Well," we rejoined, "we have almost all your favourite colours..."

"Hold your horses now. Or you'll be on to ribbing me too," she cautioned good humouredly.

"I just got this swell idea. Any time you wanna do business in Texas, come on over and meet the family."

"But your father is in ranches not in suitcases," we said. And that sounded strange even as we said it. But she didn't notice.

"You know, you gotta point there. But don't you forget there's always dear old Uncle Sam!"

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P.N. SUNDARESAN examines the chances of an Indian victory in the forthcoming series against England

"IN my country they're very generous when you're winning, but when you're down it's the captain who stops most of the bullets." This candid opinion was expressed by India's former captain, Bishen Singh Bedi, to former England cricketer and BBC interviewer Peter Walker long before the "bullets" downed him, after his return from the Pakistan tour last season.

What will be the lot of India's new captain, Srinivasaraghavan Venkataraghavan, who has just flown into England with his team to play in the Prudential Cup limited overs tournament and then face England in a three-Test series? Doing well in cricket now means nothing less than winning matches. The days when a player or a team was applauded for participating in the game in the true spirit, irrespective of winning or losing, are over. Cricket has really become a battle of the matadors, where words have become sharp missiles, as lethal as a speedster's bouncer.

India made an impressive debut in international cricket in 1932 at Lord's and has so far undertaken eight tours of England, but has had only one dazzling triumph in 25 Tests. This great triumph was at the Oval in 1971, thanks to an inspired spell of bowling by leg-spinner B. S. Chandrashekar which earned him a place in the Wisden's five cricketers of the year. That Oval victory, in the last of the three-Test series, also enabled India to clinch the rubber. Coming on top of a similar success in the West Indies earlier in the year, India was then rated by critics as second only to Australia in the world ranking.

From that position India slipped badly on the next tour of England in 1974, when the latter won all three Tests in overwhelming fashion. The 1971 glory receded like a dream, and served only to pinpoint the very bleak record India had in Test matches played in England.

Though Venkat has really to rebuild the Indian team since some of its leading members are over the hill and some others are fresh to international cricket, if he is able to forge them into a fighting unit it will go a long way to make the tour a success. It is here that the captain's touch, drawing out each player to give of his best, proves a vital factor. "I refuse to be beaten by any adverse circumstances or a reversal of fortunes that may push me back in my career. I never take things lying down but try to utilise every small opportunity, even the ghost of a chance, to move forward" says the new skipper.

VENKAT: CAPTAIN OF CAPTAINS



A PART from his skill as an off-spinner—which drew high praise from no less a player than Sir Garfield Sobers—and his brilliance as a fielder, Venkat has triumphed over obstacles throughout his career, and now faces the stiffest challenge. His future in the game now depends on how he acquits himself as India's captain.

A close companion of Venkat's remarked at a function held to felicitate the latter that he knew Venkat "in his early days on the field as an angry young man". This was only too true. Having been closely associated with his career ever since he made his debut in the Ranji Trophy championship I can vouch for the fact that Venkat is a man with a quick temper. This has been an asset to him, helping him to overcome situations which would have floored many other cricketers. But his reactions have also antagonised several people, some of them important personages in the game. Venkat has been accused of being intolerant with youngsters, at times pulling them up for their foibles, but he explained to me that it was only an honest attempt to improve the youngsters' performance and also that of the team. There are no other strings attached to this attitude, he emphasised.

Once again, India will have to depend mostly on the spinners to deliver the goods, with Chandrashekar the key man again. Bedi seems to have lost the capacity to lure the batsman into making errors by virtue of subtle changes in flight and line. Chandrashekar too seems to have lost his uncommon skill to extract bounce off the pitch and beat the batsman with the lift and subtlety of his leg-break. One only hopes that his two-month rest has revitalised Chandrashekar. Of the spinners, only Venkat emerged from the last West Indies series with his reputation intact. But without proper support from the other end, his penetrative ability will be cramped.

Venkat told me that while his strategy for the Prudential Cup would be dictated according to whether India bat first and build up a quick score or bat second and chase a target. On the other hand, his strategy in the Test series and other first class matches will be dictated by situations as they develop. His task on this tour is no easy one, for every move he makes will be analysed microscopically by the selectors. The Damoclean sword hangs perilously over the tousled head of India's third captain in just three Test series.

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Prudential predictions

The West Indies, with ten WSC players in their ranks, are hot favourites for the World Cup, reports ASHIS RAY from London.

AT 8.40 in the evening on June 21 1975, with the West Indies having just emerged as the deserving winners of the inaugural Prudential "World" Cup, the bar talk at Lord's centred around not so much Clive Lloyd's great knock of 102 or the five runouts in the Australian innings, but on: "When will the next one be?"

Well, the next one has duly arrived and cricketing interest throughout the world trains its attention on the fortnight of thrilling contests about to unfold in the Southern half of the British Isles. The reigning champions with as many as ten Packerites in their squad of 14 once again provide a virtually insurmountable hurdle to the hopes of other competitors and it is not unnatural, therefore, that bookmakers here have been hawking them at the rather unfavourable price of 11-8. With Lloyd himself, Richards, Kallicharran, Greenidge and a host of others eminently suited to cavalier batsmanship, no other side can hold a candle to them in this department. Indeed, who can even match their battery of fast bowlers although, admittedly, Malcolm Marshall is not in the same class as say, Roberts, Holding, Daniell or Garner. Finally, contrary to general expectations there is unlikely to be any confrontation between the WSC and non-WSC factions and this was made clear to me by Kallicharran when, in reply to a question on the subject in a BBC programme, he maintained that he considered it an honour to play for the West Indies, irrespective of the captain!

The home side is quoted at 9-4 and this is presumably because of their vast experience with regard to "instant" stuff and also possibly in anticipation of some brilliance that may accrue from Mike Brearley's captaincy. Of course their team is undoubtedly well-balanced and they have the added advantage of playing on known territory. But chinks can be found in their batting armoury and any flamboyance other than finding the gaps for the singles, could be a rarity. Actually, England's primary strength lies in catching and out-fielding and they can inevitably rely on their "quickies" to bowl precisely to a field.

At 3-1 Pakistan are a very good bet. Batting-wise they are distinctly superior to England and their medium pacers are no amateurs. Over and above, their new skipper Asif Iqbal is a shrewd tactician as is evident from his leadership of Kent and if only his boys can put their heads together, they might be the biggest threat to the all-conquering

West Indians. The Pakistanis are in the state the Caribbean giants were, in the Fifties and early Sixties, when despite a wealth of talent, their temperament was by and large a letdown.

Next in the Turf Accountants' rating come Australia and New Zealand jointly at 10-1, followed by India at 50-1. But to my mind all three should have figured in the same bracket. The Aussies, lacking as they do the services of the Packer stars, will not find their feet easily. True, the second stringers did beat England in the one-day series last winter, but that was no more than a flash in the pan. To an extent, the Kiwis are plagued by an identical problem. Turner, who had the highest individual aggregate in

the tournament four years ago still attaches greater importance to turning out for Worcestershire and the indefatigable Collinge has, as everyone knows, hung up his flannels. In contrast, India exudes a degree of maturity in batting and can, at least, bank on a modicum of pace from young Kapil Dev, albeit not as yet in the most economical mould.

A major stumbling block for India is Gavaskar's inherent distaste for the limited overs concept, but if his performance in the Willis Trophy a couple of months ago is any indication, the maestro seems to have adjusted marvellously to its demands. Vishwanath is a "gambler" even in Tests, thus across-the-line pyrotechnics to him is no major compromise. Among the less distinguished wielders of the willow, I daresay that Amarnath, Vengsarkar and Patel will be seen in better light as a result of the flexibility and freedom that emanates from a spread-out field. As for Kapil, a sixty-over bash is veritably his cup of tea, but may I warn that Clark and company were not exactly the toughest test and the university lad must bolster his repertoire of off-side shots if he is to succeed at the highest level. Unfortunately, I have never encountered Surinder Khanna, but if his background is any guide, he is perhaps a Budhi Kunderan in the making.

THERE is reason to be somewhat pessimistic about the bowling. Ghavri was heavily punished in 1975 and although he is today a much-improved exponent and certainly a more intelligent one, his trade remains more in consonance with longer battles. Bedi is now a self-confessed run-giver on pitches other than turning tracks and I suspect this stems more from an awareness of his increasing weariness than the battering meted out by Imran Khan last autumn. But interestingly enough, the best figures of the entire championship four years ago are accredited to none other than the Sikh—12-8-6-1 against East Africa. Venkat may choose to be flatter and faster through the air in order to peg the batsmen to their crease. He may not be the most deserving choice for the captaincy, but then so was Richie Benaud's appointment extremely surprising when he was preferred to Neil Harvey in 1958 and has anyone subsequently questioned the then Australian selectors' wisdom? What is important to concede at the present moment, therefore, is that Venkat is definitely an astute cricketer and more than familiar with playing conditions in England, having spent three seasons with Derbyshire earlier in the decade. And in the ultimate analysis, India's success or failure hinges immeasurably on the Tamil Nadu man's handling of his apparently ill-equipped bowling attack.

G. Karthik



Venkat's real problems will start with the Prudential Cup

A valuable catch



YAJURVINDRA SINGH MAY or may not have been selected as a member of the Indian squad to England solely due to his fielding, but there is very little doubt that his safe hands must have tilted the scales in his favour.

Yajurvindra, 26, is perhaps at the moment our best close-in fielder. Sunny, as he is nicknamed, plays for Maharashtra and made his Test debut against Greig's Englishmen. After that, he was not in the team to Australia and Pakistan. Against the West Indies, last year, he was recalled and was twelfth man for three Tests.

"I am confident that I'll do well on the tour. Besides I have the experience of English playing conditions, having played League Cricket there for a number of years. One of the things that you have to guard against in England, as a batsman, is the movement of the ball off the seam in any delivery", Yajurvindra adds, "You can overcome this by keeping your bat close to your body."

If Venkat, Chandra and Bedi are going to be effective a lot will depend on the close-in fielders, who will have to convert the half chances to catches. "That's a primary requisite," says Yajurvindra. "You have to have good anticipation and quick reflexes in that area. Of course you are expected to take the chances that come your way. There is very little sense taking the half chances and then dropping sitters."

"Standing close to the wicket can be hazardous. Sometimes the batsman hits the ball really hard and God help you if you get hit. To avoid this you must concentrate on every delivery. You must have confidence in the bowler. You should not feel that he will bowl a ball which could be hit in your direction."

A few captains place a fielder close-in knowing fully well that catches won't come his way. This is done primarily to put psychological pressure on the batsman, because most of them do not like a fielder close to them.

H M

NARI CONTRACTOR

"LET me at the very outset honestly say that if I were the captain for the Prudential Trophy my strategy would depend a lot on the opponents in the World Cup. Since I have not seen most of these players in action I can hardly spell out my strategy. I would be a very unhappy captain, considering the talent made available to me. Venkat needs an immense dosage of luck even to put up a reasonable show. There are too many deficiencies in the composition of the team and the ability of certain cricketers to cope with specific aspects of the game is suspect. Some of the members are unfit while a few are not even of international class. The best available talent should have made the trip.

"Going through the list, one finds the touring selection party will have no choice. There just aren't any alternatives at their disposal. A few cricketers are as good, or shall we say as bad, as the others. Among the sixteen a few would be selected automatically. It'll just be a question of which duplicates should be left out. That's why I cannot fathom how such talented cricketers like Sandeep Patil and Surinder Amar-nath were left out. Both of them are tailor-made for one day cricket.

"We will never be a force to reckon with in a limited-overs game because we do not believe in breeding fast bowlers. If you have pacemen in your side there's a double advantage. First they can be utilised in the matches and secondly they could bowl to our batsmen in the nets and give them practice against fast bowling.

Unfortunately we have made very feeble efforts to encourage fast bowlers. We must tackle the problem at the grassroots. There is no follow-up action as boys grow up. Sometimes it gives the feeling that we organise camps for young fast bowlers just as a formality. A player who plays for the country at the under 19 and 22 levels, sometimes does not find a place in the State team. This is absurd—how is the youngster going to bloom if you don't give him the opportunity to develop his bowling?

"Matches are not the place to learn to play a natural game. You have to perfect your game in the nets. The ability of a batsman to cope with fast bowling comes from practice. A brilliant fielder, I agree, must have something natural in him, but there is nothing to prevent a cricketer from practising and hence becoming a safe and an above-average fielder. Running which is an important contributory factor for a side's total in a limited-overs game depends on the physical condition of the players. If they are restraining themselves, the batsmen are merely taking precautions, to ensure that they don't get exhausted. Once you are exhausted concentration lapses.

"This certainly seems to be Brijesh Patel's last chance. He is such a good striker of the ball, a brilliant fielder

The veteran

HARESH MUNWANI spoke to e would do if they were captain quizzed them to find out whether cricket, whether this is Brijesh I have any genu

and yet there's a question mark against his batting talent. Now it's entirely up to him to prove to the people and himself that he can play the 'quick stuff' competently. Again it's the same old story, Brijesh is reluctant to practise against the short rising ball—he must come to



Tarapada Baran



Kapil Dev: is he the only genuine c

ns' opinions

ex-Test stars to find out what they
ing the World Cup side. He also
er we can ever succeed at instant
Patel's last chance, and whether we
ine all-rounders.

terms with himself.

"We are going to the World Cup
with just Kapil and Mohinder as all-
rounders. Venkat is a seventy per
cent all-rounder while Ghavri had
developed as an all-rounder some
time back but has of late slumped
in his performance."



all-rounder we have?

HANUMANT SINGH

"WE have a very good chance of
reaching the semi-finals. And
without being optimistic I think we
can overcome New Zealand. In the
past, apart from the Bombay cricke-
ters, the other players were not
conscious of the demands of a limi-
ted overs game. But now this type
of cricket is being played all over
the country and in addition we have
the Deodhar and the Willis Trophy.
Hence one would imagine our boys
are better equipped today than they
were for the 1975 Prudential Cup.

"By now even our spinners must
have realized what kind of a line
and length they must bowl and how
the field should be placed. Against
the West Indies we have very little
hope. Their batsmen are mighty hit-
ters.

"Against New Zealand we'll have
to play according to a plan. I don't
think Glen Turner would be much
of a problem as he is very slow in
accumulating runs. I think they'll
try and play safe in the early part
of the innings. Their strategy will
be to preserve their wickets and
have a go towards the end. If at
this stage we can grab a few quick
wickets they will be finished. For a
reasonable chance of success I
would think our main players should
get more exposure: for example
Vishwanath could open the innings.
The longer Vishwanath is at the
crease the easier it will be
for him to get runs. If he comes in
at No 4 position and 30 overs have
been bowled he has no option but
to go for his runs. But if he opens
he has time to get into his stride
and he is capable of improvising his
game to suit the occasion. Of course
if the ball is moving in a particular
match he should bat at his customary
position of No 4.

"The very name instant cricket
tells you that can't entirely have a
pre-planned strategy. Anything can
happen at any time. It's instant,
remember. You have got to be flexi-
ble in your thinking. You have got
to be prepared to accept anything.
If we want to succeed at instant
cricket first of all we'll have to be
very careful about our bowling re-
sources. Having two or three spin-
ners on your ranks is a luxury. After
all I would think it's more difficult
to hit a fast bowler than a spin
bowler but it is a problem for us to
produce fast bowlers because as a
nation we have smaller frames and
physiques.

"If Brijesh doesn't make it good
on this tour it will be goodbye for
him. He's quick in the field and a
talented bat but he has problems
when facing pacemen. He seems to
freeze when playing them—he must
learn to be calm and cool in tempa-
rament. Talking of all-rounders, be-
sides Kapil, I would think Mohinder
Amarnath and Karsan Ghavri will
have a lot to do."

Continued on page 34

Weighty problems



"WHEN they came they were
a surprisingly unfit lot.
Most of them had put on weight
and moved sluggishly. But now,
although they are not totally fit,
there is a marked improvement
in their physical condition."

This is how Mr. D. K. Tandon,
chief gymnastic coach, National
Institute of Sports, Patiala,
described the condition of the
15 Indian Test players who un-
derwent a rigorous, 10-day con-
ditioning camp in Bangalore.

Tandon said he designed
exercises that would make the
players agile and flexible. He did
not place any emphasis on ex-
ercises involving weight lifting or
excessive running. After the
first day's workout the players
complained of stiff joints but
everyone recovered within the
next three days. The players were
on the field by 7 am every day
and exercised for an hour and a
half. The second session, from 3
pm, consisted of fielding practice
followed by practice at the nets.
To avoid monotony the exercises
were changed every day.

Cries of "mar gaya" and
groans were heard while the
players performed these exercises.
Chandrashekar jokingly said
they would be able to perform
better if they had a beer and the
other players smacked their lips
at the thought. On one occasion
Bedi was applauded for doing his
exercises perfectly. Coach Tandon
said most of the senior players
set a good example to the
youngsters by taking a keen
interest in their exercises.

Young Roger Binny of Karna-
taka impressed Tandon most and
emerged his "best student" said
Tandon. "Roger displayed out-
standing sportsmanlike abilities
and never said 'no' to any ex-
ercise he was asked to do." Shivalal Yadav was another bright
boy. Bombay's Dilip Vengsarkar
was shirker No.1. "I had to keep
my eyes always on him. The
moment I turned my attention
away from him he would slacken."

RAJ CHENGAPPA

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MANSUR ALI KHAN PATAUDI

"AS a captain one would imagine that strategy in the Prudential Cup would at all times be limited due to the inherent weakness of the side. To expect that we can beat a side like the West Indies is wishful thinking, as the West Indies are exceptionally strong in every department. As far as India is concerned, taking care of New Zealand seems paramount, for a win against the Kiwis would ensure a place for us in the semi-finals. Any further progress is not really expected, but if it does take place, I for one would consider it a very happy miracle.

"Other things being equal, in a limited overs game an important principle is to avoid losing early wickets even at the expense of the run-rate, so that eventually the pressure can be put on the bowling side in the middle and latter stages of the game. We must take the utmost precautions to ensure that our bowlers must at all times bowl to their field, especially considering the fact that most international batsmen will not be impressed by India's fast bowlers.

"I would prefer to drop Bedi from the squad for the World Cup because that would boil down to two spinners having to bowl nearly half the number of allocated overs. That is too much of a luxury and besides Bedi is neither an asset with the bat nor in the field. Further, since two players have to be dropped I would play Surinder Khanna as the keeper, because he'll be standing back and he is a more useful batsman. Yashpal Sharma, because he is the least experienced, will be the third discard.

"This kind of a limited overs game has yet to be taken seriously. For instance, the Deodhar Trophy, played as it is now, makes the competition a formality. Few take it seriously, but there is a likelihood, judging by the Wills Trophy, that this type of cricket may well catch on in future.

"In the last few years many of our cricketers have been in and out of the national team but Brijesh Patel is the only one who has not consolidated his position. With the expected compromise between the establishment and Packer, other international sides are going to be backed in full strength. The world is going to be full of fast bowlers the type of bowlers whom Brijesh finds it difficult to cope with and till he comes to face quicker stuff his position in the team will always be uncertain.

"As far as all-rounders for the Prudential Cup are concerned, the selection committee feels that half the members of the team are all-rounders. The only genuine all-rounder in the team at present is Kapil Dev, but players like Mohinder Amarnath and Karsan Ghavri will obviously be expected to do the job of an all-rounder. One hopes they do it well."

DILIP SARDESAI

"IF I WERE CAPTAIN I WOULD first tell my boys that it is suicidal to sacrifice runs for wickets—at least at the start of the innings. I would tell them to try and retain as many wickets as possible for the first 40 overs. For the last 20 overs it is important to get as many runs as possible. The batsmen must run every available single, because in this class of cricket you can't possibly hope to hit many boundaries. You have to rely on placing the ball, on converting singles into two's and three's and so on. The bowlers must bowl one line of attack.

"Fortunately we are placed in the weaker section of the draw for the Prudential Cup. Whether we qualify for the semi-finals will depend a lot on our match against New Zealand. Personally I feel New Zealand has a slight edge over us, because their players are professionals who have played a lot of one-day cricket. Some of them have considerable experience with regard to English conditions. They beat us in 1975, when the first Prudential Cup was held, remember? The way I look at it now, I would leave out Yashpal, Bedi and Reddy from the squad that plays in the Prudential Cup."

"I don't think we can ever succeed at instant cricket. India just doesn't seem to possess the essential ingredients. We do not have great stroke players who can score against tight, medium-pace bowling. Among our ranks we lack bowlers who can keep runs down. We have no pacers to bowl a steady line and length. Our fielding at best can be termed average. For instant cricket you need a top class fielding combination. Our batsmen don't believe on stealing singles. This act involves risks as a man could be run out, and God help him if he fails to score in the process—with the kind of selectors we have, the batsman may lose his place in the Test side. Hence you can hardly blame the batsmen for displaying a tendency to play safe.

"This certainly seems to be Brijesh Patel's last chance to resurrect himself. What a pity, because he is such a great striker of the ball, particularly against spinners. But he has to prove himself against faster bowlers. He must deploy the right mental technique. When pacemen are operating against him he just stands where he is, immobile, and plays from there as if he is glued to the ground. If the ball comes up he flinches. He must come in line with the delivery if he wishes to succeed. He has all the talent to raise the quality of his game, and he has the requisites of a great player. Moreover he's a plus factor because of his fielding."

"For the Prudential Cup, a lot is going to depend on the performances of our all-rounders Kapil and Mohinder. To a certain extent Ghavri could also be called an all-rounder."

Cricket's poor relations

THE people for whom the International Cricket Conference Trophy posed the largest problem were the umpires, who had to learn the equivalents in five languages of "Out", "Not out" and other assorted phrases.

There were teams from Bangladesh, Bermuda, Canada, East Africa, Israel, Malaysia, Papua-New Guinea, Argentina, Denmark, Fiji, Holland, Singapore, Sri Lanka and the United States. These 200-odd players drawn from various races and creeds stayed in two hotels in Birmingham, which were promptly turned into slightly refined versions of the Biblical Tower of Babel.

One particular cartoon in an English newspaper showed a dusky batsman from Bangladesh, behind whom there was a basket with three rearing cobras instead of wickets. But the Bangladeshis have not had much time for cricket in the last decade, what with a war in 1971, followed by floods and famine.

The players from Bermuda, despite spectator fears that they would turn out in shorts, played in immaculate flannels, to the disappointment of their opponents. Cricketers from Bermuda have the advantage of playing Test sides that tour the West Indies, but baseball and American football rate high on the popularity ranking in the colony, so matches often have a sprinkling of rules from all three games.

Israel, whose raid on Entebbe was not a tour of East Africa, seem to have a head start on all other cricket-playing countries. Israelis with a sense of humour point out, by way of proof, a reference in the Bible to Moses, who "came out with a full pitcher".

East Africa competed in the World Cup proper in 1975 but were steam-rolled in all three of their matches, once by 10 wickets and the other two occasions by nearly 200 runs. This year's team is dominated by Kenyans (nine out of 14) and almost all the players bowl medium pace. They have a score to settle with New Zealand captain Glen Turner, who belted their bowling for 171 not out in 60 overs four years ago.

Malaysia and Singapore, which separated from each other in 1965, have both fielded teams for the tournament although there is one strong line of thought that suggests both countries reunite for future World Cups.



Janata breaks another promise

The Prasar Bharati Bill on the "autonomy" of AIR and Doordarshan is a hoax. The major media of the country have not been released from the Government's clutches says A G NOORANI, who was a member of the Verghese Committee appointed by the Janata Government to examine the question of autonomy.

THE Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Bill, 1979 is a cynical breach of a solemn electoral pledge by the Janata Party Government. The Party's electoral manifesto contained this explicit commitment: "To generate fearlessness and to revive democracy, the Janata Party will... (16) Ensure that All India Radio, Doordarshan and the Films Division are converted into genuinely autonomous bodies that are politically objective and free from governmental interference."

Can a Corporation whose Chairman is appointed by the Government after consultation with two political functionaries (the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha), its other members without even this meaningless ritual, with two Secretaries of Union Ministries thrown in as members for good measure, whose Chief Executive, the Director-General, is also a Government appointee and who is bound to act on directions which the Government may issue "from time to time" be considered by any fair-minded person as a body "free from governmental interference" or "genuinely autonomous"? One would think not, especially when one recalls the wise warning administered by the Prime Minister, Mr Morarji Desai. Addressing the annual session of the AINEC, on December 26, 1977, he said, "The moment you depend on Government support either through advertisements or other things you are giving an instrument to Government to influence you which is worse than frightening you, in my mind."

In the last days of 1977 enough of the March euphoria survived for the Prime Minister to acknowledge in public that, given the opportunity to influence the media, Governments will grasp the "instrument" and use it. The Prasar Bharati Bill provides the Government a variety of such instruments of influence and control. It sanctions "governmental interference" instead of providing safeguards against it. The Minister for Informa-

tion and Broadcasting, Mr L. K. Advani, told the Madras Reporters' Guild, on May 20, that autonomy was necessary because AIR touched an all-time low in performance during 1975-76. One wishes he had cared to explain how his Bill would prevent misuse of the media by a Government determined to do so. There is nothing in it which Mrs Indira Gandhi or Mr V. C. Shukla would have found insurmountable or even inconvenient for the execution of their designs.

After the Second World War, West Germany built a broadcasting system which is, as Lord Annan put it, "inspired by the determination that never again shall a Dr Goebbels control the broadcasting system of the country." Indeed, he added, "a West German might consider that the powers which the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary in Britain have over the broadcasting organisations are excessive. But, by political convention, many of these powers are never used." The Indian tradition is the direct opposite. It is not one of restraint but excess; hence, the need for safeguards. The Germans learnt from experience. We refuse to do so.

That the Bill represents a total departure and indeed, a perversion of the Verghese Report is patent. Not surprisingly, not a single spokesman of the Government has bothered to explain why the Report is not being followed. None of the spokesmen was even candid enough to declare that the Report was being rejected by the concerned ministry.

The Government of India has rejected the very conception of *Akash Bharati*, described in the Report, the very vision of an autonomous independent National Broadcast Trust as "the trustee of the national interest for radio and television" which is mandated by law to "uphold the collective right of the Indian people to freedom of speech, expression and communication through the broadcast media." If need be, this right was to be exercised by the Trust against the Government of the day. Hence,

the Trust was to be a corporate citizen of India entitled to the fundamental right of freedom of speech which, under the Constitution, is available to citizens alone (Art. 19). The rest of the Report logically followed from this. All the members of the Corporation, (the Trustees) were "the guardians of the Charter" given to the Trust by law and were appointed by a special procedure, namely, by the President (i.e. by the Government) from out of a list of names prepared by a nominating panel consisting of the Chief Justice of India, the Lok Pal and the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission.

The Trustees had only the ultimate responsibility for supervision and control. Their task was to uphold the independence of the Trust. The executive functions were vested in a Central Executive Board headed by the Controller-General appointed by the Trustees—not by the Government. The rival claims of autonomy and of accountability to Parliament were reconciled by requiring the Trust to report to Parliament annually. Come to think of it, this is precisely what Mr Desai's Congress (O) pledged to the people in the 1971 election. AIR and TV "should cease to be a department of the Government and become an independent corporation answerable, for its broad policies, only to Parliament." The omission of any role for the Government was deliberate and significant.

Mr Advani's ideas are basically different. He told the Rajya Sabha on May 22 that under this Bill the Government was accountable to Parliament to ensure that the Charter was adhered to. Not the independent Trustees as recommended in the Verghese Report. Since the Charter is necessarily worded in fairly general and wide terms, the scope for Governmental interference, on the pretext of securing its observance, is immense. The draft Bill appended to the Verghese Report embodied the Charter (Cl. 5). Two of its clauses required the Trust to "uphold the fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression guaranteed under Article 19(1) (a) of the Constitution" and to "uphold the impartiality, integrity and autonomy of broadcasting in the country." These clauses are deliberately omitted from the Charter embodied in the Bill (Cl. 12). This is fully in keeping with the outlook reflected in the Bill. The Chairman of the Corporation will be appointed by the President (read: Government) "after consultation" with the Lok Sabha Speaker and the Rajya Sabha Chairman, both political appointees. The other members of the Corporation will be appointed by the President straightaway. The Secretaries of the Finance and I & B Ministries will be *ex-officio* members. Curiously, the Director-General will also be a member of the Corporation.

He will be appointed by the President after consultation with the Chairman.

The Government's grip on the organisation will surely be firm and unshakable. Even the chief executive, the Director-General, will be its nominee, not the Corporation's. The Director-General of the BBC is appointed by the Board of Governors, not by the Government. "This reflects the Board's independence of political control. It also emphasises the Board's final responsibility for the executive control over the day-to-day administration of the Corporation's affairs," remarked Lord Normanbrook, Chairman of the BBC's Board of Governors. Have a Government appointee as D-G and you achieve the directly opposite result—State control.

Nothing illustrates the departure from the Verghese Report more tellingly than the provision for Government directives. The Report said "There are very many forms of broadcasting corporations in the world. Some are seemingly independent but their organic statutes render them open to governmental interference in many ways. A certain broadcast statute has this provision: 'In the exercise of its functions and powers under this Act, the Corporation shall comply with the general policy of the Government with respect to broadcasting and shall comply with any general or special directions given by the Minister pursuant to the policy of the Government in relation thereto.'" This was a reference to section 5 of the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation Act, 1966. The Report proceeded to point out: "Thus, no matter how carefully contrived the administrative set-up of the Corporation may be, a single statutory amendment on the lines of this section whether passed by a simple majority vote of both Houses of Parliament or enacted by an Ordinance, can completely destroy its autonomy and independence. It is of the highest importance therefore that the autonomy of the corporation and its independence from Governmental control should be entrenched in the Constitution itself and the idea of a trust woven into it. The underlying concept should be distinguished completely from that of other public corporations in the country."

What the Verghese Report cited as a perversion of autonomy to be guarded against is emulated in the Bill as a fine example to be followed. Clause 23 of the Bill reads: "The Central Government may, from time to time, issue to the Corporation such directions as it may think necessary for the efficient administration of this Act, and a copy thereof shall be laid before each House of Parliament." Note that this clause, unlike the Sri Lanka law, is not restricted to "general policy", bad enough as even that is. It is a singularly retrograde measure. Modern opinion regards autonomy of broadcasting to be as essential as freedom of the Press. The Declaration on Mass Media adopted by the Council of Europe puts the two on a par.

The Verghese Report sounded "a

caveat against copying blindly as a model any of the broadcasting organisations of the democratic countries. Autonomous broadcasting corporations have grown in those countries over a long period and in an environment in which autonomy has come increasingly to be respected. In India, in contrast, an autonomous institution is sought to be created against the background of the erosion of autonomous institutions and the credibility of radio and television. The Charter of the BBC and the broadcasting statutes of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Ireland confer considerable powers on the Ministers on the understanding that they will be very sparingly used as, indeed, they have been. Thus the Licence and Agreement of the BBC and Section 22(3) of the Independent

The Bill does not even provide the safeguard of broadcast of the direction by the Corporation. Nor is any time limit provided for laying a copy of the direction before Parliament though it is so provided in respect of rules to be laid before Parliament.

In the same illiberal spirit, the decisions of the Complaints Board will be known only to the Corporation and the complainant as if it was a private affair between the two. The Verghese Report required the Board to "make and publish its adjudication promptly." It is fatal for Government spokesmen to play with words to confuse public opinion. Hints that the Verghese Report recommended an "independent" structure, not merely an "autonomous" one, are disingenuous. Autonomy and external control are a contradiction in terms. The



L. K. Advani inaugurating AIR's golden jubilee celebrations

Broadcasting Authority Act, 1973 (UK) or Section 77 of the Australian Act or Section 31 of the Irish statute enable the Minister, in effect, to require the Corporation to refrain at any specified time or at all times from sending any matter or any class of matter specified in the notice. The Corporation's sole remedy is to make public the receipt of such notice and thus to alert public opinion. Such power of veto is incompatible with autonomy and would be completely inappropriate in our situation. A restricted power, however, can legitimately be given to the Government to require the Trust to refrain from broadcasting any matter which has a clear relation to national security, the preservation of public order and other matters of grave public importance."

Verghese Report suggested certain reserve powers for the Government. The Bill gives it a controlling power. At any rate the terms of reference of the Verghese Committee are explicit: "(a) To examine the functional, financial and legal aspects of the proposal to give full autonomy to Akashvani and Doordarshan, consistent with accountability to Parliament, keeping in mind the different forms of autonomous organisations existing in other democratic countries in the matters of broadcasting; (b) To suggest the form and the structure of the autonomous organisation(s) and their relationship with Government." This implied a clear acceptance by the Government, in principle, of "full autonomy" for AIR and Doordarshan. The *Prasar Bharati* Bill violates this principle blatantly. ■



SPLENDID! WELL DONE!
COME INTO MY TENT
AND WE'LL GET DOWN
TO BUSINESS. MENHIRS
ARE GOING UP AGAIN.



BUT I
HAVE TO
UNLOAD MY
MENHIRS...



NO, NO! THAT'S NO
JOB FOR A CAPTAIN
OF INDUSTRY.

UNLOAD THE
MENHIRS, YOU
LOT!



UNLOAD
HEAP BIG
MENHIRS! YOU
SAVVY?



JOIN UP, THEM
SAY! IT HEAP BIG
MAN'S LIFE,
THEM SAY...



SOON
AFTERWARDS...



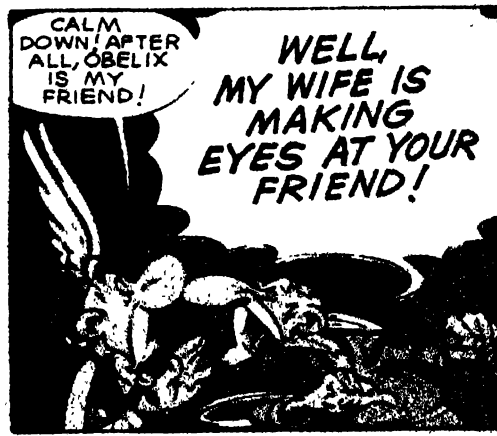
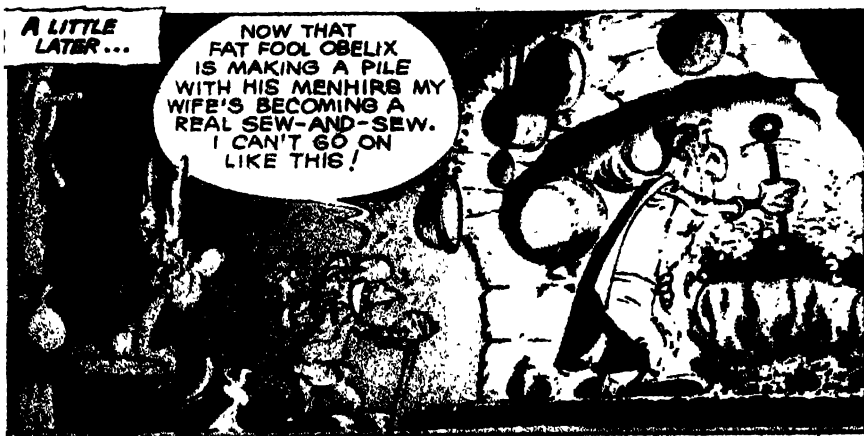
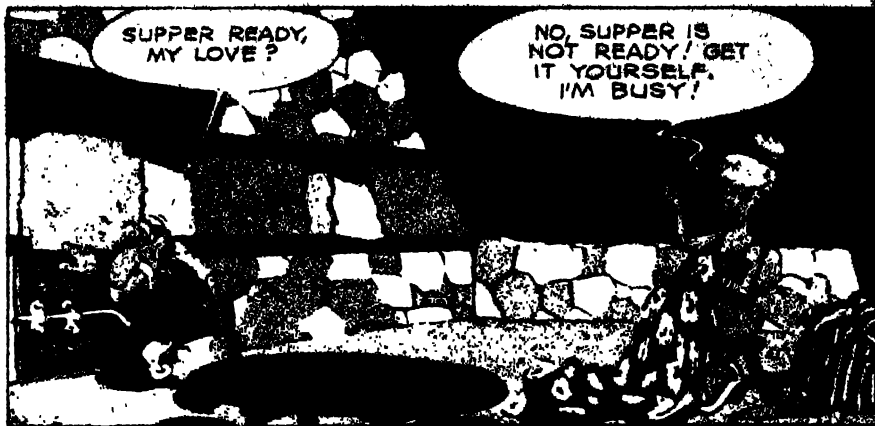
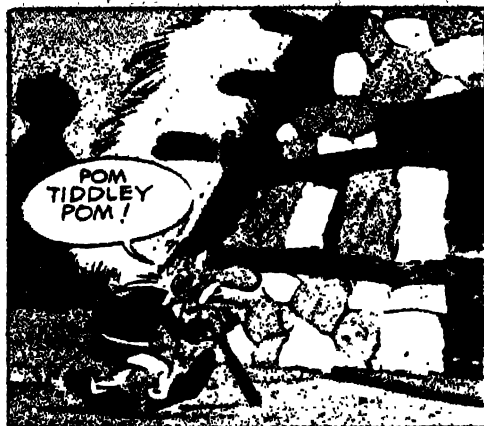
I JUST WANTED TO
CONGRATULATE YOU ON
BECOMING THE MOST
INFLUENTIAL MAN IN
THE VILLAGE.



BY THE WAY... YOU
COULDN'T DO SOMETHING
FOR ME, COULD YOU?

OF
COURSE!





The Indian Express: getting derailed?

The *Express* train, driven by the mercurial and highly unpredictable Ramnath Goenka, seems to be changing guards constantly. Only a couple of weeks ago, the Press highlighted stories of a new team of geniuses led by Arun Shourie, R. V. Pandit and N. J. Nanporia who would change the face of Indian journalism by revolutionary innovations in the country's largest newspaper chain. Some of the bright new faces were without proper designations, but they seemed powerful enough, if throwing around borrowed weight was any indication. There was an RSS angle too—R. V. Pandit is an RSS and Nanaji Deshmukh devotee. Now, it seems, all is upset again: Pandit is out. Has the traditional guard defeated the upstarts?

OLGA TELLIS reports



R. N. Goenka

HE came in like the west wind, flaunting an invisible RSS banner, the inevitable tag for being closely associated with Nanaji Deshmukh, a fact he never ceases to proclaim. He had promised to make the Bombay *Indian Express* the number one paper in 100 days, displacing the 'Old Lady at Bori Bunder', but in less than 90 days the circulation reportedly dropped by 15,000 after an initial rise.

And so on May 24, the erratic patriarch at Express Towers, Mr R. N. Goenka, called a meeting of the top notchers of the editorial department and announced that Mr N. J. Nanporia would be in charge of the Bombay edition of the *Indian Express* and the *Sunday Standard*. A terse note to that effect was circulated to the staff for their information. Mr R. V. Pandit was told that he could discuss editorial matters with Mr Nanporia but the latter was free to accept or reject his suggestions.

Thus ended the controversial editorial relationship between two ambitiously dynamic men, R. N. Goenka and R. V. Pandit. The ruthless, go-getting newspaper tycoon, R. N. Goenka, 77, impatient of being the number two paper for 45 years in the city decided to give it a try at getting to the top. He had tried it before in the 'fifties when he brought in two very young Englishmen, Rushworth and Jones on

fabulous salaries to give the paper a facelift. Their contract was said to be for five years but in less than a year they were out and the only changes made were in the furniture arrangements of the office which was then on the Sasson Dock waterfront. Then came Mr D. R. Mankekar and Mr Binod Rao with even less success as resident editors.

Pandit fired the imagination of Mr Goenka with his drive, his wealth and his background in the publishing business. As Pandit puts it: "It all happened when the *Indian Express* headlined the fact that seven Union Ministers had threatened to resign. I was in Delhi sitting with George Fernandes till 1.30 in the morning and there was no talk of his resigning. Yet his name was included among the seven. I told this to RNG. I said that Indian newspapers are preoccupied with politics and people are not interested in the dirty politics of either Raj Narain or the RSS. They are interested in what affects their day to day lives like prices, water, garbage etc. I told him that I could prove his circulation would go up if news related to people."

And so Pandit was in and the cherubic-faced S. Krishnamurthy, 57, news editor and for all practical purposes acting editor was not even told about it. When Pandit started

ordering Krishnamurthy's "boys" around he resented it. SKM, as he is affectionately called, folded up and went off to Europe. Pandit also brought in Mr Nanporia and a reporter for investigative reporting on close to Rs 2,000 per month. This irked the reporting staff whose salaries barely cross Rs 1,000. "What can I do about this?" said Pandit. "Indian journalists are very poorly paid. I pay my private secretary Rs 2,000 per month. My domestic servants get Rs 500 per month. But then what does the Indian journalist produce besides saying Raj Narain said this and that? I came into the *Express* to change this. I came to give and not to take. I don't need money. In Hong Kong I had a personal income of US \$125,000 and I pay a personal income tax today of Rs. 2 lakhs per annum."

Pandit flaunted his wealth, according to the staff, when he told them, "I am not accepting a pie from RNG. I am helping him because he's a friend of Nanaji and Jayaprakash. I have the highest regard and admiration for him. He showed guts during the Emergency. My emotional attachment to Goenka is as a newspaperman." Pandit claimed to have helped Goenka buy the Rs. 2.5 crore imported offset machine from France and this landed him in trouble with

the Union Finance Ministry which was eventually sorted out with Pandit's high connections.

The staff insist that Pandit told them that RSS stories would be lead stories and Nanaji's speeches would be given in detail. And it turned out just so. Nanaji's photograph of JP was blown up for the front page story and a large-size advertisement carrying Nanaji Deshmukh's appeal for help in his projects was put free of cost in all *Express* editions. Each insertion costs more than Rs 10,000. Pandit snavely denies his RSS connections. "I am a Roman Catholic and a practising one at that. I never miss my Sunday mass, no matter in which part of the world I am. I do not belong to the RSS or any political Party. All politicians are charlatans. I admire the RSS for their patriotism and hard work. I help them in particular programmes like the Gondia project. I will work with the evil if there is work to be one. But I do not agree with their attitudes and I tell them that they have a frog-in-the-well mentality which will have to change."

"People are against change and that is why there is resentment against me," claims Pandit. "Indian journalists pick up the crumbs they are given. Journalists who worked under me in Hong Kong would never accept a free trip. I myself have never accepted a free ticket on Air India though I have flown between Japan and Hong Kong almost twice a week in pursuit of my publishing and restaurant interests. What standards can you expect if you accept things from people? Why should the Press Club of Bombay, for instance, take a donation of Rs 10,000 from the Chief Minister of Punjab? So my interest in *Indian Express* was to change the trend from politics to civic issues. A newspaper should be judged by the enemies it makes in Government. How can you accept crumbs from people whom you have to keep under surveillance? Why should journalists get special facilities like plots of land in Delhi?"

"Civic action like the one I started makes people accountable and helps the circulation of the paper. I proved it. The circulation of the *Express* went up when we began our experiment on April 16. On April 19 we headlined the news of the coming water crisis and the circulation on April 19, 20 and 21 was 124,058, 124,061 and 124,056, respectively. As against this I was out of Bombay and there were no special stories on May 9, 10 and 11 and the circulation was down to 121,566, 120,926 and 120,707, respectively. This is a clear indication of what the people want. The Government after this sent me their proposed water scheme and several people asked me to take up more such issues. The *Express* was up by about 7,000 copies in two weeks at a time when newspapers lost circulation by about 10,000 due to the summer exodus."

The staff, however, was not impressed. Said one member, "The April dates were the ones that

coincided with the glow at The Times of India and a period when it was not sending its mofussil editions." In May they say from the 18th onwards, despite the so called investigative stories circulation was down to 119,829 and came as low as 119,324 which was lower than the January-February circulations of 123,000.

KRISHNAMURTHY is the least impressed of all. "We carried on several campaigns. We were the first to expose that jaundice was on the rampage, we took up immigration problems and ran a series on this. We did it with dignity. With Pandit it was because he didn't get water in his building that he did the water story. The garbage was piling around his 'Samundra Mahal' so he ran a campaign against garbage. I never speak of high principles. I am a servile, obedient person who does my proprietor's bidding—my proprietor is my reader," says Krishnamurthy downing a cold beer on a hot afternoon. "What is the use of printing airline timetables when planes don't leave on time, or telephone numbers of airline offices when phones don't work half the time. You would be doing more service to the reader printing the going rates at Foras Road."

Krishnamurthy ruefully says, "Pandit claims Goenka didn't have money to pay the staff their salary and he brought the money. He talked as if Goenka was in a sorry mess. I feel hurt when someone talks of Goenka in this way. This same Goenka who with all the pressures on him during the Emergency kept the staff going, he begged and borrowed but somehow he kept it going. When someone says this about the man I worship I get angry." Krishnamurthy feels the paper is going the RSS way. "Perhaps," he says, "Goenka is disillusioned with the Janata Party and Morarji Desai." In fact he has written them off when he talks appreciatively of the fact that only the Jana Sangh could enrol 42 per cent of members for the Janata Party as against less than 10-12 per cent of members by the erstwhile Congress (O) and BLD group. So Goenka is probably trying to throw in his lot with the Jana Sangh/RSS combine. The only ism I believe in is journalism and I am a communicator first and last." Krishnamurthy, who literally fathered the Bangalore, Hyderabad, Chandigarh and Cochin editions in his 30-year career with *Indian Express* is puzzled about the recent goings on at the office. "The *Indian Express* today is rudderless. It's a great organisation but RNG didn't believe in a second line of defence. I knew the whole thing would collapse so I left for Europe. Now Nanporia has been brought in. May be RNG who always wanted his newspaper to be number one did all this in a moment of weakness. I want the *Express* to be a great paper."

A bright young, successful publisher agrees that Pandit was not the

best choice "to get *Indian Express* to the top." Pandit may have been the best known Indian in Hong Kong, but his publishing ventures are nothing to rave about. In fact *Asia Magazine* suffered perceptibly when Pandit took over after the founder, Adrian Zaker, quit following a quarrel with the magazine's major partner *The Straits Times*. His only genuine success was *Industrial Products Finder*. The primary role of a publisher is conceiving a new publication and in this he was a modest success, but none of his other publications like *Imprint* show any evidence of editorial vision or remarkable visions."

So RNG's problem remains as large as life. How to be number one? There seems little chance. To quote the young publisher, "The inherent weakness of *Indian Express* is that, in the four regions of India it is the *Times* that dominates the western region, *Hindustan Times* the northern region, *Statesman* and *Ananda Bazar* the eastern region and the *Hindu* the southern region. In the ultimate analysis the *Indian Express* is irrelevant to India. The other major defect is organisational. It remains the most remarkable training ground of Indian journalists. People in *Indian Express* are hard-working and disciplined. Consequently journalists who come out from the *Express* get easily absorbed in other newspaper organisations. In effect, it is the department of journalism for the country's newspaper industry. Its major organisational defect is its inability to retain the talent it so successfully creates."

Few politicians, and more so the ruling Party's bigwigs, would dismiss the *Indian Express* as an irrelevance. Printed from ten centres in different languages, it's the only paper that has a national readership. You cover *Indian Express* and you cover the country, as one politician said. And so *Indian Express* remains an attractive vehicle for ambitious politicians and ambitious political Parties. Mrs Gandhi, it is well known, wanted to take over *Indian Express* by any means. Today all the constituent Parties of the Janata are vying for Goenka's support. A lot of credit was given to him for the Janata's March 1977 victory. Each Party wants its own media, hence the importance of *Indian Express*.

For Pandit with his blase philosophy of "Yesterday is mine, today is mine and tomorrow is also mine. I don't care about day after tomorrow," the exit from *Indian Express* is just another job, but to Goenka this failure is another reminder of the number two position. Which begs the question, "Don't you think my paper should be number one? I started it all by myself with no godfathers or grandfathers to help me as in the case of others newspaper chains." So momentarily his political preoccupations will be overtaken by his gunning for the number one position and one might hear a post script from the Express Towers if the situation does not improve under Mr Nanporia.



'It's my one-love!'

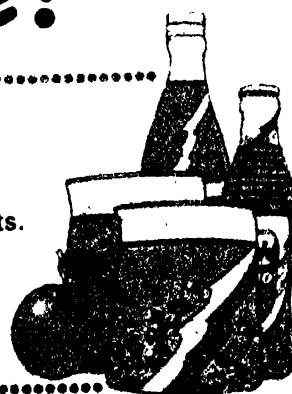


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Tripura is no refuge

Tribals and Bengalis are on a collision path



Nripen Chakrabarty: Slippery ground

THE small north-eastern State of Tripura is torn apart by political conflict. In the past year there have been eight political murders; two deaths from police firings; one Tripura bandh and three Agartala (the State capital) bandhs. For all these disturbances the CPI(M)-led Left Front Government has been blaming the Congress, Congress (I), Janata, the Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti (TUJS) and the Amra Bangali (a Bengali chauvinist organisation). These Parties, in turn, have levelled allegations at the Left Front Government of Mr Nripen Chakrabarty. The situation is indeed bad since no Ministers or Government officials can move without armed police escorts, especially in the rural areas. It is said that a bandh is called as soon as a Minister visits a place.

The present unsettling conditions stem from the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council Bill passed by the Tripura Vidhan Sabha in March which, when it becomes law after receiving the assent of the President of India, will help the dwindling tribal population. To find out why this Bill became necessary, one has to go into the history of Tripura. The State had once been a princely State where the king and the population were tribals. After 1947 and partition hordes of Hindu Bengalis came from East Pakistan. The king gave most of them his own

land to settle down, in, Ramnagar. In course of time the Bengali population outnumbered the tribals. At present out of a population of 1.8 million, there are only 500,000 tribals. Although the Bengalis have helped in improving the lot of the tribals they have also suffered exploitation, as a minority group, at the hands of Bengali moneylenders. The past Congress and other Ministries tried to help the tribals but did not succeed. The CPI(M) and the TUJS have taken up the cause of the tribals. As a matter of fact, the CPI(M) formed an autonomous council of the tribal areas when it came to power 17 months ago. However, the present Bill does not fulfil all the promises made by the CPI(M) to the tribals. In the Bill passed by the Vidhan Sabha there were some modifications. The TUJS, who form the only Opposition in the 60-member House with only four seats, support the modified Bill. The tribals want what was promised to them originally and so consider the present Bill a farce. They feel that the lot of the tribals will remain the same. The Bengali population is of the opinion that the Bill will make them homeless refugees once again since they will not be able to do business or reside in the tribal compact areas (which will come about as a direct result of the Bill.)

This feeling of the Bengalis has increased the popularity of the paro-

chial "Amra Bangali" who have been joined by the Ananda Marg. Almost 95 per cent of the businessmen in the State are Bengalis and they have not been tightfisted in their donations to these organisations. They have joined hands many a time in the past year in confrontation with the Tripura Police and the administration. The two groups organised a massive meeting in Agartala on March 27. Two members of the Amra Bangali—Nitai Sheel on January 17 at Bishramganj and Jogesh Saha on April 29 at Amarapur—died as a result of police firings.

I met the Tripura Chief Minister, Mr Nripen Chakrabarty, and asked him about the Bill. He said there was nothing in the Bill that would jeopardise the life of Bengalis. The Amra Bangali and the Ananda Marg were causing a lot of law and order problems by attacking the police and the Ministers. This was only being done to undermine the present Left Front Government. He regretted the fact that the Congress, Congress (I) and Janata among other Parties, were supporting an obscurantist organisation like the Amra Bangali. The CPI(M), Forward Bloc, and the RSP have decided to launch a movement against the Amra Bangali.

The Amra Bangali deny the charge of parochialism. Their leaders, Bhubanbijoy Majumdar, Anil Sarkar and Debabrata Dutta, said they were only trying to raise the economic standards, of the Bengalis. In fact, they had no quarrels with the tribals and considered them Bengalis. They were fighting against the District Council Bill which would definitely harm the interests of Bengalis.

The TUJS blamed the CPI(M) for the tribals' troubles. They alleged that the CPI(M) often beat up tribals in the hope of breaking their organisation. This has united them. It was true that the Left Front had brought about the Autonomous District Council Bill but they would prevent it from being made into law. Through all this there has been violence in the State. According to many people (tribals and others) the police have remained mere spectators. And, Tripura political leaders are speaking out against the present Government. A front against the Left Front Government is being proposed by Mr Sachindra Lal Sinha, a Lok Sabha member from the State (Congress for Democracy in the State but a Janata member in Delhi). The ex-Chief Minister, Mr Sukhomoy Sengupta of the Congress, believes there will be a change in Tripura soon. Mr Radhika Gupta, another ex-Chief Minister said that there had always been parochialism in the State and the CPI (M) led Government's wrong policies had made the Amra Bangali raise its head.

SHYAMAL KUMAR
CHAKRABORTY, Agartala

Is the Kerala Ministry safe?

Byelection results may be pointers

THE stock of the five-Party ruling coalition (United Front) in Kerala, led by Mr P. K. Vasudevan Nair of the CPI, is now lowest following its humiliating defeat at the hands of the CPI (M)-led Opposition front in the four Assembly by-elections held in the third week of May. The constituent Parties of the ruling front, which has been in power for the past nine years, have started an agonising self-appraisal to find out the reasons for the debacle.

The verdict of the electorate in the four constituencies, Parassala and Kasargod in the extreme south and north of the State, respectively, Tellicherry in north Malabar and Tiruvalla in central Travancore area, is generally regarded as a reflection of the mood of the people. And, as such, the by-election results have proved beyond any doubt that the ruling front as it stands and functions now does not enjoy the confidence of the people. The poll results also gave substance to the CPI (M)'s argument that the political base of the ruling front, which was returned to power in March, 1977 with a massive majority, is now shattered because of the split in the Congress and the exit of the Congress (I) from the coalition. In fact this had been the argument of the CPI (M) ever since the Congress split and they had been demanding the resignation of the Ministry and dissolution of the Assembly so as to pave the way for forging a new front.

Needless to say, the impressive victory of the CPI (M)-led front and the rout of both the ruling coalition and the Congress (I) in the by-elections came as a shot in the arm for Mr Namboodiripad's call for the formation of a front of Left and democratic Parties opposed to the authoritarian tendencies in the Congress (I) and the communalist forces represented by the RSS-Jana Sangh group in the Janata Party.

Close on the heels of the announcement of results the Opposition Parties demanded the resignation of the United Front Ministry, "bowing to the verdict of the people," but there is no likelihood of the front obliging them.

In fact Mr Vasudevan Nair and another United Front leader, Mr M. N. Govindan Nair, MP (who is a member of the CPI's national secretariat), had, in an apparent preemptive move, declared well in advance of the poll that the by-election results would not in any way affect the continuance of the Ministry. Technically it would not as the front has a comfortable majority of 83 in a house of 141.

Despite what Mr Vasudevan Nair has said, a process of rethinking on the part of the United Front partners is not ruled out. Mr A. K. An-

tony, president of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, has said that political changes in the State are "imminent."

Of the four seats the ruling front was seeking re-election in Parassala, Tiruvalla and Kasargod, reputed to be the strongholds of the Congress, the Kerala Congress and the Muslim League, respectively. The CPI (M) had won the Tellicherry seat in the last elections. The CPI (M) not only retained the Tellicherry seat with a substantially increased margin but also won at Parassala. The Janata Party and the All-India Muslim League won in Tiruvalla and Kasargod, respectively.

For the CPI (M) the increased margin in Tellicherry, from the 8,700 lead taken by the late Mr Patiam Gopalan in 1977 to over 20,600 this time, is all the more impressive in view of the special circumstances obtaining there. Tellicherry is said to be a stronghold of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and a scene of frequent clashes between RSS and CPI (M) workers which left a trail of blood and murder. With the proclaimed opposition of the CPI (M) towards the RSS, the CPI (M) maintained that no Janata Party worker having RSS connections would be allowed to campaign for the CPI (M) candidate. This had naturally irked the State Janata Party secretary, Mr O. Rajagopal, who made no secret of his RSS connection.

Tiruvalla, traditionally a Kerala Congress seat, had elected the late Mr E. John Jacob in the last election with a margin of about 7,900 votes over the Opposition nominee, Mr John Jacob Vallakkalil, the candidate of the Kerala Congress (Pillai group). This group later joined the Janata Party but Mr Vallakkalil chose to keep out. He recently joined the Kerala Congress and was fielded

as its candidate this time.

A frequent charge levelled against the United Front is that it has been following a politics of convenience. Many of its policy decisions have resulted in diluting the progressive image of the front and a feeling of widespread that it is mainly interested in continuing in power somehow or other. Corruption is rampant in the administration, which is admitted even by the Chief Minister, while more blatant is the method of political corruption, employed by the United Front Government to ensure the support of the constituent Party ranks.

The Government is also accused of giving the go-by to the controversial Nettloor commission report on job reservation to backward communities despite its repeated assurances both inside and outside the Assembly that the recommendations would be implemented. This was a major victory for the NDP which stood for reservation on economic basis.

The Vasudevan Nair Government's police and labour policies are also under heavy fire from the Opposition. The Government is accused of adopting a policy of breaking up even legitimate working class agitations. Mr Vasudevan Nair's government is the first in the country which introduced the *dies non* (no work no pay) policy.

Atrocities against Harijans, especially the incidents in Avalookunnu colony, in the home constituency of the Chief Minister, where Harijan girls were raped and houses set on fire, also figured prominently in the Opposition campaign.

While the cumulative effect of all these would have helped a great deal in bringing about a change of heart in the voter, the most important factor which led to the setback for the United Front was the split in the Congress votes and the stiff opposition from the NDP.

P. R. NAIR, Trivandrum

Polluted progress

Zuari fertiliser plant spells doom for flora and fauna

PITTSBURG in the USA has been cleaned up. Once it was the 'smoke city' because of the soot belched out by the steel mills. It is now 'renaissance city'. The city got the steelmakers to understand that clear air was as important as—if not more than—good money. United Steels the giant steel makers, who like other money cartels have made and broken Presidents of the USA, meekly accepted the municipal fiat—for Pittsburgh was where they lived. Environment was a personal asset,

pollution a personal liability to the decision-making managers who lived in the city—and might have died with it.

Zuarinagar is no Pittsburgh. It is a poor Indian village. US Steels and Birlas joined together to put up a Rs. 56-crore fertilizer project in the village. It will soon be expanded fourfold, with an additional investment of Rs. 180 crores. Every now and then there is an ecological crisis caused by Zuari Agro Chemicals Ltd (ZAC). Mr Rothkar, the secretary

of the Central Water Pollution Board has firm views on the project's pollutant potential. He rebuked the villagers who approached him with their tale of woes saying that it is "only natural" that such a "huge project should cause problems". In other words, it was for them to leave the village if they are not prepared to live with their nightmare.

ZAC has, no doubt, many genuine difficulties. It has its own importance as a core industry—and, what is more, as a direct contributor to better harvests and more food. But this does not justify its management's attitude of institutionalising its many-splendoured vices as virtue itself.

ZAC operates two main plants — Urea and NPK. Until 1973, it used arsenic as a catalyst. Following mounting fish mortality in the nearby Velsao Bay, it changed, under threat of permanent closure by the local Government, to the Benfield process, which is supposedly innocuous. In March this year there was again an increase in fish mortality. So was the case, around the same time, in 1977. Mr K. A. Varugis, the recently retired managing director, has reportedly admitted to a Goan politician off the record—naturally—that ZAC uses a "modified" Benfield process, which, perhaps, is not innocuous at all.

Government laboratories attribute the repetitive cases of fish mortality to high ammoniacal contents in the effluents. In order to avoid it, ZAC had undertaken in 1975 to install ammonia strippers. Some kind of strippers have been installed at a high cost to the shareholders. ZAC had also undertaken to install a 2 km long high density polythene (HDP) pipeline to throw the effluents at a point of maximum dispersal in the sea. Which again cost many lakhs — to the shareholders. ZAC executives privately admit that there are frequent stripper failures. Also, admittedly, the HDP pipeline cannot withstand the heat of the effluents and has become "pulpy" at places. More: the pipeline cannot cope with the quantum of the effluents and so an old and corroded iron pipeline is used "supplementally". The NPK plant has no effluent system worth the name. The slurry is shovelled into pitches from where it overflows through the hillside, into the beach, particularly during the monsoons. The tower-deposits blasted in the air are transported by air currents and the "settled dust" all around the periphery is there for one to see.

The ZAC Union had been protesting that the non-executive quarters, where they live, were subject to the "settled dust" nuisance. The management, which has residential quarters on the "clean side" of the plateau, agreed to transfer the non-executive staff to where the grass is greener. And thus the final—and inevitable—resistance to pollution will be broken.

MARABRAL e SA, Goa

CONVERSATION

"Bahuguna has let us down"



H. N. Bahuguna: Why the silence?

A former President of the Aligarh Muslim University Students' Union, JAVED HABIB, was a victim of the brutality let loose by the PAC (the UP Government claims that it was the CRP) in Aligarh on May 10. He tells UDAYAN SHARMA that the non-communal forces in the university have received a severe setback due to the helpless attitude of Mr H. N. Bahuguna and the stand taken by the UP Chief Minister, Mr Banarsi Das.

Q: Who gained the most out of the recent violence in Aligarh?

A: The Congress(I) and the Jana Sangh (in that order) have reaped the political harvest of the violent incidents which took place in Aligarh on May 9 and 10. It is unfortunate that Mrs Gandhi's Party should emerge as the champion of the minorities' cause today. It was under the Congress rule between 1965 and 1972 that the character of the Aligarh Muslim University was changed and the autonomy of the university eroded. The Janata Party does not know the art of statecraft.

It does not know the proper way of conveying to the people what it stands for. The present Bill (on the Aligarh Muslim University) is better than the 1972 Bill. The Janata Party President ought to have explained this to the students. The Jana Sangh's predominant position in the Janata Party has helped in Mrs Gandhi's propaganda that only her Party can protect the interests of the minorities. The Dadri and Aligarh incidents have helped the Congress(I) in fanning communal sentiments.

The Jana Sangh feels that the Janata Party is slowly disintegrating. They want communal tensions in order to consolidate their hold on the communalist Hindu votes. Both the Jana Sangh and the Congress(I) want communal clashes to take place for their sectarian interests. And in the process the students of the Aligarh Muslim University are suffering.

Q: Are you suggesting that the RSS and the Congress(I) had vested interests in the incidents of May 9 and 10?

A: (Yes) The students of AMU

had acted in an exemplary way during the communal tension in October last year. This had been noticed by the communalists who were alarmed by the growth of non-communal forces in the university. Therefore the tensions of May 9 and 10 were engineered (to discredit the AMU students).

Q: What is your assessment of the district administration's role during the trouble on May 10?

A: The district authorities are to be blamed for the escalation of the tension. I would even say that the Jana Sangh and the district authorities are to be jointly blamed for the happenings of May 10. The trouble started on the 9th when the AMU students travelling to Delhi were attacked by RSS hooligans at the Dadri station. Is it possible that the passengers of the train attacked 700-800 students? Where are those passengers who are said to have been attacked by the students? To which hospital were those "injured" passengers taken for treatment? The AMU students had returned to Aligarh after having been beaten up by the hooligans at Dadri. The PAC and the CRP made the situa-

tion take an ugly turn. When I learnt that Suleman had been injured and was lying in a pool of blood in front of the Aftab Manzil, I, accompanied by Irfanullah, Mohammad Ahmad and five others proceeded towards the trouble spot in order to ensure that the trouble did not spread. We were fired upon by the armed police contingent. I was saved because I lay down on the ground. But Ahmad was hit thrice (he later died). I only remember being trampled by police boots and hit by bayonets after that it was darkness all over. We were not treated properly in the hospital. Had it not been for the hospital employees, who brought us food from their homes, we would have starved.

Q: What is your reaction to the Chief Minister, Mr Banarsi Das's stand?

A: What he did was not desirable. Perhaps because Dadri is in his home district, there were local pressures. Perhaps he wanted to appease the traditional (Hindu communalist) voters of the Jana Sangh, having defeated the Jana Sangh in the JLP poll. The district authorities allowed a 400-strong procession to

go to the Circuit House despite the curfew and tell the Chief Minister: "Today the Muslims want Aligarh, tomorrow they would lay exclusive claim to the Taj Mahal". We were not allowed to meet the Chief Minister. Mr Banarsi Das addressed a Press conference without meeting us. When he was in the Opposition, Mr Banarsi Das used to support each demand of the AMU students, whether right or wrong. Should he have based his statement on the Dadri incident merely on the report given to him by the CID?

For Muslims like me, who have been fighting against both the Congress and the Muslim League, the situation created by the Chief Minister's statement is gloomy. We feel isolated. Our fight has been two-pronged—against the Muslim communalism as well as against the Hindu communalism. We feel let down. Mr Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna has received ample support from us. Whenever he has given a call, AMU boys have rushed to his support. Why is he silent today? Does he think he can mobilise Muslim votes merely by appeasing the Shahi Imami of Delhi?

THE WORLD

The siege of Arabia

THE recent arrival in the Indian Ocean of the Russian naval fleet, including the aircraft carrier Minsk, highlights the latest phase of Soviet activity in the arc of crisis from the Indian subcontinent to the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa.

A Soviet task force consisting of 17 naval surface vessels as well as submarines has already been operating in the vicinity of the Red Sea

and the Arabian Gulf. Violent coups have installed Soviet-sponsored regimes in power in Afghanistan and South Yemen, giving Moscow a firm foothold in these regions. A threat is now posed to the stability of governments, which, though not necessarily pro-West are not pro-Soviet either: Iran, Pakistan, Oman and North Yemen.

Assisted by their satellite Cubans, East Germans and Ethiopians, the

Russians are building up a formidable garrison in South Yemen. The foreign military advisers from these countries are training not only troops and recruits from South Yemen, but also preparing dissidents from Iran, Kuwait and Oman for subversive purposes.

From bases in South Yemen, Russian amphibious reconnaissance aircraft patrol the shores of the Gulf and Arabia. The Soviet Ilyushin reconnaissance and electronic tracking aircraft, based in South Yemen, cruise over Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Iraq, the Red Sea.

One of the Kiev class Soviet aircraft carriers (060) now in the waters off the oil-rich Saudi Arabian Peninsula



Egypt and Israel.

In spite of the recently concluded truce agreement with Aden, the North Yemenis have openly given vent to their fear of new Soviet-backed attacks by the Marxist regime of South Yemen. They are also afraid of South Yemen-supported coup attempts in the capital Sanaa, forcing North Yemen to merge its identity with the South.

Saudi Arabia is seriously contemplating some kind of a rapprochement with Moscow. But it is also fully alive to the implications of the recent moves in the region and is equally concerned with making arrangements to bolster the defence capabilities of North Yemen. Saudi Arabia regards North Yemen as a buffer against the Aden-based designs on the Saudi oil fields.

The Persian Gulf lifeline narrows at the Strait of Hormuz bordering Oman. Yet, the withdrawal of Iranian troops has left Oman virtually defenceless. Oman's Foreign Minister recently warned friendly Gov-

ernments that the Soviet bloc forces in Aden were interested in the invasion and conquest of the Sultanate.

New frictions in the Iranian society after the Islamic revolution make Iran a good target for foreign manipulation. Iran's Tudeh (communist) Party has been linked to Moscow for a long time. There are reports that Soviet intelligence agents have infiltrated Iran in large numbers and are working with the radical groups and young Islamic zealots. According to the Egyptian publication *Akhar Sa's*, the aim of the Soviets is to turn the whole region into a battlefield, "plunder" the Arabian resources, encircle the oil fields, control communication lines and even cut off the international transport lanes.

According to commentators in the West Asian newspapers, if events precipitate the replacement of the Khomeini-Bazargan regime by a pro-Soviet Government in Iran, Soviet threats to lay siege to Arabia will

come close to materialising. In the same way, according to commentators, the exploitation of Pakistan's weaknesses could open the way to Soviet acquisition of Arabian sea port facilities.

Under Russian control, Afghanistan is setting the stage for a campaign of subversion against Iran and Pakistan. Moscow and Kabul have been accusing these countries of permitting their territories to be used for "armed provocations and conspiracies" against Afghanistan, thus preparing the ground for possible "retaliation".

But Afghanistan's Marxist Government, which is troubled with revolts in the country's mountains and valleys, is shaky. The 5,000 Russian advisers in Afghanistan have to work hard to restore stability before they can hope to use their Afghan base effectively for purposes of destabilising the Governments in the neighbouring countries.

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

DELHI DIARY

UNDIPLOMATIC

ON HIS RECENT West Asian shuttle diplomacy the External Affairs Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, called on the Syrian President, Mr Assad. The opening conversation went something like this.

Assad: How do you do, Mr Foreign Minister?

Vajpayee: How do you do, Mr President?

Assad: How is your Prime Minister Desai?

Vajpayee: He is quite well, thank you.

Assad: Is he still infuriating you while keeping his cool?

Vajpayee (a little taken aback at the undiplomatic remark but recovering his wit in time to make a polite protest): Your Excellency, your sources in India are not doing that excellent a job!

Assad joined the laughter that ensued, but got the message and steered the conversation to more mundane subjects, like international politics.

FOUNTAINHEAD

DELHI'S LT. GOVERNOR, Mr D. E. Kohli, seems to be friendless as far as the ruling party politicians in the capital are concerned. Mr Kishori Lal, MP wants him removed from his post, and so does his senior mentor, Chowdhury Brahmash, the MP from Outer Delhi. Kohli apparently has already

lost and is reportedly going on leave preparatory to quitting the post. Mr Kishori Lal wants the New Delhi Municipal Committee President, Mr Sri Chand Chhabra, popularly known in Delhi as "Fountain Chhabra" (because he has put up too many fountains in the city), as the next Lt. Governor.

CHAMELEON

IN THE RECENT elections to the Cantonment Board, in which the Congress(I) trounced the Janata Party, a Delhi Police detail led by an Additional Superintendent of Police played a very partisan and pro-Congress(I) role. The said police officer holds a key post in south Delhi district police and came to the IPS through the reserved quota. Days before the polling two local Janata MPs brought the partisan role of this officer to the notice of both the Lt. Governor, Mr Kohli, and the Police Commissioner, Mr J. N. Chaturvedi. One of the MPs wanted the officer transferred. But Mr Chaturvedi, a past master in cultivating political friends depending on how useful they can be to him at a given time, not only did not do anything but brought Mr Kohli and the two MPs into ridicule in front of his officers. He patted himself on the back for not "touching" the accused officer and told an attentive audience of senior Delhi Police officers that the Lt. Governor told him that the officer be transferred

because the local MPs had complained against him. "I told Mr Kohli that I would not do this. In any case that MP (he named a prominent local member of the Lok Sabha) is a *badmash* (rogue). Earlier also he had wanted some action against another police officer," Mr Chaturvedi said.

Mr Chaturvedi, incidentally, was holding a key post in UP during the Emergency and during the Lok Sabha campaign had pitched his tents in the Amethi-Rai Bareilly region. Then he was on the losing side, but for smart officers like Mr Chaturvedi, switching sides is a fine art which they have mastered more than many politicians.

OMISSIONS OF COMMISSIONS

COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY on communal riots are becoming a farce. The commission of inquiry on the Sambhal riots has not submitted its report, fifteen months after the bloody riots. The Aligarh riots took place in October last year and the inquiry into the riots is yet to begin. The commission to probe the Jamshedpur riots has been declared irregular by the new Bihar Chief Minister. And to top it all, the Adoni riots six months ago in Andhra Pradesh was never inquired into! And God knows how much money has been spent from the public exchequer on these unfinished inquiries.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

"As an engagement gift, I want to gift my fiancée Rs. 10,000.

Will the amount later on add to my liabilities?"



"The property in my name was bought for Rs. 5000 by my grandfather. Its value has risen now to Rs. 1,00,000.

Do I have to pay wealth tax?"



"My wife, a qualified accountant, is handling the accounts in our family concern.

Will her income add on to mine?"



"My son wants to return from the US and invest his foreign earnings here in a small-scale industry.

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East is East and West is West

I HAVE just finished reading Edward Said's magnificent book *Orientalism* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). What he is concerned with is the way European colonial domination, which from 1815 to 1914 expanded to cover 85 per cent of the world's surface, went hand-in-hand with a special view of those whom it dominated. He traces the historical development of this "Orientalism"—a way of seeing the East in the West—during the time of the rapid expansion of colonial conquest in the late 18th and 19th centuries, when the East came to be seen ideologically as little more than an appendage to Europe. And it was in this period that investigation of the East by Western administrators, travellers, and scholars became part of the exercise of political and cultural power over their subjects.

In consequence, as Said points out, countries like India came to have no real existence, *in themselves*, for the Englishman. All that India was, was what England knew of it. It was England (in the eyes of Englishmen) which gave India its identity; it had none of its own, or none worth having. Its colonial masters gave it birth, governed it, expressed its nature in their writings, explored it, wrote its history, "discovered" its literature and its religion just like Columbus "discovered" America, despite the fact that millions of its indigenous inhabitants were already there.

England was thus both politically and intellectually in command of India; India and Indians were nothing more than a terrain for administration and investigation. The Indians themselves, like other "Orientals", were rarely seen as human beings; instead, when they were not invisible, they were seen as administrative or military problems, demanding (English) solution. That is, India—its history, its culture, its traditions, its people—was less important in itself than what the Englishman made of it. Indeed, he was even capable of arguing that India could not be understood at all (least of all by Indians themselves) unless the Englishman explained it first. After all, India existed through him and for him, lock, stock and barrel; and, in his own opinion, he exercised his power over India—whether with subtlety or violence, or both together—by legitimate possession of it, both in mind and in body.

There is of course much more to Edward Said's thesis than this, though this is the core of it. Thus he also raises interesting issues about the historical obsession in the West about the East. He shows that,

for some Europeans, interest in the "Orient" was (and still is) therapeutic, compensating the West for its "lost spirituality and traditional values". And we can add that many others who were frustrated in other ways were able to exercise, in the "Orient", forms of autocratic power over the colonised peoples which were becoming impossible at home, as the tide of political democracy rose in Europe. Even Marx, Said provocatively argues, was an "Orientalist"; after all, did he not also believe in the phenomena of Asiatic despotism and the Asiatic mode of production, neither of which—if they



existed at all—was specific to Asia?

BUT above all the East was essentially and ideologically "colonial space" in which the Westerner was proprietor. And he did not merely act as such, but logically and necessarily *thought* as such also. Behind this confidence, Said argues that there stood what he calls "the traditional Western hostility to, and fear of, the Orient". Despite this, and despite the fact that the Englishman's India was wildly different from the Indians' India, he nonetheless succeeded because of his political and ideological power in imposing his India on the Indians

themselves; especially on the educated and Anglicised classes.

After all, there are still many Indians in India who appear to believe about themselves what the Englishman believed, and still believes, about them; who seem to have swallowed hook, line and sinker the Western view of them, and who spend their lives seeing themselves as their rulers once saw them. Thus it was the English who believed, wrote, said and repeated that the Indians were passive, fatalistic and dishonest; that they preferred ("Oriental") despotism to any other form of rule; that they were sexually obsessed as a result of the influence of religion, culture or climate, or all together; and so on, and so forth. And it is precisely these absurdities and clichés which one can still hear on the tongues of some Indians. In other words, colonialism lives on; not merely in the multinational corporations in Bombay and Calcutta, but in the nominally-independent minds of (some of) the people.

But if all this is so, what of Western intellectuals' attitudes to free India? Are they still "Orientalist", to use the term which Said discusses? Indeed, I myself have been accused—usually by former supporters of the Emergency—of many things in India as the result of my writings; including that I am some kind of "cultural imperialist" in disguise. That is, I have been accused of having the same proprietary attitude to Indian politics and to the question of the condition of the Indian people, as my Victorian predecessors. Others must judge this. All I will say here is that I am of another generation, in many senses; that I am myself the son of an immigrant to Britain; and that I am deeply hostile to its political history in relation to those whom it once dominated, and still dominates, from India to Ireland and back again. To me also, General Dyer was a criminal, and the massacre at Amritsar in 1919 was a massacre, and not the maintenance of law and order; to me also, the Indian "Mutiny" was no mutiny, but a just, popular uprising.

Moreover to me, India is a (great) microcosm of the world itself, whose future—like the futures of other "Third World" countries—will determine, and is already determining, the fate of the West. "Orientalism", though still alive and kicking (especially in American universities), is dying in this global reversal of fortunes. No "Orientalist" myself—or so I believe—I am ready to celebrate its passing.

DAVID SELBOURNE, London

GUESS who is the busiest actor in the industry? It seems that Raakesh Pandey is. An old friend of his, who was in town recently, thought to himself, "Why not give my film star pal Raakesh a look up?" And so his friend started making efforts to get through to Raakesh. On the first day, it did not produce any result. He was told, curtly, that Raakesh was shooting at an outdoor location and would be busy shooting till ten at night, so would he please try the next day. The second day dawned, and his friend tried again. He was told that Raakesh had to report for three dubbing sessions in different parts of the city. This continued for the rest of the week. Every time he tried to contact the star, he was informed that the star was



Amitabh: annoyed with his guru

Zarine's tender admonitions. Now, it has become a household of tension and unhappiness, and much as the children may call Zeenat 'aunty' they are old enough to feel bitter about her because of the unhappiness they know she has caused their mother.

IF Shabana Azmi has any common sense, she ought to stop going on and on about how Shashi Kapoor and she are not having an affair, and how Jennifer Kapoor did not attempt suicide, and especially not over her (Shabana). If Shabana really had nothing to do with it, she ought to have kept quiet. The matter would then have blown over by itself. By cribbing about it, the matter only gets quoted even further. Why.



Ranjeeta

at a story session or shooting outdoors or was in Panchgani. Ultimately, in disgust, the friend said, "If he did not want to meet me why couldn't he have said so openly? Why this cat and mouse game? Or was he scared that I would discover how unoccupied he is and probably take the bad news back home?" That is your question, friend, not mine. I'm not saying a word!

BUT Raakesh Roshan is seeing better days. *Khatta Meetha* has not proved to be so meetha after all, and Raakesh himself is the first to admit that the film did not in any way help him. But the people in the film industry are currently raving over Roshan's performance in a

forthcoming film called *Khubsurat*. And according to the filmi pandits, with the release of *Khubsurat*, the gates of heaven will definitely open up for Raakesh. It will be success, success, success, thereafter!

BEING sensitive by nature, Raakhee gets hurt even by the slightest remark—all the more when such a remark is directed against her appearance. The other day, fed up with the catty gossip items saying that she had turned fat and funny, Raakhee said in an exasperated tone, "Are we stars, too, not human? Are we not expected to fall ill from time to time? I had put on some weight because I was retaining too much water in my body. And instead of sympathising with me over my problem, journalists can only make fun of me. Is this all film journalism is restricted to?" It isn't. There are quite a few magazines which do not deal only with gossip but have quite a lot of constructive articles on the problems and technicalities of filmmaking. But Raakhee, of course, wouldn't know that. For she has forbidden her newspaper agent to bring any film magazine into her sacred premises.

AMITABH, the still-angry, but no longer 'young' Bachchan, is apparently quite annoyed and puzzled

by the recent statements made by Hrishikesh Mukherjee when the latter was quoted as having said that the film *Jurmana* (starring Amitabh and directed by Hrishikesh) "should never have been released." You can't blame Amitabh for feeling sore. He had, after all, acted in the film purely out of respect for his old guru, at a time when he did not really have the time to act in any film apart from the big-banner ones. But then, you can't blame Hrishikesh Mukherjee either. Film people have always had these funny ways of expressing their gratitude!

DIMPLE told a close friend that she is fed up with and tired of publicity. "I have only two interests in life — my husband, and his career. Nothing else matters, or is important enough." What about those dear Khanna children? Are they to remain, forever under the tender ministrations of Rajesh's mother,

SANJAY KHAN, the latest boyfriend of Zeenat Aman, claims that he is not destroying Zeenat in any way. Which is right in a way. It is the other way around. It is Zeenat who is destroying Sanjay Khan. The Khan family used to be such a happy family, with music, song and laughter, and children's voices and



Raakhee

when she met me the other day, she spoke to me on the subject for more than ten minutes. And I (who had not believed the story before that) could not help wondering, thereafter, whether it was indeed true.

NOW that Ranjeeta's career has picked up so much, and considering the fact that she has got nearly fifty films on hand (with big heroes, small heroes, and non-heroes), isn't it time she got herself her own starry pad? She can well afford it, too. Instead, she prefers to continue staying as a paying guest with her sister in Juhu. She says it is because "people won't be able to exploit me this way."

SHIRJEE

SRIDEVI and Kamalahasan still make a prize pair, but producers are now showing more interest in pairing Sridevi with Rajnikant, especially after the super success of *Priya* in which they are paired together. Due for early release is *Dhalma Yuddham* directed by R. C. Shakti. And then there are at least four more films to follow, soon.

CHO has been acting in K. R. Vijaya's films regularly for the past few years. And he does not miss a chance to lampoon politicians who are opposed to his political convictions. He made a dig at MGR in *Annapoorni*, and now, in *Natakame Ulagam* he makes solid digs at Mrs Gandhi. Vijaya is far from being a political figure and yet she lets Cho get away with his political digs, which are, of course, penned by him.

SHANKAR NAG has proved that he need not be confined to the Girish Karnad type of films. His second venture, *Seetha Ramu*, a masala film, has opened to packed houses in Karnataka, and Shankar may sign a dozen assignments soon. That would be enough for the time being, he says. He knows that he must complete his pet project, a historical film, about the efforts of some patriots to foment public reaction against the British and the price they had to pay for it.

MAYALALITHA is shrewd. When *Manipur Mamiyar*, the film with she was supposed to make a comeback and in which she was to be paired with Jai Shankar, ran into trouble, allegedly because of Jai Shankar's love for the DMK she went around signing other films with young heroes. And now we hear *Manipur Mamiyar* is being revived—with Vijaya Kumar, an AJADMK actor, as her hero!

PRODUCER D. Rama Naidu, who reaped a massive harvest out of *Prem Nagar*, starring Rajesh Khanna and Hema Malini, has signed them for *Bandish* which is scheduled to go to the sets in Madras, in July. Like any other Hindi film

Subha



Rajnikant and Sridevi: success all the way

produced by Naidu (*Dis aur Deewar* is his latest), this one, too, is the remake of a Telugu hit.

IN the '60s, Sivaji appeared in many mythological films. Now, after a gap of many years, he's appearing in *Yamanukku Yaman*, as Yama and comedian Thengal Srinivasan plays Chitrakupta. Sripriya is the heroine of this film. D. Yoganand directs the film.

SARITA plays the lead role in Rudrayya's new Tamil venture, *Gramathu Athiyayam*, a film about a young couple who cannot get married because of social pressure. So the girl decides to marry somebody chosen by her father, but she promises to carry on with her lover. Sounds interesting... but will director Rudrayya keep the story going along these lines, or will be there a last minute change of heart, with the poor lover being deserted in the end? Originally Kamalahasan was to enact one of the two male lead roles, but since Kamal

is spending a month in London, working for K. Balachander's new Tamil-Telugu film, Rudrayya has decided to take two new actors for his film.

DIRECTOR I. V. Sasi's latest venture, for producer M. O. Joseph, is half completed. This Malayalam film features Sarada in a pivotal role, of a woman who has three unfortunate love affairs. Soman, Jose and Sukumaran enact the male leads. Seema is also featured in a big role, her second film for M. O. Joseph. The first, *Jnan Jnan Mathram*, was quite a hit.

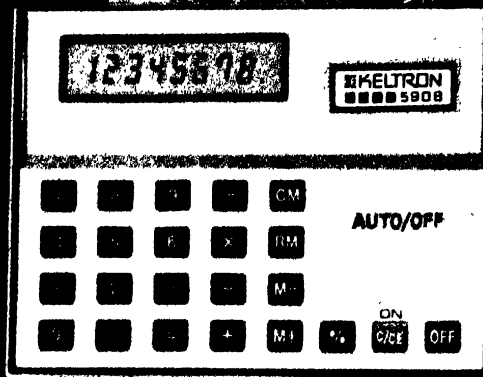
THOUGH Kavita has appeared in quite a few Tamil films, in some as Sivaji Ganesan's daughter, she hasn't been able to make much of an impact in Madras. But the Andhra producers are casting her in many of their films. She's the heroine in *Bommala Kollu*, with Chandramohan as the hero. A fast progressing film, it is expected to be released in July. Komeneni Sheshagiri

Rao directs this film, and also another Telugu social, *Telugu Talli*, which will feature Kavita and Chandramohan. Kavita hopes that with the release of these two films, she'll match Andhra superstars Jayasudha and Jayapradha, in popularity.

TELUGU producers are happily signing Prabha for a number of *sati savitri* roles after the success of *Jagan Mohini*. Though Jayamalini stole the show by her semi-nude scenes, the sympathy of the audience was with Prabha. Prabha and Murali Mohan are teamed, among other films, in *Eellali Muchatlu*.

THERE were some rumours that Sangeeta may star opposite MGR when he returns to the cinema-world. The rumour does not have a grain of truth. Sangeeta is busy with a dozen films, some of which are being backed by DMK financiers. In fact, she acted with Jai Shankar, recently, in a film written by Karunanidhi.

PIOUSJI



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The case of the Oriya boy

By O. V. VIJAYAN

WHEN I read about this Oriya boy from the rural sector topping this year's IAS list, I decided to find out what the political leadership had to say. I chose the one Minister who held the twin portfolios of Tourism and Civil Aviation on which the life of the country depended. Purushottam Kaushik had just finished a letter to his Secretary which read, Sir, as I am suffering from a bad rummy, I will not be able to attend the Coffee Shop tomorrow. I want casual leave, please ...

"That's a moving relationship between Minister and Secretary," I said.

"See, we're nationalists and radicals," said Kaushik, "and will continue to be so."

"But as a socialist you must have thundered away at senior bureaucrats," I said. "Don't tell me you are more scared of them now."

"Scared?" said Kaushik. "I'd never been scared of full Secretaries. Could never conceptualize them. I could only be scared of Deputy Commissioners and the like. I saw a senior ICS man at close quarters for the first time after I took over Tourism and Civil Aviation."

"Your own Secretary, I presume?" I said.

"Yes," said Kaushik. "And a very senior ICS man at that. One about to retire."

"How did it feel?" I asked.

"I was scared," said Kaushik. "If we weren't scared, there would have been no national movement. That's the historical truth, but I doubt if the Cong(O)-Jana Sangh lineup would let the historians write it down in their text books."

"The Nehrus weren't scared, they say," I said. "Mrs Gandhi used to make her Secretaries dance, often for others to see. And those who remember the Anand Bhavan days tell us the Nehrus used to socialize with British Colonels' families."

"They weren't scared of the Colonels?" said Kaushik in dismay.

"The Nehrus weren't scared of even Brigadiers," I said. "But then, you know how it's with history. The national movement had

gotten only as far as the Colonels."

Purushottam Kaushik was visibly agitated. "You say the Nehrus weren't scared of those Colonels," he said. "And yet, they claim to be nationalists."

I felt we were getting somewhere close to fundamentals. "Would you say, Kaushik," I asked, "that the Janata Party would repudiate the Nehru legacy?"

"Well," he said, "I'd like to keep the Party out for the present, considering the delicate nature of inner-Party goings-on. But I'd like to reiterate that all genuine nationalists, not the phoney ones, were scared. When I first saw this Civil Servant enter my room, I said, God, here's an ICS man ten times larger than those Divisional Commissioners I was scared of and so used to threaten in my speeches from safe distances. God, I said, and stood up. Sit down, Sir, said the ICS man. Don't be scared of me, Sir, he

said. He was sirring me. Could you believe that?"

"I gather he's gone now," I said.

"Yes," said Kaushik. "Now it's an IAS person instead. One is less scared of the IAS."

"You might have read about this boy from rural Orissa who topped the IAS lists this year," I said.

"Didn't I!" said Kaushik. "It made my heart go pit-a-pat. I knew this rural boy must have written his papers in Hindi. I knew he would be as baffled by the ITDC menu cards, and as intimidated by the Ashoka stewards as I am, and so would let me handle the portfolio in peace."

"You may never have to write these casual leave applications to this Oriya boy," I said.

"You're talking of leave letters!" said Kaushik. "I might even be able to bully him some day."

"A nation takes a long, long while to come of age," I said.



Beginning June 17

This week the Sun and Mercury are in Gemini, Jupiter alone is in Cancer, Saturn and Rahu are conjoined in Leo and Uranus is in Libra. Neptune is in Scorpio, Ketu is in Aquarius and Mars and Venus are in Taurus. The Moon will be moving through Pisces, Aries and Taurus.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) Pay attention to business. Avoid disputes with employers and elders. This week promises a fair amount of success and good fortune. Do not hesitate to take decisions. Forge ahead in your profession. Friends and relatives will prove helpful. For those in fine arts this week will be a beneficial one as regards art and literature. **Good dates:** 17, 18, 19, 20 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 5. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) You are advised not to antagonise your employer. Pay attention to small business details. You will gain through speculation. Try to forge a partnership with someone you know well and this will be to your advantage in the long run. Do not make any changes in your career now. Be patient and take the opportunity when it comes to you. **Good dates:** 19, 20 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) This week will be a much quieter and less eventful one than last week. However, fortunes are forecast. A secret matter, perhaps a love affair, turns to your advantage. There is a possibility of a bereavement in the family. Your financial worries will gradually cease from the middle of the week although there might still be some minor obstacles to be overcome. **Good dates:** 17, 18, 22 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** South.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) The steady pattern of life that you have been having for the past few months might be broken by a sudden reversal of fortune. There might be attempts by friends to deceive you. Some unreasonable opposition on the part of an elderly relative will trouble you in your career. Auspicious correspondence can be taken up. Legal suits will stop worrying you. **Good dates:** 18, 20, 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 5. **Favourable direction:** North-east.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) Your outlook remains favourable this week. Take care of the health of elders. Do not be extravagant. You might experience a loss due to the negligence of a younger member of the family. Keep away from romance. Those in the military services will gain a promotion. There will be a number of delays and obstacles in business. **Good dates:** 18, 19 and 20. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable directions:** South and West.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) The planets are not favourable. Therefore, mark time and practice caution in all your dealings. Don't let yourself be carried away by emotions. You will gain a new friend who will exert considerable influence on your current affairs. Seek the advice of elders. Check extravagance to maintain economic stability. **Good dates:** 17, 19, 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 3. **Favourable direction:** North-east.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) You may change your job or residence. If you can check your extravagant tendencies, this week will prove to be happy. You may gain property through inheritance. Advice of elders will generally prove helpful. A secret contact will stand you in good stead. The domestic scene will remain peaceful. Love brings joy and good fortune. **Good dates:** 17, 18, 20 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 8. **Favourable directions:** East and South.



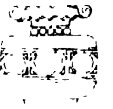
SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) Men and women in service will gain promotions this week. Stars indicate love and romance. Some may even marry. It will be a lucky week. There are chances that you will win a prize in a lottery. Let your intuition guide you. You must try to take the maximum advantage from the present favourable planetary position. **Good dates:** 18, 19, 20 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) You may possibly avert a lawsuit if you use tact and discretion. After a minor setback, your business affairs will move smoothly and you will make financial gains. Domestic bliss will be yours. Promotions will come through your own hunches and intuition. An elderly lady may oppose your plans. **Good dates:** 19, 20 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 10. **Favourable direction:** West.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) The domestic scene will show a marked improvement this week. This will bring happiness. You may have to forge ahead inspite of the risks involved. The week is favourable for love and romance. You will make new friends and undertake journeys. Promotion are forecast for many. **Good dates:** 17, 19, 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 10. **Favourable directions:** South and West.



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) An elderly friend or relative may prove helpful. A promotion is in the offing. Your business interests require great attention. Your family too, needs attention. Check extravagant tendencies. This will be a quiet week. New friends will contribute to your happiness and you may undertake a journey. **Good dates:** 18, 19, 22 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 9. **Favourable directions:** North and East.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) Friends and relatives will praise you for your excellent achievements. Let your own intuition be a guide to fortune. A secret contact will prove helpful. Your may undertake a journey. Your business affairs will prosper. This week you will buy expensive items for yourself and your family members. **Good dates:** 17, 18, 19 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 5. **Favourable directions:** West and South.

M. B. RAMAN

chess



Continuation of Position No. 7

From a game Horvath-Kaposztas, played in Hungary in 1977: 2r2r1k, 5p1p, p2p1Pp1, 3Pp3; 1q2BN1Q; 8: 1PP3PP; 4RR1K.

White won by 1. RxB, PxR, 2. BxP, PxR; 3. R-K7, R-KB2, if 3. P-KR4, 4. Q-N5

4. RxR, P-KR4; 5. R-K7, QxP; 6. P-R3, Q-B8 ch, 7. K-R2, P-B6; 8. P-B7, K-N2, 9. P-B8-Q db, ch, resigns.

HARRY GOLOMBEK



The Magazine's new chess columnist, Michael Stean (above), takes over next week. He is 25, from Kew, very much an active player and certainly still a rising star in international chess. Last summer in Baguio City it was Stean, as one of challenger Korchnoi's seconds, who regularly sat up through the night analysing the next day's play. Then he went straight on to play Board No 2 for Britain in the World Olympiad in Buenos Aires.

Stean has been a Grandmaster - he is one of four in British chess - since 1977. Yet he started playing serious chess comparatively late. 'I learnt how the pieces moved when I was 4½, but I didn't move them until I was 13'. In 1967 he became London Under-14 champion, in his first tournament.

In 1973 he came third in the World Junior Championship in Teesside. Why Teesside? 'That's where the local council has money available to support chess.'

Stean has a number of books on the way, two actually published: 'The Sicilian Najdorf' (Batsford), an authoritative treatment of Bobby Fischer's favourite opening, and 'Simple Chess' (Faber) - for everybody.

bridge

TWO stories from the Olympiad at New Orleans shed light on the varying attitudes toward slightly peculiar bids.

Dealer, South Game all			
♠ KQ10942			
♥ A103			
♦ 1062			
♣ 5			
♠ 63			♠ J875
♥ KQ			♥ J862
♦ KJ95			♦ 8743
♣ KQ874			♣ 5
	N	E	
	W	S	
	♠ A		
	♥ 9754		
	♦ A		
	♣ AJ10632		

South opened Two Clubs, natural in Pre-

cision, and the bidding continued

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
2♣	No	2♣	No
3♣	No	No	double (1)
No	No	No	

South went two down and East-West collected 140½ match points out of 142. A piece by Omar Sharif in the *Bulletin* extolled his friend's perception in doubling Three Clubs. All right, perhaps West did not give any indication that he had something to think about over Three Clubs, I'll believe it, but imagine how the wolves would have howled if an unpopular pair had followed this sequence.

This episode from the Ladies Pairs illustrates the climate of suspicion.

WEST	EAST
♠ A J 9 8	♠ K Q 6
♥ A Q 7 4 2	♥ -
♦ A Q 10	♦ K 9 8 6
♣ 5	♣ K 10 8 7 3 2

An Italian pair, Mondolfo and Venturini, bid as follows:

WEST	EAST
1♣	1♠ (1)
2♥	3♠ (2)
4NT	5♣
6♣	No

(1) A positive response to the One Club opening, denoting three controls.

(2) Not a misnomer exactly, but a 'mis-pull' from the bidding box. She meant, of course, to bid Three Clubs.

East, it is said, was unable to resist an exclamation telling everyone that she had not intended to bid Three Spades. Since the bid was implausible in this sequence, West might legitimately have acted on the assumption that Three Clubs was intended, but she felt obliged to battle on with 4NT and East did not have the sense to pass this Six Spades earned a zero.

That the women should have lost their heads is understandable, but a story by Henry Francis (the *Bulletin* editor) hailing this absurd performance as great sportsmanship received honourable mention among the journalists' awards.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



THE first high value stamps of King George VI, issued in 1939, were in a size and shape used for many Victorian and Edwardian high values. The 2s 6d and 5s stamps, designed by Edmund Dulac, featured the royal arms. The 10s and £1 stamps, designed by George Bell, showed the King's portrait framed by the national floral emblems, the rose, thistle, daffodil and shamrock. The original brown 2s 6d stamp now costs about £150 in perfect mint condition but a reissue made in 1942 in green sells for about £10. Postmarked examples

are very much cheaper. The matching 5s stamp costs about £25 mint or £1 used. Even the slightest damage, such as a creased corner or the disturbance of the gum where a stamp has been hinged for mounting in an album, drastically reduces these prices.

C.W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

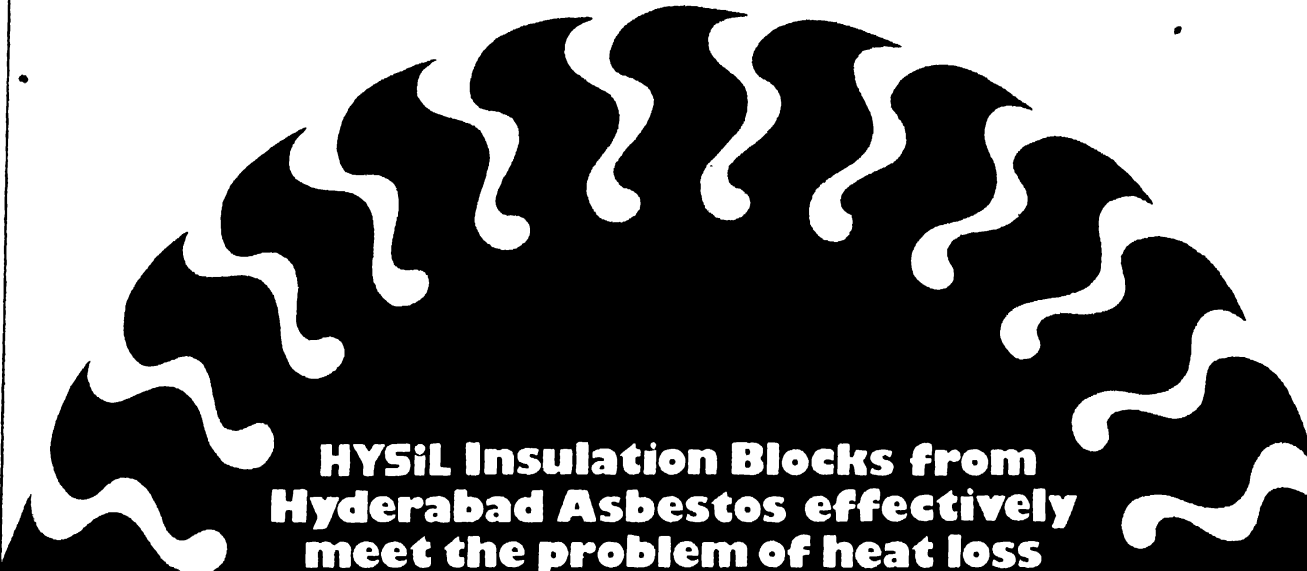
- Where is the Heard Island?
- What is the actual name of the daredevil motorcyclist, Evel Knievel?
- What was the Fenian Brotherhood?
- From where did the term 'Young Turk' originate?
- In economics, what is Pepper-corn Rent?
- What is a Junta?
- What is Dew Point?
- What is Daina?
- What are yellow-backs?
- Who were the Poor Men of Lyons?
- When was a Black Hole first identified?

- December 1972.
- return to Apostolic simplicity.
- Waldo whose main belief was a
- A movement founded by Peter in yellow boards.
- Cheap editions of novels bound among Lithuanians and Latvians.
- A type of folk poetry found condense in the form of dew below which moisture is likely to saturate with water vapour and perature at which the air becomes 7. In meteorology, it is the tem-
- policy in England in mid-19th cen-
- who influenced trade union ideas and has to be paid for a period.
- It is where only a nominal sum Ottoman Empire in 1908.
- abusive movement of reform in the immigrants in the USA.
- It was the name applied to an ment formed originally among Irish 3. An Irish revolutionary move-
- Robert Craig.
- It lies in the sub-Antarctic.

ANSWERS

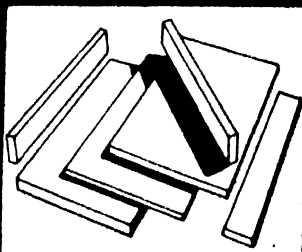
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MADURAI : Bobby, a popular detective of the police kennel here has given birth to eight pups, and the constable in charge of the kennel is in trouble, because permission of the Superintendent of Police had not been sought for Bobby's mating, as required under the police rules. The father of the litter is the kennel's famous Uvaraj...Sanction of the Inspector General of Police is being sought for the disposal of the pups. There is no provision for the police kennel to maintain the pups because it has sanction to feed only five dogs — *Hindu* (Patitapaban Nayak, Berhampur)

JAIPUR : The International Year of the Child is giving a high yield of child marriages in Rajasthan and its neighbouring areas. In Udaipur district alone, over 100 child marriages have so far been solemnised.

In the neighbouring town of Mandson in Madhya Pradesh, a bridegroom on horseback threw away his ceremonial "safa" and started shouting for "kulf" which a street vendor was selling. He had to be given what he wanted before the marriage procession could proceed to the bride's house — *Tribune* (D. V. Joshi, Chandigarh)

BOMBAY : A regular criminal case was entered against a police inspector for allegedly assaulting and outraging the modesty of a foreign teenager disciple of Acharya Rajneesh here.

The police officer allegedly entered the room of the American girl to demand a bribe of Rs. 1,000 for the renewal of her visa. A trap had been laid earlier by the Anti-Corruption Department on a tip off by the friends of the girl. The police officer allegedly made advances and later assaulted the girl. He was caught red-handed in the act — *Hindustan Standard* (Pradip Kumar Dutta, Calcutta)

SURAT : Plastic surgery has given a young diamond cutter from Bhatlaj village, near here, a new genital. The cutter, a bachelor, lost his private part when his lungi got entangled in the electric motor strap of a polishing machine. Dr M. Chandrasekhar of the Mission Hospital provided the man with a facility of passing urine and advised him to go to Bombay for further medical help. Dr Keshwani of Jaslok Hospital endowed him with an artificial penis constructed from his own flesh. He claimed that "the new organ will be as functional as the lost original" — *Statesman* (Kajal Kumar Chakraborty, Calcutta)

SONEPAT : An Army officer got married by proxy here. The officer who was away, wrote to his parents saying they could use his photograph for the ceremony. Happily, the girl's parents agreed to the idea and the wedding was solemnised — *Sunday Standard* (A. K. Koul, Jammu Tawi)

BHOPAL : The Madhya Pradesh Government grants meant for an ailing writer and an artist reached them not only after their death but could not be used for their funeral. The Rs 2,000 cheque meant for the treatment of Mr Radhacharan Goswami, a veteran Hindi writer of Datta, reached him when he was almost dead and could not be cashed even for his funeral arrangements.

The Government-run Madhya Pradesh Kala Parishad announced that it had sanctioned a Rs 500 draft for the treatment of Mr Abdul Halim Ansari, an 80-year-old painter of repute. Mr Ansari was pronounced dead only a few hours after the Kala Parishad announcement — *Hindustan Times* (S. K. Saksena, Sagar)

THERE is not a single file in my department the Birla group of industries does not know of — Industries Minister George Fernandes

WE have succeeded in everything we have tried — Morarji Desai

THE RSS has come closer to secularism and those who want it and the Jana Sangh to return to their original stance are not the honest politicians — Minister of Housing Sikander Bakht

WE came to power with no illusions — West Bengal Finance Minister Ashok Mitra

IF persons responsible for eliminating Bhutto and keeping my mother in prison for nine months thought that the people would forget Bhutto, they were living in fools' paradise — Benazir Bhutto.

I DO not mind being criticised editorially as I will curse the day when our policies will receive the support of big business. But why should news be distorted? Does freedom of the Press mean to tell lies? — West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu.

PRESIDENT ZIA has told me that he is not interested in nuclear weapons. I would believe him — Morarji Desai.

MY forerunners in the diplomatic profession, as history records, did not always have the pleasure of returning to their motherland — Indian Ambassador to the USA Nani Palkhiwala

humour in real life



A BANK in Calcutta requests its clients : "All advances to be made on the first floor" — T. T. Sen, Calcutta.

OUR teacher who caught two of my friends and I talking in class, rebuked us and said : "Both of you three meet me behind the class when I am empty" — Arif Hussain, Delhi.

india abroad

NAIROBI : The Ugandan President, Mr Yusuf Lule, has apparently opened the door for the return of 50,000 Asians, most of them Indians expelled by Marshal Idi Amin in 1971 and compensation for those whose business ventures were expropriated.

... Mr Lule said non-African Ugandans whose large enterprises were expropriated by Mr Amin but not given to new African owners, had the "automatic right to participate in them with the Government." — *Hindu*

KUALA LUMPUR : Leaders of Malay-

sia's minority races have begun talks with the Government for prompt action against an extremist Muslim group desecrating Hindu temples... The group broke into four Hindu temples in the west coast State of Malacca and the northern State of Perak on the Thai border and destroyed images of deities. Last year the group allegedly desecrated 20 temples. The police are offering a reward of \$2,270 for information leading to the arrest of the group. — *Statesman*

"We made mistakes, let's confess"

Says SOURIN BOSE (55), veteran CPI (ML) leader, who in 1970 had gone to China to consult prominent Chinese leaders as a representative of the Naxalites in India, about their movement. PATHIK GUHA spoke to him after his release from prison along with Kanu Sanyal, after eight years and two months, about the stormy past, dormant present, and uncertain future of the Naxalite movement.

Q: Now that you and Mr Kanu Sanyal have been released from jail, what will your next move be?

A: Why should I tell you? Is ours a bourgeois Party? It is only those Parties that convene Press conferences who take decisions (in advance). We are not used to it.

Q: You, Mr Sanyal and some other top-ranking leaders are to meet in Siliguri very soon. Is it all that unlikely that a joint decision will emerge there?

A: Again, I protest against your use of the term "top-ranking". Look, in our Party there is no worker who considers himself a leader, not to speak of a "top-ranking" leader. Everyone is just a worker. As for the Siliguri meet, I can tell you that our basic concern will be assessment. A resolution or something of the sort may come out of it next.

Q: Your Party has lost so many young people who, at your behest, laid down their lives at the altar of revolutionary ideal. Do you not hold yourselves accountable for the loss of their lives?

A: I am not the authority to speak for others. But if you ask me I would confess that I do. Let me recall Tagore in his poem *Prishna* (The Question), in which he wrote:

What about my seeing
the young lad,
In his madness, beating
his head on stones
To die in gruesome pain,
An unfruitful death?

Those who were killed died unsung. Even if you do not accept their ideology, you cannot question the dedication with which they plunged into the movement. I feel sorry when I face so many dead comrades' near and dear ones. Now that things have not taken the shape we wanted them to, how shall we go to those who are alive today?

Q: What went wrong with your movement?

A: We totally ignored the urban



Deviprasad Sinha

areas. Our comrades were told that as there was nothing left to be done in the towns and cities, they should all go to the villages and concentrate their efforts there. We made peasants demigods, while antagonising the middle class.

Q: Didn't anti-social elements infiltrate your Party?

A: Yes, and this was another reason why our movement failed in the urban areas. Take the case of the assassination of the veteran Forward Bloc leader Hemanta Bose. We know who did it. Unfortunately, they were not the ones who were tried in court. The suspects were arrested because they belonged to our Party. Those who were behind the crime were only stamped as 'Naxalites'.

Q: Why did you preach the destruction of public property, like schools, colleges and sometimes trams and buses?

A: Oh, that was part of the romantic adventurism. With (their) petty bourgeois romanticism, some of our cadres attacked the structure only, while ignoring the system. They ought to have destroyed the latter first. Many of our overzealous comrades refused to heed the warning that our armed struggle would be ill-timed. They didn't want to comprehend even the uniqueness of India in view of its socio-economic condition and refused to wait till the time was ripe for an armed struggle.

Q: You mean they 'mechanically followed Marxist theory'?

A: Yes, that was the greatest

flaw. Allow me to quote Engels in his *Anti-Dühring*: "The principles are not the starting point of investigation, but its final result; they are not applied to nature and human history, but abstracted from them; it is not nature and the realm of humanity which conform to those principles; but the principles are only valid in so far as they are in conformity with nature and history." Many of our comrades, totally oblivious of the circumstances prevailing here, believed they should be guided by Marxist theory in their actions. And we have realised what was ahead of us. Now some of my comrades might be evasive about a frank confession. I cannot understand this face-saving bid. That we committed mistakes has been proved beyond doubt, so let us confess. It would help in learning a lesson at least.

Q: What is this difference of circumstances you are talking about?

A: Your question needs an elaborate answer. Since that is not possible now, I shall cite just one example. The rule of Mrs Gandhi was entirely autocratic. She was like a cruel monarch. Had India been any other country, we would have been under a military dictatorship by this time. How many of us could foresee her fall in such a bloodless manner? I am not saying that a dictatorship of the proletariat has been established after she was overthrown. What I am pointing to is her fall.

Q: Would you comment on the Janata Government at the Centre?

A: They are a funny lot, each one working for his own ends.

Q: In 1970, you went to China to meet Chinese leaders like the then Premier, Chou En Lai and Foreign Affairs chief Kang San. How did they view your movement here in India?

A: Premier Chou took strong exception to our slogan: "China's Chairman is our Chairman".

Q: What did he say about it?

A: He told me: "By raising slogans like this you are only increasing your masses' ill-feeling towards China".

Q: Didn't the Chinese leaders give you some guidelines?

A: No. They said they should not, as they themselves had not heeded Russian dictates.

Q: West Bengal's Chief Minister Mr Jyoti Basu recently said at a rally in Siliguri that the Naxalite movement never had a mass following, and therefore the CPI (ML) should not be reckoned as a Party of the people. Would you comment?

A: I have spoken to Mr Basu about his remark. What I am given to understand is that he meant the group led by Vinod Misra and Satyanarayan Sinha.

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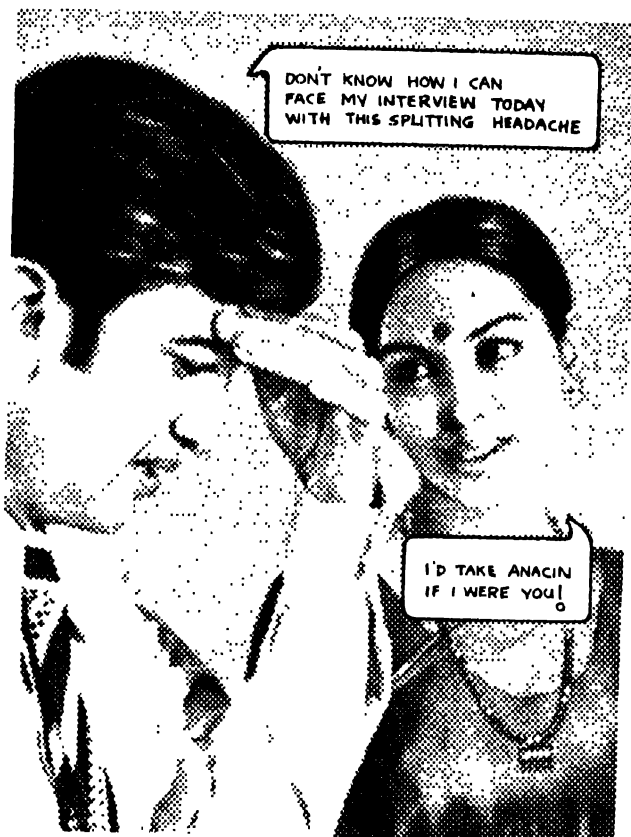
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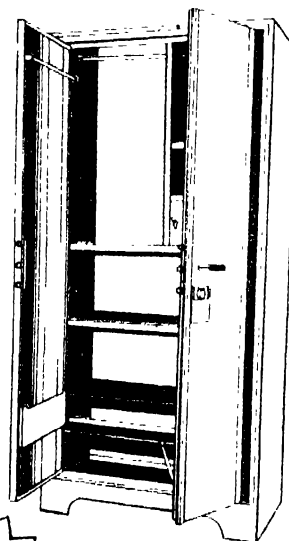
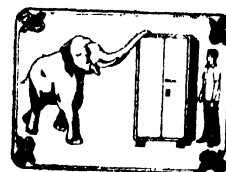
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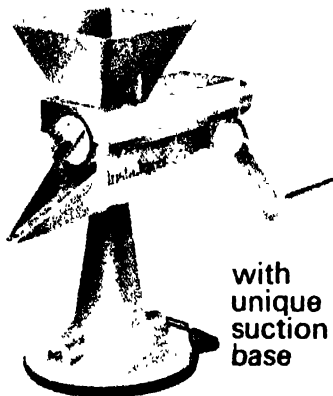


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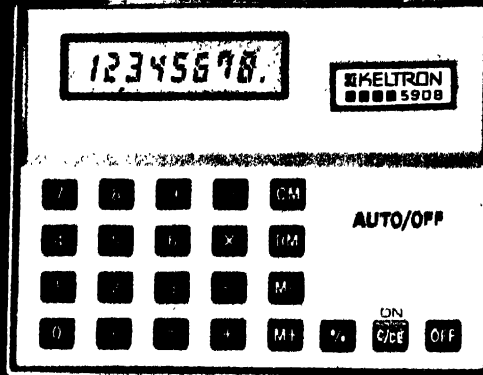
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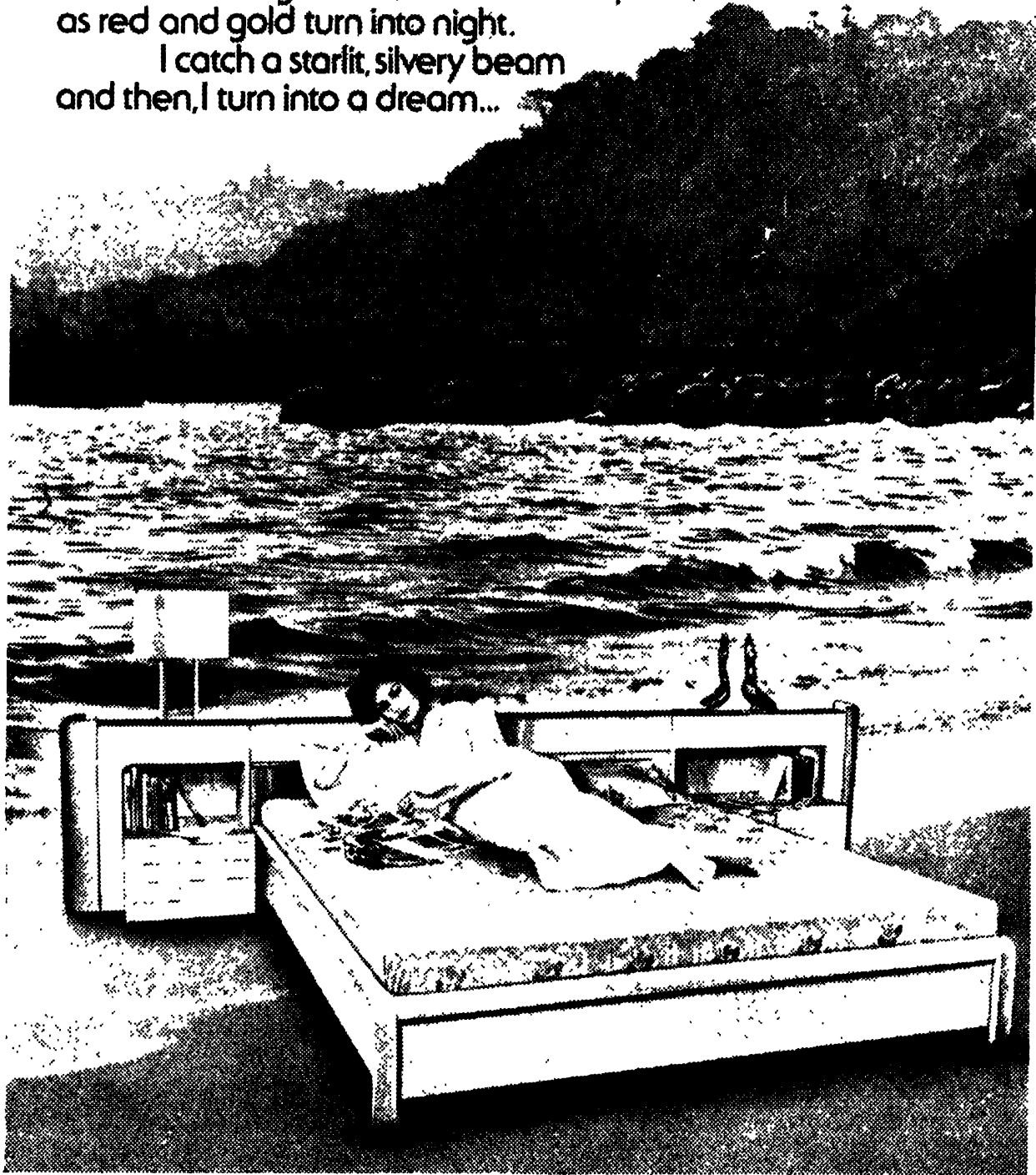


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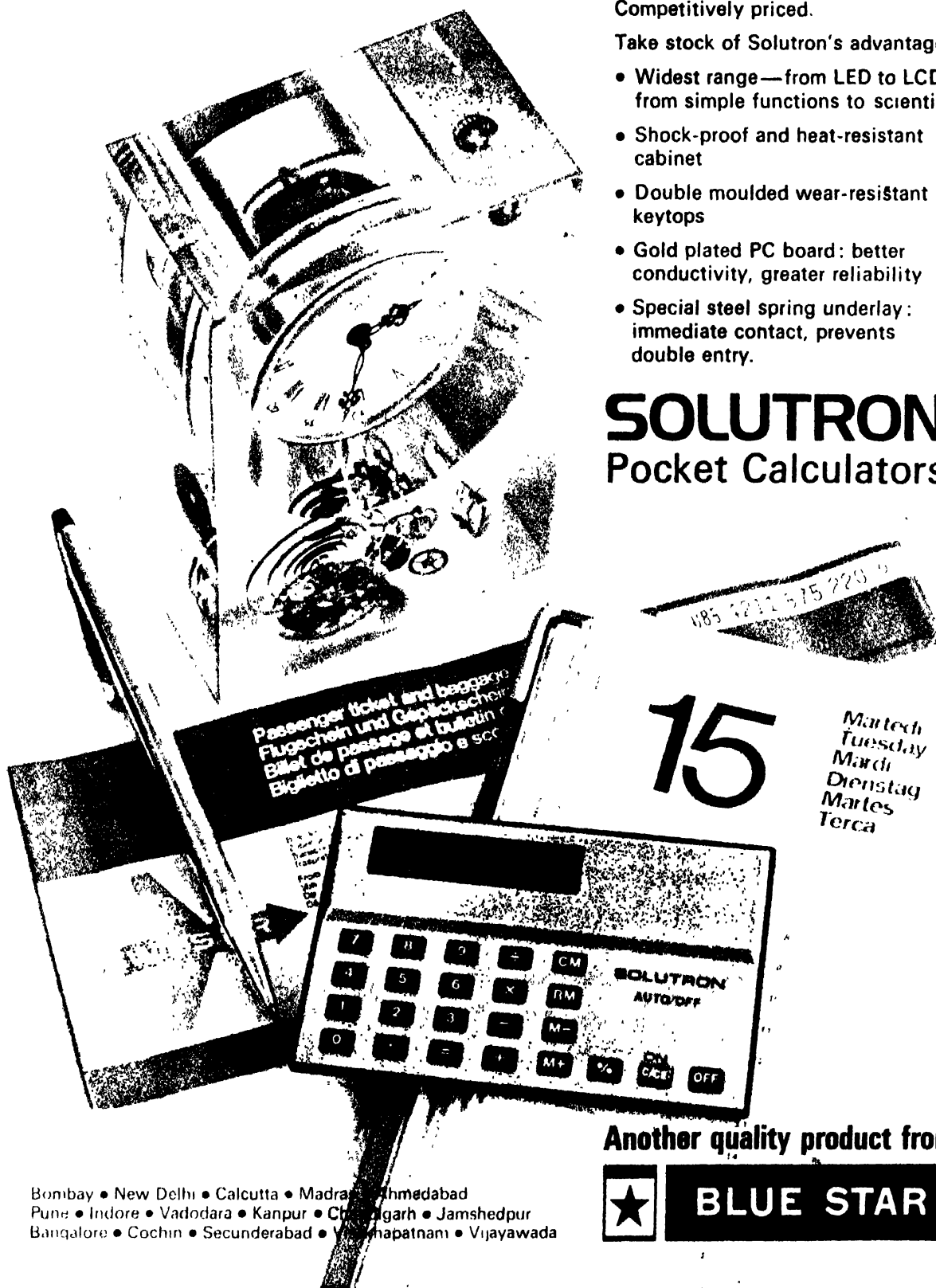
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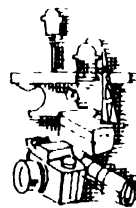
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CHAITRA-SBI-460



The mysteries surrounding the assassination of the former Union Railways Minister, Mr L. N. Mishra, in a hand-grenade blast in January, 1975, have not been entirely cleared. Though the Mathew Commission has submitted its report, many questions still remain, which if cleared, could lead to the implication of Mrs Gandhi's close associates in this murder case. Recently, the Tarkunde report and a series of investigative reports run by the **Indian Express** has thrown open the question and established the need for a fresh inquiry commission. ARUN RANJAN, who has been working on this story for years reveals some startling new facts, and interviews Ram Bilas Jha, the alleged "Boss Jha" named by one of the accused

The CPI(M) has lost a great deal of support in the urban areas but has gained significant ground in the rural areas. **BARUN SENGUPTA** analyses the situation.



Dr Farooq Abdullah, eldest son of Sheikh Abdullah, besides being a doctor, is a force in Kashmir politics. In fact, he is being talked about as his father's most likely successor. Z. G. MOHAMMAD spoke to him about Sheikh Abdullah's relations with the dissident leader Mirza Afzal Beg, the strength of the National Conference and the question of politicians' sons entering politics.



In a surprise move King Birendra of Nepal announced a referendum to decide whether the nation is to continue with the present panchayat system or not. M. J. AKBAR reports from Kathmandu on the situation arising from this move and interviews B. P. Koirala, veteran leader of the Nepali Congress, who may be the country's future Premier.

COMMENT

Opinion 12

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Editor: M. J. Akbar

Assistant Editor: Subir Roy, Editorial Staff: Shubhendra Bhattacharya, Nandini Mitra, Gayatri Mahanta, Saumitra Baran, Tarun Kar Ghosh, S. N. M. Abid, Delhi Correspondent: Ajay Bose, Art Director: B. P. Koirala, Asst Art Director: Ananya Bhattacharya

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SUNDAY



RAJIV:

Mathai says the best thing you did in England was meet Sonia, he answers: "He's absolutely right."

Frank and forthright

M J. AKBAR's interview with Rajiv Gandhi ("Rajiv Gandhi answers", May 13) made lively reading. Mr Rajiv Gandhi did not try to evade Mr Akbar's questions. When the interviewer says: "Mathai says the best thing you did in England was meet Sonia", he answers: "He's absolutely right." This shows Rajiv to be a very frank person. He is undoubtedly more mature than his younger brother Sanjay Gandhi.
Asit Kumar, Dhanbad

Bare fact

ONE would expect the illustrious Editor of SUNDAY, who parades a Muslim name, to know that his brethren-in-faith do not offer any collective prayers bareheaded, and without an Imam. But the illustration of a few bearded baldies offering Namaz at a Varanasi Ram Mandir ("This India", May 13) belies that expectation.
Laila Arzumand Banu, Karbi Anglong (Assam)

You can help

THE management of Sivananda Saraswathi Sevashram, housing 125 orphans, requests the public to donate liberally for the construction of a dormitory costing Rs. 2 lakhs. Generous donors can come forward to help these destitutes and bless them. Donations may be sent to Sivananda Saraswathi Sevashram, No. 20, Kambar Street, East Tambaram, Madras 600 059.
Lakshmi Rajaram, Secretary, Sivananda Orphanage, Madras.

Burning problem

YOU brought out an excellent report by S. C. Anantharaman on the shadow-boxing between the Petroleum and Industries Ministries over the manufacture of the Nutan stove ("What's cooking?", May 13). The net sufferers are the nation, which is losing Rs 30 crores in foreign exchange every year. I do not understand why orders should not be issued to the Indian Oil Corporation officials to inspect the units identified by the NSIC at Madras, Hyderabad, Rajkot and Bombay. Licences should be issued for the manufacture of 50,000 stoves per month at each of the above units. The IOC has no business to allow an increase in the manufacturing price of the Calcutta firm from Rs. 32 to Rs. 42. The production of the stove should be entrusted to small scale entrepreneurs, at an initial price of Rs. 32. It is not out of place to mention here that a Madras firm has invented a gadget to measure the quantity of gas in the LPG (liquefied petroleum gas) cylinder at any given point of time. For reasons best known to them, the IOC officials were not very enthusiastic about the idea, and have not taken any steps to ensure its manufacture by the firm.

V. Dhandapani, Salem

WE WOULD like to point out the difficulties and constraints we face in manufacturing Nutan stoves. To begin with, Nutan stoves need seven different kinds of steel sheets of different gauges, some of which are difficult to procure in India. For example, 28 gauge and 26 gauge sheets are being manufactured only by the Tinsplate Company of India Ltd. and whenever they fail to supply the sheets due to constraints like power cuts, shortage of coal or non-receipt of materials from their suppliers, we have difficulty procuring 26 gauge and 28 gauge sheets to maintain the standard quality of Nutan stoves. Some of the components of Nutan are made of 28 gauge galvanised plain sheets, which are not produced in the country at all.

When we took up the matter with the Ministry of Steel, Government of India, we were clearly told that these

thinner gauge sheets are not indigenously produced in adequate quantities, and would have to meet our requirements with imports. You might be aware that the price of imported sheets is much higher.

For your information, our agreement with IOC stipulates the escalation of the price of the stove will be on the basis of the cost of sheets manufactured by the Tinsplate Company of India Ltd, or Hindustan Steel Ltd. As we sometimes had to use imported material released from the buffer stock by SAIL at a much higher price, we appealed to IOCL for a price increase for these costly materials, otherwise the production of Nutan stoves would have to be shut down. But IOCL said that the price increase could not be allowed on the basis of imported materials, as this was not enjoined in the agreement. Further, Nutan stoves are supposed to save the country foreign exchange, and their manufacture from imported materials is against the basic idea of saving foreign exchange.

Regarding the increase in the price of Nutan stoves, from the very outset, we would like to state that our agreement stipulates a price increase due to the price of steel and the consumer price index of West Bengal, and during the first year of manufacture we did not get any increase. Further, over the last two years we have been manufacturing the stoves, their ex-factory price was raised only twice according to the agreement. Central Excise was raised from 1 per cent to 8 per cent, railway freight by 25 per cent, and sales tax, purchase tax, etc. were changed six times during this period. We feel, considering the increase in the prices of prime materials such as paint, steel, wires, etc. and the present crisis in paper, required for the carton boxes of the stoves, the price being given to us is absolutely unremunerative. We sincerely believe more manufacturers should come forward to manufacture Nutan stoves, but we doubt whether any firm would come forward, given the present price range, even though they stand to benefit from having a finished and popular product on their hands.

S. Sen, Director, Oriental Metal Industries Private Ltd, Calcutta

The moral

YOUR special report on "CIA's Indian agents" (May 13) by Kewal Varma and other companion pieces, though well-documented, produced nothing sensational except recreating the murky role of the CIA in developing and underdeveloped countries. It is integral to the CIA's conception of necessary strategy to sabotage leftist movements. An important functionary in the early Fifties,

Karmit Roosevelt, said recently that he was sent to Teheran in 1953 when Mohammed Mossadegh temporarily exiled the Shah of Iran. Karmit Roosevelt was allowed to spend 75,000 dollars on the CIA-engineered demonstration clamouring for the Shah's return, and the Shah returned, ultimately. The unspent amount of the CIA's Project-Teheran was handed over to the Shah to curb the communist movement in Iran. It would be moonshine to expect Mrs

Gandhi to admit having accepted CIA money. What did she have to say about the joint CIA-Indian expedition to Nanda Devi and later Nanda Kot to instal a plutonium device for surveillance of Chinese activities beyond the Himalayas? The moral is clear: If you have a bad case, abuse the opponent as virulently as possible. Mrs Gandhi is trying to do that by denouncing Mr Moynihan. *Jahar Das and Karick Chandra Das, Calcutta*

IT WAS quite surprising to learn that Mrs Gandhi received contributions from the US Government for her election campaign but blamed the CIA for ousting her from power. The charges levelled by Mr Moynihan in his book *A Dangerous Place* cannot

be taken lightly. He must have gathered authentic information about the circumstances under which the money had been provided. The matter deserves serious attention, and there should be a thorough probe into the charges. *Prahlad Ghosh, Calcutta*

HAVING said that Mr Daniel Patrick Moynihan's charge is true and well-founded, David Selbourne goes on to establish a connection between Mrs Gandhi and the CIA ("The CIA-Congress coalition", May 13). Incidentally, he gets worked up about the Emergency and attributes to Mrs Gandhi a "paranoic" fear of right reaction. But if Mrs Gandhi had any connection with the CIA, so had Jayaprakash Narayan, and so, too, some

of the politicians in power now. America's solicitude for JP's health and the expert treatment arranged for him in the US are significant. Could it not be that JP's 'Total Revolution' was influenced by the CIA?

The Janata fought the last General Elections with US money channelled through the CIA and even now many political leaders are beneficiaries of CIA munificence. It is said that the US is going the whole hog backing the Jana Sangh faction in the Janata power struggle. The tendency now is to get so stuck with Mrs Gandhi and Sanjay that we hardly see an issue in the larger perspective. If Mr Selbourne brings to bear an open mind on the matter he would have much more to say about many more people. *K. Narayan, Madras*

AN APOLOGY

We are extremely sorry that due to a most unfortunate mistake, the interview with Mr Yashpal Kapoor (Sunday, June 17) went as "Yunus is a 'thief'". As our readers will have noticed, nowhere does Mr Kapoor specifically make this allegation, and we appreciate that this headline would damage the reputation of Mr Mohammad Yunus, and our apologies go out to him.

MGR gets all

AN ITEM in "Khaas Baat" (May 13) reminds me of a humorous incident that took place shortly after the screening of the movie *Veerapandia Kattabomman*, based on the life of a freedom fighter from Tamil Nadu, Kattabomman, who was hanged by the British. In the movie, Sivaji Ganesan, who plays the role of Kattabomman, is hanged in the last scene. But outside the theatre, after the movie was over, some of MGR's supporters were heard saying: "If our Vathiar (MGR) had played the role of Kattabomman instead of Sivaji, he would have killed all the Britishers and escaped." *S. Ravi Shankar, Bombay*

AFTER reading the "Khaas Baat" from the South, one gets the impression that the South Indian film industry is obsessed with sex. This is especially so in the case of Malayall films.

K. K. Nair, Patnagarh.

The RSS replies

I WAS on my tour to the various summer training classes of RSS held in different States when a journalist-friend brought to my notice an item reported by Mr Santosh Bhartiya whom I had occasion to meet at Paunar. After reading the report, I felt that I did well in not helping him to get an interview with Shri Balasaheb Deoras for distorted reporting seems to be his speciality.

He writes about my threatening to finish SUNDAY and Ravvar's credibility. Can someone finish somebody else's credibility—who caused the erosion of AIR's credibility during the Emergency; surely their own partisan reporting of half-truths and untruths to suit the Indira regime? I certainly said that SUNDAY has taken to sensationalism and is not at all concerned about the veracity of the facts it publishes and hence is losing credibility. We will not like to help in establishing it again amongst sympathisers by giving this interview. It is not necessary to agree with us but like the *Illustrated Weekly* it is best to give both sides of the picture, if you are not a part of the committed Press, and believe in objectivity. Of late this has not been your role. Your credibility is in your own hands.

As regards the darkening of my face and anger, I having been a teacher in a university for 25 years. I am used to all sorts of silly questions and getting angry is hardly a teacher's virtue. Fortunately I am remembered as an excellent teacher by my students and colleagues.

When your paper becomes more objective and balanced and does not present a partisan attitude, bent upon finding holes which may not exist and twisting everything to suit your own outlook it will be worthwhile giving interviews to it. Surely fascism is not in not giving interviews but in a correspondent's

attitude; 'I shall have it and twist it to serve my taste'.

Hoping that you will publish this letter to show that you are not that biased.

Rajendra Singh, Rashtriya Swam-sewak Sangh, New Delhi.

If Mr Rajendra Singh read SUNDAY a little more carefully, he would have realised that there was no need for that last line of his letter. As for our credibility, it is for our readers to decide about that, not partisan leaders of political organisations for whom any criticism becomes 'biased reporting'. As for giving 'both sides of the picture' Mr Singh will surely appreciate that it is difficult for us to present his viewpoint if he refuses to talk to us. In any case, in reporting a specific incident, like a riot, there is only one picture, and we try our best to get as close to the truth as possible, given the limits of human frailty. It is, indeed, interesting, and perhaps indicative, that two organisations seem to be terribly upset with us: the RSS and the Jamaat-e-Islami. However, let us not argue about this. Instead, I personally request Mr Singh, or Mr Deoras, to attempt to 'restore the balance' by answering some of the charges against the RSS published in our magazine. Would Mr Singh care to begin by trying to rebut the points made in Mr Madhu Limaye's article (SUNDAY, May 27)? Mr Limaye, as Mr Singh is surely aware, is a senior leader and MP of the Janata Party. I do not know what adjectives Mr Singh would like to use to describe Mr Limaye, but surely Mr Singh would like to answer what was printed? We, on the editorial side, and all our readers, anxiously await Mr Singh's response—Editor, SUNDAY.

The Tarkunde Report and the series of investigative stories by the Indian Express has thrown the question open again. Members of the Mishra family have demanded a fresh inquiry into the episode: this demand has been backed by senior Janata leaders. ARUN RANJAN from Patna presents the many facets of this intriguing case.

WHO MURDERED L.N. MISHRA?

ON January 3, 1975, the second most important political assassination in our nation's history took place. Union Railways Minister L. N. Mishra lost his life in Samastipur following an attack by a handgrenade. Many arrests were made, an inquiry commission produced a report, the law-enforcing authorities charged a number of men with the crime, but the mysteries surrounding the event were never properly cleared. Too many questions, some extraordinarily serious, remained unanswered. Mrs Gandhi and her Ministers accused the Ananda Marg of the crime, but many people in the country, particularly Mrs Gandhi's political opponents, began pointing an accusing finger directly at some of the people surrounding Mrs Gandhi, and indirectly at her. There were many inconsistencies in the investigation, but the most important was the fact that the CBI, which took charge, refused to investigate a clue which led to Ram Bilas Jha, a Congress MLC, despite a recorded



confession by one of the accused implicating Jha. (We publish the transcript of the confession in this issue).

After coming to power, the Janata Government of Bihar under Karpoori Thakur, turned over the papers of the investigation and the report of the Mathews Commission to the respected jurist V. M. Tarkunde for his opinion. In a crisp and devastating report, Tarkunde has completely demolished the theories that have been so far used by the investigating teams to solve the case. It would be wrong to call Mrs Gandhi or anyone else guilty on the basis of the evidence available, but what has been established beyond doubt is that there is need for a fresh investigation into the Mishra assassination. The Indian Express recently ran a series of stories which cast fresh doubts on the CBI's role in the episode. Our investigation, which had begun long before the Express stories broke, has unearthed new facts obtained from sources in Patna, Samastipur and Darbhanga.

Some New Facts

RAM Bilas Jha and Mastan Baba flew from Patna to Darbhanga in a State plane. Mastan Baba, the sadhu who had been introduced to L. N. Mishra by Yashpal Kapoor, had come from Delhi along with Mr Mishra. From Darbhanga, they went to Samastipur in the special saloon, and were present on the dais from which Mishra was speaking when the grenade was thrown at him. Five minutes before the explosion, Jha left the dais and went into the saloon; he was the only

person to leave. Mr L. N. Mishra was still addressing the audience. Later, Arun Kumar Thakur, approver in the original CBI investigation, mentioned a "Boss Jha" in his statement before the magistrate. Thakur however added that he did not know "Boss Jha"; he was only informed by Arun Mishra that "Boss Jha" had arrived at the rally and that things were all right.

A few days after the incident, an important person said that he twice saw Jha standing near the dais after Jha had left it. Jha seemed to be surveying the crowd intensely; he was seen looking repeatedly in a particular direction. The bomb was hurled from this direction.

In the meantime, the Central intelligence informed the State Government that the activities of Jha, an

MLC, were raising suspicions. According to their reports, Jha was injured and he was undergoing treatment at Ranchi. He was described as one of the suspects in the case. The State Government found that Ram Bilas Jha was in Ranchi but he was not injured.

Many people tried their best to treat L. N. Mishra right there. But, according to many witnesses, Ram Bilas Jha insisted that Mishra should be taken to Danapur. When Dr Nasib Lal Jha, an expert surgeon and a relative of Mr Mishra went to see the injured leader at Samastipur, Ram Bilas Jha prevented him from entering the compartment where L. N. Mishra lay injured.

The attack on Mishra took place at 6 p.m. A special train was due to go to Patna via the main line. But at

Samastipur, the engine was shunted from one end to the other and the train set off only at 8.30. By this time, the others who were injured had reached Darbhanga. The railway authorities had given orders that the track should be kept clear to allow the train to proceed directly to Patna. But the train was however detained for 20 minutes at Barauni. No one on the train knew why, the reason was discovered later: from Samastipur, someone had told the railway canteen at Barauni that chicken and pulao should be kept ready for 50 people, and the delay was because this food was being taken aboard. The railway officials quickly ascribed this delay to "technical reasons" but the truth was different, and was witnessed by the then District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, Begusarai. Chicken and pulao delayed the train by a vital 20 minutes.

When the train reached Patna, it was again detained on the excuse that Dr U. N. Shahi and other doctors were to join the train. In fact, Dr Shahi was not permitted to enter the compartment and he left feeling both sad and angry. The train remained at Patna until 11.30, and a few newsmen got off at Patna.

The train reached Danapur at 12.30 at night. Before he was operated upon, one of India's top heart specialists, Dr Karoli was contacted on the phone. He suggested various precautions as Mr Mishra was a chronic heart patient. His advice was ignored, and as soon as the operation began. Mr Mishra had a heart arrest. A cardiac operation was performed, but by then, L. N. Mishra was dead. Is it true that a fake operation on the grenade wounds was conducted on Mishra's dead body?

Since Mr Mishra had died under suspicious circumstances, it was necessary to conduct a post mortem. It is said that Ram Bilas Jha vehemently opposed the post-mortem saying that the doctors would make a mess of the dead body. The post-mortem was not conducted. Who is responsible for this lapse? There should also be an inquiry into what Mr Mishra ate and drank in the train.

The next day the dead body was taken to Balua Bazar for the last rites. Ram Bilas Jha was present at the cremation. Mr Mishra's relatives told the DIG, Commissioner, DM, SP and Mrs Gandhi, in the hearing of everyone, that Ram Bilas was the 'murderer', and he should be asked to leave, or he could be murdered. Eventually, Ram Bilas had to leave.

A night before he left Delhi, Mr Mishra had told his wife: "I am going to Bihar. When I return, I will have to leave Delhi for good. You live here with the children. I tried my best to remain a part of the Delhi scene. But, Indiraji is determined to remove me. I would have left immediately for Bihar but Barooahji is in Kashmir. On my return I will discuss this with him then I will have to leave for Bihar".

The next day, the weather was bad

Who is who in the murder case

Yashpal Kapoor :	Former private secretary to Mrs Indira Gandhi.
Ram Bilas Jha :	Former Congress MLC of Bihar, a close associate of Yashpal Kapoor, and now a member of the CPI(M).
D. Sen :	Former CBI Director.
P. V. Hingorani (Rtd.) :	CBI official.
I. C. Dwivedi :	CBI official.
H. L. Ahuja :	CBI official.
K. A. Ramasubramaniam :	Chief Secretary to the Bihar Government.
Raghunath Pande :	Transporter and Chairman of the Muzaffarpur municipality in January 1975.
Arun Kumar Mishra :	Accused in the original CBI investigation, allegedly disclosed the conspiracy to murder Mr Mishra to the Samastipur jailor. He named Ram Bilas Jha and Raghunath Pande as co-conspirators.
Arun Kumar Thakur :	Approver in the original CBI investigation.
Sheo Narain Sharma :	Arranged handgrenades for Arun Kumar Mishra and Arun Kumar Thakur?
S. A. Rahman :	Jailor of the Samastipur jail.
Bir Chand Tantla :	Business man of Samastipur at whose house Ram Bilas Jha allegedly gave money to Sheo Narain Sharma to execute the murder plan.
Vikram :	Approver in the CBI case against some Ananda Marg followers.
Visveshwaranand I :	Original name is Hans Lal, resident of Bhojpur district, involved in a murder case, absconding. Real Visveshwaranand.
Visveshwaranand II :	Fake CBI approver, original name Madan Mohan Srivastava, resident of Darbhanga, reinstated in the job of a clerk in the PWD (after 11 years) after he made a confessional statement to the CBI.
Santoshanand :	Ananda Marg follower, alleged to have planned the murder of Mr Mishra.
Sudevanand :	Another Ananda Marg follower, alleged to have helped Santoshanand in the murder plan.
Ranjan Dwivedi :	A lawyer alleged to have procured passes for the Ananda Marg followers to enter the Samastipur railway station on January 2, 1975.
Girjanandan Prasad :	A stenographer in the Samastipur collector, who gave a statement to the CBI that Ananda Marg followers had stayed at his house the day Mr Mishra was injured in a handgrenade blast.

and the plane was delayed. Mr Mishra was at home, and there he decided against leaving for Patna. But Mastan Baba insisted that he must go. When did the Baba become Mr Mishra's political adviser? Who is he? It is said that the Baba, whose house was two miles from Jha's was once an ordinary sadhu and he reached Mr Mishra's durbar through Yashpal Kapoor: becoming a man of means in the process.

NOW let us turn to the main plot and focus our attention on a controversial aspect of the murder case. The Bihar CID had begun its investigation on January 3. On January 4, the CBI team reached Bihar to assist the State CID. On January 10, the CBI took the investigation completely in their hands. The rule is that once the CBI takes charge after State Government approval, the State CID cannot do anything. When the then director of the CBI, D. Sen went to Samastipur, he took the IGP, Bihar, along with him. Sen suggested that the State police and CID should help the CBI in its investigation. On this understanding the State CID came back into the picture; it would do whatever was asked of it by the CBI. The State CID would help the CBI whenever it received a written request to that effect. Prior to January 10, there were no concrete theories to guide the investigation. There were four plausible "suspect groups": JP agitators Naxalites, railwaymen and the Ananda Marg. The CID and the CBI has sources among those Anand Margis who have left the organisation. These sources were tapped. By the end of January, it was clear that JP agitators, Naxalites or the Ananda Margis were not involved. This satisfied the IB and the CBI. However, the matter took a new turn when an obscure Ananda Margi who lived in Darbhanga claimed responsibility for the blast. There was great pressure on D. Sen to do something. The State CID had handed over all its findings to the CBI on January 10. The State CID had a clue that there were two "Arun Kumars". Until then (January 10) not much was known about them. The police officers of Samastipur narrate a fascinating story. According to them, one of the police officers saw one Arun Kumar throwing the bomb; this Arun Kumar came to the police station fifteen minutes after the explosion. But for fear of being involved, the police officer kept quiet. Much later, the CID came to know of this. When this police officer was questioned in March, he said that he knew nothing. If this is true, was the case properly investigated? Was this incident suppressed due to lack of sufficient evidence?

Now let us turn to the theory of two "Arun Kumars". This important clue remained in the background during the whole of January. When the 'major' theories flopped, only then did the authorities turn their attention to this 'minor' lead. Arun Kumar Thakur was apprehended in



L. N. Mishra on the dais

the first week of February. The CBI issued a written order to the CID to arrest him. Similarly, soon after, Arun Kumar Mishra was arrested. It is wrong, therefore, to say that the Arun Kumars were interrogated jointly by the CID and the CBI. Before this joint team, Arun Kumar Thakur confessed that the entire murder plot was executed by Arun Kumar Mishra, Shiv Sharma, one unknown person and himself. This "unknown" person is very significant to the murder plot. His identity is yet to be established. The IG, CBI P. V. Hingorani and DIG, CBI L. C. Dwivedi were among those who interrogated the two Arun Kumars. On February 13, 1975, CBI director, D. Sen spoke to Arun Kumar Mishra for an hour at the Dalsinghsarai inspection bungalow. What was their secret conversation about? Soon after, D. Sen told his CBI officers that Arun Mishra spoke the truth and if he agreed his version could be recorded in the court. H. L. Ahuja, DSP, CBI informed the court in writing that the CBI had arrested Arun Kumar Mishra and his confession was to be recorded in the court. This intimation can be traced out among the documents. On the basis of this intimation, Arun Kumar Mishra's statement was recorded before the Chief Judicial Magistrate on February 21. Now, how can the CBI contend that the Arun Kumar episode was handled by the State CID? It is apparent that the CBI had a hand in promoting the Arun Kumar story. This point must be carefully noted if one wants to understand why initially the CBI pushed forward the Arun Kumar story but later tried to suppress it.

AFTER Arun Kumar Mishra's confession, the question arose as to who was "Boss Jha" and the 'unknown person', who came near the



Arun Kumar Thakur

dais with Arun Kumar Thakur. Because the police knew that Arun Mishra knew "Boss Jha" efforts began to get the identity from Mishra. Mishra wove a tale of CPI(M) workers whereby Umakant Jha was suspected to be "Boss Jha" and Joginder Raut the "unknown person". Investigations showed that on that day Umakant Jha was in Jhajha in connection with a procession and went then to Jamuh to attend a court case. Umakant and Raut were released on bail. Thakur and Mishra were sent to jail. The CBI and the CID met in the offices of the Samastipur IB to devise further plans. They discussed how to extract information from Arun Mishra regarding "Boss Jha's" identity. S. A. Rahman, the jailer of Samastipur jail, was entrusted with the task of getting Mishra's confidence. The IG, CBI would meet Rahman every day to know if he had made any progress. Through Rahman, the CBI would send eggs, meat etc to Arun Mishra every day. Then Shiv Sharma was sent to the same jail. A few prisoners were also told to spy on the two. One night, Mishra and Sharma began quarrelling and they were heard saying: "Why doesn't Ram Bilas Jha come and free us?" On the basis of this information, Rahman extracted a confession from Arun Mishra and taped it without his knowledge. The tape was handed over to the CBI. For a day, the tape remained with the CID who copied it. The CID also had it transcribed and the IG, CBI, Hingorani, attested it as 'received'.

Suddenly, after two months the CBI declared that the Ram Bilas theory was wrong. All efforts were made to suppress the story of the tape. There was no mention of the tape in the CBI records. During a meeting with the Home Minister in

July 1977, the Bihar CID said that they had the recorded version of the tape as well as the receipt which showed that the CBI had received it. For the first time, the CBI confessed that they had the tape. If the receipt was not with the CID, the CBI would have certainly killed that angle. In the meantime the CBI pushed forward the Ananda Marg story. Thus the Ram Bilas theory was abandoned without proper verification. The CBI had abandoned the CPI(M) workers' and the railwaymen's theory only after proper verification. Why was it negligent about the Ram Bilas angle? Apparently, D. Sen came to Samastipur when he was informed that the tape involved Yashpal Kapoor and Ram Bilas Jha and immediately dismissed the tape story. At this point, the CBI even stopped asking the CID for assistance. It should be remembered that the CBI had shown great interest in Arun Mishra initially. In fact it was a CBI officer, Ahuja, who asked the court to record Mishra's statement. D. Sen had spoken to Arun Mishra for an hour at the Dalsinghsarai inspection bungalow. Did Sen ask Arun Mishra to suppress Ram Bilas Jha's name? Was Sen's order instrumental behind Mishra's story of the CPI(M) workers which he narrated in the court? After his confession before the jailer, Mishra was transferred to Buxar where he was under constant watch by CBI officers. Did the CBI fear that he may divulge the Ram Bilas connection to others too. Eventually, Arun Kumar Mishra was freed.

The CBI launched a campaign to propagate that the State intelligence wanted to follow the Arun Kumar theory and not the Ananda Marg because they were interested in the cash award for solving the case. What is the truth? It is on record that D. Sen first told the IG, Bihar that a cash award should be instituted to provide an incentive for the CID. The award was announced by Brahmananda Reddy in the Lok Sabha in March and by Om Mehta in the Rajya Sabha. D. Sen also spoke to then Chief Minister, Abdul Gafoor, who reminded the IG, Bihar on two occasions about the award. DIG, CID S. B. Sahay was asked to recommend names for the award. D. P. Ojha and K. P. Singh of the State CID were selected for the award. Then came Arun Mishra's taped confessions and the CBI became nervous. Later, after Dr Jagannath Mishra's statement, the idea of the award was dropped. Was this because the CBI realised that the award for the CID would lend credibility to the CID's theory?

The Mathew Commission report says that L. N. Mishra told Dr Jagannath Mishra soon after the grenade attack that it was a conspiracy hatched at a high level. What was this 'level'? A senior Minister like L. N. Mishra could not have meant the Ananda Marg. Dr Jagannath Mishra had issued a statement after the incident which said: "We shall find out the truth even if important people of the country are involved. We shall

not flinch from sacrifice in order to find out the truth".

The CBI investigated the Ananda Marg theory during the Congress regime and chargesheeted the organisation. The case is still in the courts. When the Janata Party came into power in Bihar the CID said that the Ananda Marg theory was bogus and that they were not given the opportunity to investigate the Ram Bilas Jha angle as it was suspended at the initial stages.

THE person behind the revival of the L. N. Mishra murder case is Mrs Gandhi's insatiable opponent, Raj Narain. During a tour of North Bihar he came to know that the CID had certain documents which could indict Mrs Gandhi. He conveyed this immediately to Charan Singh, who spoke to officers of the Bihar CID and also heard the controversial tape which the CBI had taken great pains to suppress. Charan Singh's move was nearly aborted by the CBI. However, the then Chief Minister of Bihar, Karpooi Thakur wrote to Morarji Desai and also met him. The Prime Minister asked Karpooi Thakur to launch a new investigation and this work was entrusted to S. B. Sahay. His secret report reached the PM through the Bihar Chief Minister. The report highlighted the shortcomings of the Ananda Marg theory and suggested that the Ram Bilas angle should be investigated further.

Sahay's report is based on the statements of Madan Mohan Srivastava, alias Visheshwaranand (a CBI approver), Jaldhar Das, alias Vikram, and Girijananda Prasad, stenographer to the Collector, Samastipur. It had been proved that Madan Mohan Srivastava was not the real "Visheshwaranand". Hence, what was the value of his testament? Vikram said that he was tortured prior to his confession. Prasad too declared in the court that his previous statements were not true. It had also come to light that Srivastava was reinstated ten years after he had lost his job. He was given an official intimation to come back to work one day after he gave his statement in the court.

There was an attempt to bail out Srivastava when he was in police remand. The CBI agreed with the idea of bail inspite of Srivastava's confession that he had conspired with the Ananda Margis to kill L. N. Mishra. How did the CBI agree to the idea of granting him bail? In fact, Srivastava was bailed out from the police station itself. According to reliable sources, Srivastava made his statement because he was promised immediate bail. There is a rule that an approver stays in police custody as long as the trial lasts. It is ironical that a person who was accused of criminal conspiracy by the State was reinstated in a Government job as soon as he made his statement. It is imperative that the case is investigated once again. ■



The confession

This is the tape record of the conversation between Arun Mishra and jailer Rahman, which was allegedly ignored by the CBI. In this confession Mishra hints that Ram Bilas Jha is "Boss" Jha. We would like to stress that the various allegations made by Mishra against various people are not necessarily true. We only publish the tape verbatim. This is being published for the first time.

JAILER: A man should be truthful, and should not implicate innocent persons. But.....

Arun Kumar Mishra: Even if I am hanged, I shall speak the truth. After hearing you I have gained confidence in God.

Jailer: If you have thrown a bomb at someone's instigation, you are not guilty. He is and his crime will not be forgiven by God.

Arun: Sir, I have yet to see another honest officer like you. I believe in you but I cannot ever trust the police. If I tell the truth to the police then they will either implicate me in the crime or get me murdered.

Jailer: Mishra, have trust in me. The officers of the CBI, the Inspector General of Police and the DIG-CID, Mr Sahay, are all good, honest men.

Arun: However, I shall not talk with the Superintendent of Police, Samastipur. He betrayed me, got me beaten and created trouble for me.

Jailer: The SP is a good man. Forget what happened in the past. He is the man who is now going to set things right (for you).

Arun: The truth is that I threw the bomb. Sheonarain was standing beside me. Thakur did not have the courage (to throw the bomb) and dropped it on the railway track.

Jailer: From where did you bring the bomb?

Arun: On Sunday, Shiv Sharma was waiting in the house of Tantia...

Jailer: Why didn't you make him wait at your house?

Arun: I was scared of my father. And, Ram Bilas Jha was waiting in Tantia's house from the start. That is why arrangements were made for Shiv Sharma to stay there.

Jailer: Who is Ram Bilas Jha?

Arun: He is the MLC of the Mohiuddin Nagar Thana. He was close to L. N. Mishra. Later, they quarrelled. That is why he made a plan to murder him.

Jailer: Is there anyone else involved other than Jhaji?

Arun: Yes. A very good friend of Jhaji, Raghunath Pande. He owns a number of buses and is involved in smuggling on the Indo-Nepal border. At first he was an ordinary bus-cleaner. Now he is a millionaire.

18

Tarkunde's report

THE Indian Express stories are based on the findings of the Tarkunde Commission, and it was through these stories that the people came to know that the Tarkunde Report had been submitted to the Bihar Government in February 1979. The Report has achieved two things: Destroy the Ananda Marg angle of the story planted by the CBI and criticised the handling of the investigation of Jha from the evidence. The Mathew Commission which had supported the contention of the CBI has also come under attack. It has been said that when the names of Jha and Kapoor came to be mentioned, the CBI chief Mr D. Sen, acting under the instructions of the then Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, implicated the Ananda Marg. Instead of concentrating on the murder, the Mathew Commission shed tears over the climate of violence created by the JP movement. Arun Mishra was stopped from confessing by the CBI. Yashpal Kapoor was found moving around suspiciously in Samastipur when the murder took place. The report has further stated that a false Visheswaranand (Madan Mohan Prasad Srivastava) was found. In fact, the real Visheswaranand Hanslal, a resident of Tenduri village in Bhojpur district, is absconding. The report has noted



V. M. Tarkunde

the mysterious circumstances in which Madan Mohan Srivastava was reinstated in his job. The tale of torture suffered by another Ananda Margi, Vikram, has also been noted. When Mrs L. N. Mishra told Mr D. Sen that she suspected Mastana Baba who was close to Yashpal Kapoor and R. K. Dhawan, she was told to keep quiet otherwise Kapoor or some other bigwigs would be implicated.

A R

Jailer: Have you ever visited Pandeji's house?

Arun: Yes, I have been there. Many times. I remember, I went there on 15th December.

Jailer: Was there any conversation between Pandeji and Jhaji about (Lalit) Babu's murder?

Arun: Yes. It was for this that Jhaji took me along with him and told Pandeji that Mishra was a brave lad and would be able to do the work. He signalled towards me and said that Pandeji was an influential man and he had Ministers and officers at his beck and call. If you get caught he will see that you are released. It was Sunday (28th or 29th December). Tantia's house, Jhaji gave Rs 10,000 in front of Tantia to Shiv Sharma. He (Jhaji) told him that he would also get Rs 10,000 later.

Jailer: How much money did you people get?

Arun: Thakur and I received Rs 400 each.

Jailer: How long have Ram Bilas Jha and Shiv Shanker known each other?

Arun: He (Shiv Shanker) met Jhaji at his Mohiuddin Nagar house on 22nd November and came to my house on 25th November.

Jailer: Tell me something. You said if Lalit Babu was not assassinated in Samastipur he would have to

be finished at Narayanpur.

Arun: Yes. A black car belonging to Pandeji was waiting at the railway station to take us to Narayanpur in case the need arose. There was a young man in the car who is very close to him. Pandeji's manager, Satyanarain Singh, was also in the car.

Jailer: Have you ever dined in a hotel with Jhaji?

Arun: Yes. I took snacks on 28th or 29th December with Shivrinarin Sharma in Basudev Mistanna Bhandar. Other than this, on 25th November at around 12 at night when Jhaji came from Patna we took some snacks in Krishna Restaurant.

Jailer: Have you ever gone to Delhi or Patna with Jhaji?

Arun: Delhi, never. I have been to Patna many times. I used to stay in a hotel near the railway station. Jhaji used to bear the expenses.

Jailer: What does Sheonarain do?

Arun: He does business in illegal arms and bombs.

Jailer: Did you receive your money?

Arun: Sheonarain told me that I would get it when I was released from jail.

Jailer: How did you get in?

Arun: After Jhaji got down from the car he gave us three passes ■

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Who is Guilty?

EVERY murder has a motive behind it. The theorists who would like to point their finger at the then Government headed by Mrs Gandhi must, therefore, back up their arguments with a reasonable motive. After all, why should Mrs Gandhi want a close associate of hers like L. N. Mishra eliminated? The "motive-theory" implicating Mrs Gandhi would like us to believe that L. N. Mishra had not merely fallen out with Mrs Gandhi but was on the point of exposing her dramatically.

Yashpal Kapoor, who had recently become private secretary to Mrs Gandhi, had been quite involved in the Rae Bareilly election of 1971 — a fact borne out by the Allahabad High Court judgement which appeared later that year. It is believed that L. N. Mishra had contributed heavily to the campaign to elect Mrs Gandhi, but shrewd politician that he was, he had taken the wise decision to take receipts from Yashpal Kapoor and many junior organisers of the Rae Bareilly campaign. When the Tulmohan Ram scandal rocked Parliament, and the move to remove L. N. Mishra from the Cabinet gathered strength, Mrs Gandhi decided to remove him from Delhi and make him the Chief Minister of Bihar. But Mishra was not happy about this, and expressed his displeasure at being shunted off, to his wife and those close to him.

In the meantime, Mishra made another move. In an effort to ingratiate himself with Sanjay Gandhi he invested black money into Maruti. Sanjay fell into the trap by accepting the money. First Mishra bought some shares in the names of his relatives, then he picked up the Samastipur voters' list, picked out some names and addresses at random, and bought shares in those names.

It is believed that when Mrs Gandhi started pressurising L. N. Mishra to become the Bihar CM, he committed a grave political error. He told some intermediaries that in case Mrs Gandhi removed him, he would make public a receipt for Rs one lakh which he had contributed to her election campaign, and also expose Sanjay's bogus Maruti shares. Not only this, L. N. Mishra had also impulsively said that the receipt would be sent to Raj Narain. Along with Mrs Gandhi, even Raj Narain got to know of this, and started hovering around his house. In order to avoid him, L. N. Mishra started staying away from home. He realised that in case Mrs Gandhi got to know of what he had said, she would take severe action against him. In the end he gave an excuse to Raj Narain and got rid of him.



Yashpal Kapoor

It is also believed that some RAW officials were sent to Bihar to find out the truth about the bogus Maruti shares. They found that poor people living in small huts had bought costly shares!

Not only this, at the height of the JP movement, L. N. Mishra made attempts to contact Jayaprakash Narayan through his friend, Mr Gangasharan. To some it appeared that L. N. Mishra was doing all this as a penance for his sins. But actually, L. N. Mishra was probably about to do what Jagjivan Ram and others did later on.

Just before the assassination of Lalit Narain Mishra, Yashpal Kapoor was seen in Samastipur. Ostensibly, he had gone there to do some orga-

nisational work for the District Congress Committees. But according to the then Chief Minister of Bihar, Mr Abdul Gafoor, Yashpal Kapoor did not organise even one District Committee. Then what was Yashpal Kapoor doing there?

Mrs Gandhi, during the investigation, made inquiries about Rahman, the jailor, from Abdul Gafoor. It was the same Rahman who had got a confession on tape from Arun Mishra, in which there was a mention of Ram Bilas Jha and Yashpal Kapoor. It is believed that Mr Gafoor was removed from the Chief Ministership primarily because of this, as is evident from what follows. Reports reached Mrs Gandhi that Mr Gafoor wanted to implicate her in the L. N. Mishra murder case through the efforts of one Muslim officer, who was Mr Gafoor's man and whom he had promoted. Gafoor was at once called to Delhi and there he was removed from the Chief Ministership. L. N. Mishra's brother, Dr Jagannath Mishra, was then made the Chief Minister of Bihar. This little portion of Bihar politics is replete with mystery. If this mystery is solved, a lot of clues to the L. N. Mishra murder case may appear.

One versus one

PERHAPS the most fascinating aspect about this political murder is that it has virtually become a battleground for two beliefs, two organisations and two personalities.

First, there are two investigating agencies — the CBI and the CID. Where the CID began working at Ram Bilas Jha, Yashpal Kapoor and Indira Gandhi, the CBI has, without hesitation, put the Ananda Marg in the dock. The struggle between the CID and the CBI has now come out into the open. There are two types of people who were suspected, arrested and then released — the grunted railway employees like Dukhit Ram, and CPI(M) Party members like Umakant Jha. While the Bihar Government took the help of an outstanding judge, Mr Tarkunde (who blew apart the findings of the Mathew Commission) to unravel the mystery of the case, the Central Home Ministry is still intent on taking the legal counsel of a lawyer like Mr Karl Khandewala. The manner in which this case is taking shape, it is now quite clear that two political Parties — the Congress and the Janata — are now on a collision course. Not only this, there had also been differences of opinion regarding the case between the present Union Home Ministry and the last Bihar Ministry led by Mr Kapoori Thakur. And, of course, the

serious cases are apparently interlinked; the Mishra murder and the bomb attack on Justice A. N. Ray.

L. N. Mishra's own family has been divided in two. His wife, Mrs Kameshwari Mishra, his son Vijay Mishra, and his other brothers have been laying the blame squarely on the Government led by Mrs Gandhi as a result of the recent findings. His younger brother, ex-Chief Minister, Dr Jagannath Mishra has refused to accept the findings of the Tarkunde Commission and has accused the powers of trying to falsely implicate Mrs Gandhi. Two women are also involved in this case, indirectly — Mr L. N. Mishra's widow, Kameshwari Mishra, and Patricia, the American wife of an accused Ananda Margi, Ranjan Dwivedi.

Lastly, two "political" sadhus are also seemingly involved in this case: Mastana Baba, who had persuaded L. N. Mishra to go to Samastipur, and the mysterious lawyer-scholar, Pandit Dinesh Mishra, who recently met Mrs Gandhi in Patna Airport. Mastana Baba had forced Mr L. N. Mishra to go to Samastipur while Pandit Dinesh Mishra had forecast Mr Mishra's death many times. Will the struggle between so many different groups help in solving the murder case and tracing the "political" connections?

The case against the Ananda Marg

LN. MISHRA was fatally injured in a handgrenade blast on January 2, 1975, when he had gone to Samastipur to inaugurate a new railway line. On the same day around eight in the evening a similar blast shook the house of Mr Mahadev Sahu, Assistant Accountant of the North Eastern Railway. The CID started investigations from January 3. The CBI also reached Samastipur to help in the investigations on January 4, and on January 10 assumed responsibility for the inquiries.

Meanwhile the CID had arrested Mr Mahadev Sahu. The CID had a few questions: How did the grenade reach Sahu's house? How did it explode on the same day? Did the assassins rest in Sahu's house before or after the incident? The CBI also questioned members of the Sahu household. It was learnt that children of the Sahu family had picked up a grenade and brought it into the house for safe-keeping thinking it to be some strange object. This was found plausible by the CBI—after all which parents, involved in such a mammoth conspiracy, would have such a dangerous object within easy reach of children? It is apparent that the assassin might have quietly left the grenade on the road after the attack. Mahadev Sahu, who seemed innocent, was released. The difference of opinion between the CBI and the CID started from this point.

Among the injured, on the spot of the attack on L. N. Mishra, was a lower division clerk, Kishore. His presence among the bigwigs raised questions in the minds of the CID. Thus, Kishore was under suspicion. Later, the CBI too suspected him. It was learnt that before his death, Kishore had approached Mr Mishra to give his younger brother a job. The normal reaction would be: Why should a murderer ask a favour of his intended victim? Kishore could not estimate Mr Mishra's power in the Government setup. When the CBI failed to uncover anything, they released Kishore. This caused the second conflict between the two agencies—the CID and the CBI.

In Samastipur Hospital there was total chaos at that time. One Arun Kumar's name was on the "injured list" but was not registered in the hospital. This caused the CBI to believe that there must have been someone of the name of Arun Kumar who had been injured on the dais

and brought to the hospital. He had later vanished without a trace. This put further questions in their minds: Why had he run away? Was he the culprit?

The CBI also involved themselves in this matter. The local police helped in rounding up a number of persons who could have resembled Arun Kumar. Later, the CBI were convinced that no Arun Kumar had been injured. True, there had been an injury which involved a certain Arun Kumar. This Arun Kumar had visited his injured uncle, Nawalkishore Prasad Singh, on the first day in the hospital. Arun Kumar's name had somehow been entered in the "injured list" while his uncle's name was not on it. Further, this Arun Kumar, an employee of the State Bank, seemed to be wholly unaware of this incident. The CID, therefore, was once again humbled in front of the CBI.

While the CBI cast its eyes elsewhere for clues, the CID directed its suspicion now towards those railway employees who had been dismissed during the railway strike. The CBI, too, joined them. Some leaders of



Ranjan Dwivedi

the railwaymen's organisations were questioned. Dukhit Ram and two others were arrested. All this, however, yielded nothing. At this juncture, high officials of the CID wanted their department to have a free hand in their investigations since they wanted to pursue those clues which they had gathered from their questioning of the suspected persons. The top brass of the CBI agreed to this fine dividing line of operations. The question of mutual competition was also there. This was further aggravated by the promised reward of Rs 50,000 (an idea later dropped).

The CID put everything into the investigation. They recorded the statement of Shankar, a vendor, among many others, and he revealed a lot. Arun Thakur and Arun Mishra were apprehended. Arun Mishra had been involved in three dacoities and a fight case on a railway station.

A strong line of interrogation was undertaken by the CID and it yielded "results". Arun Mishra confessed to the police and Arun Thakur to the magistrate. Arun Thakur said that he had committed the crime for money and had done so on the instigation of Arun Mishra. He could

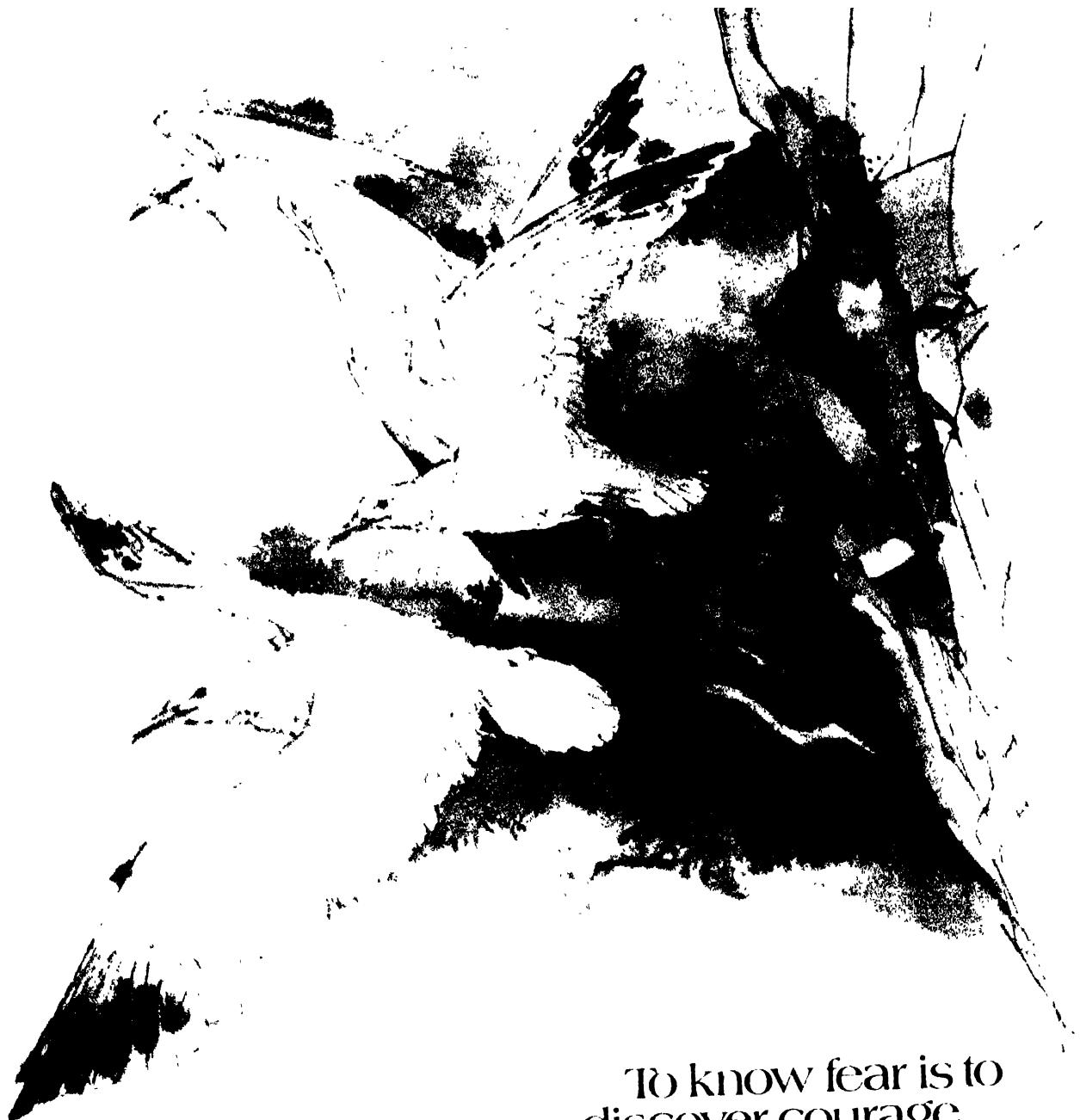
not say anything about the cause of the murder or from where he had procured the handgrenade. Arun Mishra cleared these questions: The plan to assassinate Mr K. N. Mishra was formulated in a jail, according to him. They were to be led by the CPI(M) leader from Jhajha, Mr Umakant Jha. The others involved were Joginder Raut and a friend of Umakant Jha, Sheo Narain Lal Sharma, who was a clerk in an arms shop. According to Arun Mishra: "We arrived in Samastipur on January 2, 1975 and stayed in a hotel. The handgrenade had been brought by Sheo Narain Lal Sharma, a few days earlier. It was Sheo Narain who threw the grenade."

Till March 1975, that is two months after the murder, the names of Jha and Pande had not appeared anywhere. It was only when Arun Thakur and Arun Mishra later spoke of a certain "Boss" Jha that the CID started suspecting Ram Bilas Jha. In jail, meanwhile, efforts were made to force Arun Mishra to confess that he had thrown the grenade on the orders of Ram Bilas Jha and Raghunath Pande and that he was to receive Rs 20,000 on completion of the job. Arun Thakur had earlier stated in his confession that Sheo Narain Lal Sharma had thrown the grenade. In his "forced" statement to the CBI, Arun Mishra did not implicate Jha or Pande. Instead, he said neither he nor Jha were involved in the crime. These contradictory statements led to differences between the CBI and the CID.

The CBI after some time felt it was impossible to work in co-operation with the CID since the CID were treading on their toes. They decided to take full responsibility of the investigation and the CID had to return empty-handed from Samastipur.

The CBI soon began looking at the Ananda Marg. The Ananda Marg Chief, Anandmurtiji (Baba), had been arrested on December 29, 1971 on the charges of having instigated the murders of those Anandamargis who had been disillusioned and had deserted the Marg. His devoted followers appealed for his release to the Supreme Court. They took out processions and demonstrated. Three Margis had even immolated themselves in Patna and Delhi so that public opinion would force the Baba's release. But when all this was unsuccessful, Anandmurtiji released a message to his followers through Gopalji, an Anandmargi from Choutham (Monghyr). The last portion of the message was as follows: "...Most people have flown away. Those who are still alive have to complete the job. I will not be able to come out of jail through legal means. To root out the enemies you have to fight. I shall not accept this detention in jail. The law cannot stop me and I refuse to take any sort of legal help..."

According to the charge-sheet (Number 9) dated November 10, 1975 submitted by the CBI, there was a secret move afoot to release Baba through violent means. Those men-



To know fear is to discover courage

This young seagull wouldn't take off from the hills yonder. He wouldn't flap his wings, make a 45-degree swoop to the blue waters beneath where his food lay. He was scared, afraid that his wings wouldn't support him in mid-air.

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Well, it wasn't all that scary. His father flew alongside, cackling encouragingly and he returned to the precipice.

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tioned as part of the plot were: Santoshanand, Sudevanand, Arteshanand, Acharya Ramkumar Singh. Accused Ramashray Prasad was the coordinator who gathered funds, arms and weapons. On further investigation it was learnt that in the latter part of 1973 in Trimohan village (Bhagalpur) a secret plot to kill Avadhoot Madhavanand was hatched. Madhavanand had turned approver in the murder cases in which Anandmurtiji had been implicated. Hence this punishment. There Madhavanand was declared as enemy number one and the then Railway Minister was proclaimed as enemy number two. Mr L. N. Mishra's "puppet" Chief Minister of Bihar, Abdul Gafoor was declared enemy number three. In the meeting, the accused Santoshanand delegated the responsibilities to the others. Accused Binayanand was to take care of finishing Madhavanand while Visveshwaranand was ordered to murder Abdul Gafoor. The accused Arteshanand and Sudevanand were ordered to put those Government officials handling the Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar (Anandmurtiji) case in their place. To put these plans into action, Visveshwaranand, Binayanand and Santoshanand gathered arms and weapons and kept them with Gopalji in Chautham.

According to plan, sometime between December 1973 and January 1974 Visveshwaranand allegedly attempted to murder the then Chief Minister of Bihar, Abdul Gafoor near the Republic Hotel and the Palace Hotel in Patna. He was not successful. Again, on January 7, 1974, Binayanand along with a few colleagues threw a grenade on approver Madhavanand in the Patna Collectorate in broad daylight. After throwing the grenade, Binayanand jumped into the Ganges. Fortunately, the grenade did not burst and Binayanand was caught by a few youths swimming in the river.

The CBI report stated that Santoshanand and Sudevanand under assumed names (Vinode and Ramchander), to destroy their enemy number two, Mr L. N. Mishra, had acquired grenades from one Ram Nagina Prasad of Ichapur in the 24 Parganas of West Bengal. In July 1974, Bikram under an assumed name, Sudhir, brought three handgrenades from Delhi and deposited them with Suryaprakash (alias Budhishwaranand) in Bhagalpur. When Budhishwaranand was arrested on July 13, 1974, three grenades and a revolver were found in his bag. At that time Bikram had somehow managed to escape.

The sole purpose of murdering these people was, apparently, merely to create anarchy in India. Mr L. N. Mishra was chosen since he was not only a leading member of the Central Board of Ministers but also carried considerable weight with the Bihar Government. His murder would serve not only as a warning to the Central and State Governments but also help in pressurising the Government to release Anandmurtiji.

The lethal egg

HANDGRENADES usually contain acid or are made of pieces of glass and explosives put together. The handgrenades used in the army are shaped like eggs and are as big as mangoes. As a result, they can be kept in the pocket without any difficulty or any problem. The handgrenades which are made both in India and Pakistan look identical and are manufactured by the same process. A handgrenade weighs 750 grams. The metal casing looks like the motor of a pump or of a fan or generally has the appearance of an electrical instrument. There are square grooves on the outer casing and it explodes into thousands of fragments. There is a chamber inside the grenade and the space between the chamber and casing is stuffed with TNT. There is a hole on the casing into which a base plug is fitted. Along the plug there are grooves and as a result, it can be opened or plugged on with ease. Connecting the chamber to the hole at the top is a detonator. A long nail, called the striker, is

shoved in from the top and this has the action of a spring. The top of the striker sticks out from the casing to which a lever is attached. The lever is jammed onto the casing and to keep it this way a safety pin is clamped on from top. If the safety pin is removed, the lever is freed and hits the striker which is pressed down. The striker in turn hits the head of the detonator and as soon as this happens the detonator starts functioning and becomes red hot. The other end of the detonator which is connected to the chamber ignites the TNT and the grenade bursts into fragments. The time lapse between the freeing of the lever and the bursting of the grenade is roughly 4 to 5 seconds. Even if the safety pin is removed and the lever is kept pressed to the casing, the grenade will not burst because unless the lever is freed, the chain reaction which ends with the grenade bursting, will not take place.

A. R.

The CBI chargesheet says Ranjan Dwivedi was an Ananda Marg activist. He had reached Samastipur on January 1, 1975 along with Santoshanand and Sudevanand who had brought three grenades with them. Bikram had reached Samastipur earlier. The entry passes for the inauguration had been procured by Ranjan Dwivedi. This enabled Dwivedi, Santoshanand, Sudevanand and Bikram to roam about freely on platform number 3—the main gathering place. The avadhoots were in ordinary clothes. Before Mr L. N. Mishra arrived each of them had a grenade in their hands. They slowly made their way to the dais and as soon as Mr Mishra finished his speech one of them threw a grenade at him. While fleeing from the scene of crime one of them dropped a grenade near the metre-gauge railway track. Assistant Accountant, Mahadev Sahu's 12-year-old son picked up the grenade thinking it to be something strange. Later, the grenade burst in Sahu's house.

On January 3, 1975 a leaflet issued by the Sashtatra Krantikari Chhatra Samiti was found in the UNI office in Patna. It described the Lalit Mishra murder as the first step towards an armed revolution and warned the Government that its suppressive measures would never see fruition. According to the CBI, this message was written by Santoshanand.

Investigation carried out by the CBI brought out many important and incriminating documents from Gopalji of Choutham. Basing their investigation on these documents, the CBI brought out charges against 12 persons (Santoshanand Avadhoot, Sude-

vanand, Bikram, Ranjan Dwivedi, Ramnagina Prasad, Arteshanand Avadhoot, Binayanand Avadhoot, Ramroop, Gopalji, Visveshwaranand Avadhoot, Ramkumar Singh and Ramashray Prasad) under sections 120 B, 302, 307, 324, 326 and sections 4 and 5 of the Arms Act. Bikram and Visveshwaranand turned approvers and they were pardoned by the Chief Judicial Magistrate of Patna. Four others—Rudranand Avadhoot, Shankaranand Avadhoot, Mahendra Pratap Singh and Lakhan—have not been sent to trial for want of evidence.

The present position of the case is that the chargesheet of the CBI was accepted. The Indian Government instituted the Mathew Commission to go into the Lalit Narayan Mishra murder case in February 1975. They were asked to go into the 'basis and circumstances' of the explosion, the medical facilities available and the security arrangements undertaken. A number of witnesses appeared before the Mathew Commission. When Bikram and others who had turned approvers, appeared before the Commission, Santoshanand and Ranjan Dwivedi objected strongly saying that the case was *sub-judice* and coming to a conclusion as to who had committed the crime would be wrong. Otherwise, the case would be influenced and thus there would be no justification for continuing the case. As a result, the Mathew Commission did not pursue the examination of these witnesses. Nothing concrete came out of the findings of the Commission which had its last sitting in May 1977.

R. B. (alias Boss) Jha Talks

'I am innocent... The tape is fabricated' Ram Bilas Jha, suspected to be 'Boss Jha', accused by some of plotting L. N. Mishra's murder, defends himself in an exclusive interview to ARUN RANJAN. He attacks the Tarkunde Report and raises some questions of his own.

RAM BILAS JHA comes from Mahanagar in Bihar's Vaishali district, where his family has been in politics since 1924. Jha began as a student leader of the Socialist Party. Later, he worked for the district police, State intelligence wing and Central intelligence department before becoming a fulltime worker of the Communist Party of India. He also did a brief stint as a journalist. Currently, he publishes a journal, *Himalay Sandesh*, from Patna. He met L. N. Mishra through Chandramohan Mishra at the Bhubaneswar Congress session. Until L. N. Mishra's death, Jha was considered as the "personal political agent" of the then Railway Minister. Although claiming to be a Marxist, Jha continued to work for the Congress, and became a Congress MLC from 1972 to 1978. Arun Kumar Mishra pointed a finger towards him as one of the conspirators in his confessional tape, suggesting that he was "Boss Jha". Now that the CBI story has come under attack, Jha may again be in the dock. ARUN RANJAN spoke to him in Patna on June 4.

Q: How were you associated with L. N. Mishra?

A: I was purely a personal adviser. I would comment on some issues, analyse, make personal contacts on his behalf and send out and receive confidential information on his behalf. L. N. trusted me until his last moment. I challenge his friends, relatives and the intelligence departments to prove this wrong. My work was mainly confidential, that's why I cannot really describe it. Out of sheer jealousy some powers have taken this opportunity to implicate

me. There was no one to defend me. Three forces could have helped me: the Congress, the CPI and the CPI(M). The Congress made no attempt to shield me because of my relation with L. N. Mishra. In 1974-75, L. N. and Mrs Gandhi were on good terms and they were friendly with the big guns of the CPI: who, later, had time for me? The CPI(M) thought that I was an opportunist. Though CPI(M) leaders were implicated, those were the days when Indira was India. Therefore no one came out to defend me. At that time only three or four people really knew who I was, where I was. Among them were Mr B. N. Dixit, L. N.'s Special Assistant, Mr O. P. Gupta, his Private Secretary and Mr V. P. Gupta, his Additional Private Secretary. Only these people could say what my relationship with L. N. was like, what was his politics, where he was involved, who were his friends and enemies. Beside them, S. K. Birla, General Manekshaw, Harsu Pandit, Sunil Dutt and Nargis knew the colourful side of L. N. Mishra's personality. Perhaps by talking to them one can get to know about his real politics. I would not like to comment on L. N. Mishra's private life, about his family etc: that would be behaving like Mathai. There is another person in



Ram Bilas Jha

Patna who would discharge duties of the kind I undertook, during my absence. Dr Jagannath Mishra should find out why the relatives of his elder brother (L. N.) are angry with me. I will tell you something: I was the person who made Jagannath Mishra a legislator and then the Chief Minister of Bihar. Sometimes I would give him money for public service. This was also one of the reasons why L. N. Mishra's wife, Kameshwari Devi, did not like me. When I saw the breakdown of L. N. Mishra's family after his death, I broke off all connections with Jagannathji. It was painful, but what could I do?

Q: If what you say is true, how did you become the scapegoat?

A: I know how the police functions, and I know how political workers can be implicated in false cases. I am certain that the murder was not well-planned. L. N. would have survived even if he had moved slightly. Many people who were near him were not injured at all.

I would like to say in 'Tulsidas'

verse, that at the hour of danger, a guru vaidh or a politician's junior can prove dangerous. The doctor who looked after the Mishra brothers could not take the right decisions because of his servile attitude. The Mathew Commission has expressed dismay for this failure. It should also be noted that if the murder was planned then would it have been possible to revive L. N. by simply administering first aid? Calling this haphazard attempt a "high-level" conspiracy is a conspiracy in itself.

Thirdly, after the incident, I told L. N. Mishra to go to Muzaffarpur. If he had set off for Muzaffarpur, he would have reached it in an hour. I had thought that by the time L. N. Mishra reached the city, Dr Nawab of S. K. Medical College, Darbhanga, could have reached Muzaffarpur: I wanted to contact Dr Nawab on the police telephone. I had said this in the presence of Jagannath Mishra and his cousin Chandramohan Mishra. Have Mr Tarkunde and his journalist-friends tried to find out why L. N. did not go to Muzaffarpur? Why was my proposal turned down? Who was behind this decision? People who had been injured far more seriously than L. N. were saved, and he would have been saved if he had gone to Muzaffarpur. Is this the sort of thing that happens in a well-planned murder? The expert medical committee of the Mathew Commission has noted that L. N. reached Danapur very late and could have been saved if he had received prompt medical attention. Then, why was there a delay in administering medical aid? If the murder was well planned and involved powerful, important people, would there have been such childishness? Six months before the incident at Samastipur, there was a lethal attack on L. N. at Danapur in which a few MP's were also injured. There was another attempt on his life at Pratapgarh, and a third one at Jhanyharpur. Will the Government publish the intelligence reports on those incidents? Will there be an inquiry? Who was involved in these attacks and why? Is the fourth incident related to the previous three?

Q: Your association with Yashpal Kapoor has been talked about. Would you like to clarify anything?

A: The "accusers" say that they heard about my relationship with Kapoor Saheb from "independent sources". But who are these sources? Two kinds of people can constitute such sources. Firstly, those who were politically opposed to L. N. Mishra; for instance, Abdul Gaffoor, Kedar Pandey, Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav etc. They should come out openly and say what my relationship with Yashpal Kapoor was. Kapoor Saheb would generally put up with Bhim Narayan Singh and he can say something about my visits and our telephone conversations. During Gaffoor's rule, Yashpal Kapoor had come here, as there was some problem about District

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Committees. Lalit Babu told me that this was part of an internal Party tussle between the Mishra brothers and Mr Barooah and company.

Apart from L. N. Mishra's political foes, his friends like Vidhakar Kavi, Shambhu Sharan Thakur, Ramesh Jha and Azad Saheb should clarify what my relationship with Kapoor Saheb was. If I had crossed over to Yashpal Kapoor's camp, L. N. Mishra must have told his close friends to beware of me as I had gone over to the other camp!

Q: Arun Mishra has described you as the moving force behind the murder plot in his confession. In this context what do you have to say?

A: The best way to hide the truth is to talk about a tape. Arun Mishra's tape is based on a fabrication. Each of his statements are prompted by the jailer's question. If you take away the questions, Arun Mishra's assertions collapse immediately. Secondly, the same Arun Mishra had implicated the CPI(M) workers in his first confession. If his first statement can be wrong, so can the second. Is Arun Thakur's approval sufficient proof of Arun Mishra's testament? What is the credibility of these two witnesses when they are in a closed room?

Third, has any objective, unbiased journalist, tried to find out what happened between January 2 when the incident occurred and March 26, when Arun Mishra's story was taped? Why is everyone silent about this period? When was the State Government so anxious to co-operate with the CBI in those days? Doesn't Mishra's confession appear to have been forced in order to divert the common man's anger about the failure of the Government's machinery? The DIG who was involved in the case, enmeshed the then Chief Minister in his schemes. Everyone was anxious to save his own image at that time: hence the blunder. I will prove this. The State Government would have surely killed Mishra's first confession, but extra cunning mice tend to fall into their own traps. In an attempt to get the award, Mishra was set free. On March 16, 1975, the DIG, S. B. Sahay, received the President's medal and S. J. Bahadur, SP (Crime) was promoted as DIG and posted to Delhi. D. P. Ojha, SP, Samastipur a Police medal, and a cash award of Rs. 25,000, for K. P. Singh, DSP, Samastipur, Rs. 25,000, and Rs. 25,000 for other CID officers: in spite of the objection raised by the Home department there was a proposal for all this. Even now the relevant file carries this note: "It is very strange that the case is being investigated by the CBI and they have not completed the investigation. Mathew Commission is also inquiring into the matter. It is at a premature stage. Only accused had made confessions hence it is opposed."

But the Home Secretary and the other officers, came under pressure from high circles. Who were these "high circle" is it not necessary

to find this out? Lastly, who were the people accused in Arun Mishra's first confession? If this is investigated, a lot of truth will come out. But the first confession has been totally forgotten.

Q: How was the reward withdrawn? How will we know the truth behind the CID's investigation?

A: The CID inquiry was in its primary stage. The entire theory was then considered wrong because the men who were accused of planning the murder in a jail cell had never been together in the same jail and hence they could not have hatched the conspiracy. This is the reason why the reward was withdrawn by the Cabinet on March 16, 1975. Just think: if powerful people like Yashpal Kapoor and Indira Gandhi were my protectors, would it have been possible to frame a new theory to implicate me? For such powerful people, would it be difficult to stop S. B. Sahay, Arun Mishra and jailer Rahman? In fact, this new theory was invented by the anti-Congress group and the officers who were loyal to them. Tarkunde has approved this theory.

The brain behind this was S. B. Sahay. I have a demand. Bihar is a caste ridden State. Therefore four honest DIGs from four different castes, A. P. Mishra (Brahmin), Sudhish (Bhumihar), Govind Narain (Kayastha) and Ram Narain Singh (Rajput) should find out how S. B. Sahay became DIG-CID. The conditions prevailing in the State in those days should form the background of this inquiry. Was the incident influenced by Phulena Rai's case, JP's agitation and the infighting in the Congress ranks? What were the activities of Sahay's caucus during Karpoori's regime must also be investigated.

Q: According to you, Arun Mishra's confession was made under duress. What about Arun Thakur? Why don't you have any faith in the CID?

A: Did Arun Thakur confess anything? He was merely asked to approve a part of Mishra's story. Fabricated theories have this feature: one person confesses while the second provide the preface and the background to make the story sound authentic and well-knit. Do you know how Thakur made his confession? He was having an affair with one of his female relatives. He was blackmailed on this score. You talk of faith in the CID. Tell me, what was the role of the CID in the attempt on Jyoti Basu's life? The CID had at that time extracted a forced confession from Hari Narain Yadav, who was innocent. Later, he had to be set free. Then the CID arrested Srikanth Tripathi. Listen to one more thing: don't get startled. Some of the foolish officers handling the L. N. Mishra murder case were in the team which investigated the attempt on Jyoti Basu's life.

Q: Your name has been connected in the Mishra case along with

those of Mrs Indira Gandhi and Yashpal Kapoor. How much harm has it caused you?

A: Harm? *Arre sabab*, if their names had not emerged as my protectors, my life would be in danger. I am deeply grateful to those reporters and newspapers who have linked me to them!

Q: Would you like to say anything more?

A: Yes, some unknown facts. When Arun Mishra's brother met him in jail, he (Arun) told him that the confession had been extracted from him under duress. His brother met Karpoori Thakur, his local leader (MLA). Karpoori Thakur spoke about this to JP who in turn took the complaint to the Home Minister, Brahmananda Reddy. The same Karpoori Thakur is playing a double game now. Thakur is involved in the Harihar Pande case. The controversial box which carried the letters demanding money was seized by S. B. Sahay, the present DIG of the Vigilance department. That is why Mr Thakur is toeing Sahay's line.

Ranjan Dwivedi, one of the accused in the L. N. Mishra murder case and in the attempt on the life of Chief Justice A. N. Ray, is a junior advocate in the Supreme Court. Mr Tarkunde had argued on behalf of Karpoori Thakur in the Harihar Pande case. And Ranjan Dwivedi was enrolled as a junior of Mr Tarkunde in the case. Tarkunde has been preaching morality and ethics to others. Is it ethical on his part to accept an accused as a junior advocate? There is something more. Mr Tarkunde should be aware of the norms to be followed before taking up a Government job, for which one needs to take oaths etc. He has not taken any oath. How could he then submit the findings? I will seek the clarification of the court on these issues.

Further, after the L. N. Mishra murder case, S. B. Sahay and his men have come into the Vigilance department. How is S. B. Sahay representing this case? Who will judge this—Mr Tarkunde or the Bihar Government? How has S. B. Sahay still got the documents? Although the new Chief Minister, Mr Ram Sundar Das wanted these documents the CID could not make them available at once. It is apparent that the S. B. Sahay group is motivated.

Now let's talk about the part played by the Congress MPs. They kept quiet for four years when my name was implicated in the case. As soon as Mrs Gandhi's name cropped up, they started shouting. Does this not prove that I am an independent? Almost every political Party has been using this story, this way or that. However, I am a happy man now. Indira Gandhi's supporters and affluent people like Raghunath Pande have started speaking out for me. This is the ethics of politics, isn't it?

AND now the countdown has begun in the landlocked kingdom of Nepal: the only one nation of the subcontinent to escape the upheavals that have visited the neighbours during the last decade. Nepal, not all that little, with 75 districts and about 130-lakhs population, is somewhat of an anachronism, having exchanged the overlordship of the King of England and the bondage of Ranas, with the authority of the King of Nepal after a curious revolution, and an abortive flirtation with democracy. Today the country is ruled by His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev and a small crowd of bureaucrats and businessmen, but change has finally come into the air of cloistered Kathmandu. Better still, these winds of change have not blown from the north, but from the south. Nepal is once again searching for democracy.

The joke in Kathmandu these days is that the father of Nepali democracy is President Ziaul Haq of

ing to the square had a red T-shirt on sale. The slogan on the shirt was simple: **FOR FREEDOM**. Some foreign capitalist's money-raking bait to the decadent romanticism of white adolescents had at last acquired symbolism in this hungry corner of an exploited country. There were heavy clouds as the meeting began at 5 p.m. Soon the square was jam-packed, and people had filled the housetops surrounding the cobbled square. And more were still coming in, heaving and pushing to catch a glimpse of history. The light drizzle intensified; after a prolonged drought that was hurting the country, the rain was a welcome relief, though hardly useful at a public meeting. But no one left; the crowd remained, listening to the speakers asking for democracy, and excitement glistened on every face. One cynic, on the edge of the crowd, turned to a peasant, and said: "The weather is not in favour of these politicians". The peasant replied sharply: "Why? They have brought

the rain, what could be better news than that?"

And on Friday, June 8, the Nepali Congress held its first rally. The preparations were made on a suitably large scale, befitting the strength of the most important political Party in Nepal. Jeeps crowded with beautiful and enthusiastic women Party workers and their equally ardent male compatriots, roamed the streets days in advance, spreading the message that B. P. Koirala, Ganesh Man Singh and K. P. Bhattarai, the three stalwarts of the Nepali Congress who have suffered for years in jail and banishment, would be talking to their people after the great silence. On Thursday, on his doctor's advice, B. P. Koirala cancelled all his appointments at his modest house and rested, in preparation for the meeting. Ever since he returned to Nepal in December 1975, people have been coming to see him in large numbers every day; but this day he wanted to be alone. He did not want his voice

Nepal Awakes!

M. J. AKBAR reports from Kathmandu

Pakistan. If he had not hanged Bhutto, the students would not have come out on the streets, the police would not have confronted the students and the whole chain of events leading to the King's call for a referendum on a multi-Party system to presumably replace the prematurely decayed panchayat system would not have been given. After 19 long years when political Parties were (and still are) banned, all avenues of protest (whether strikes or demonstrations or parliamentary opposition) were choked, it is a bit of a relief to Nepal that such jokes are circulating at all. And more than jokes are in the air. After years, the full-throated cry of "Beer Bireshwar Zindabad!", "Prajatantra Amar Ho!" and "Inquilab Zindabad!" sent shivers down a system which was already unstable. And all the King's horses and all the King's men are not likely to put it together again — alone.

The week between June 3 and June 10 was crowded with history. On June 5, the first proclaimed public meeting in 19 years took place in Nepal. In a small square off Patan, the old city on the fringe of Kathmandu, the Communist Party of Nepal called its faithful — or at least, that faction of the Party headed by Manmohan Adhikari. A small shop on the narrow lane lead-



King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah

to break down — a serious possibility, considering the throat operations he has undergone.

The administration had tensed, and police and soldiers began taking up positions around the city from the midnight of Thursday-Friday. People began talking about the prospects of trouble; small waves of tension rippled through the city. But by eleven in the morning, people had begun coming to the maidan in the heart of the city for the meeting scheduled to start at five in the evening. Eventually, a crowd of more than 50,000 built up. It was absolutely unheard of in Kathmandu. There had never been such a gathering. Local journalists, slightly bewildered, asked us to estimate the number of people who had come, assuming that we were more familiar with both political meetings and large crowds.

Punctually at five, the three senior leaders came in a jeep with young people clinging to the sides. And the roar of welcome which rose from the waiting audience, packed with young men and women, transformed the faces of the leaders who had waited so long and so courageously for this moment — a moment which had seemed to elude them so often in the past. On the dais came BP, the undisputed leader of the Nepali Congress, and his three close lieutenants: K. P. Bhattarai, the charming

acting president of the Party, *Simbhagardan* (Lion-throated) Ganesh. Man Singh, leader of the Newars, joint acting president, and the most effective orator in the Party, and Parasu Narain Chowdhury, the quiet leader of the Tharus.

BP's theme was simple: "If democracy does not come, the country will not survive, and the King will not survive". It was a moderate speech, and he clearly did not want to irritate the authorities too much. Bhattarai was harsher, and his speech was more indicative of the hard line he advocates within his Party. Referring to efforts by some desperate panch to reform the panchayat system and avoid a change which would sweep them away, Bhattarai said, "*Gadhe ko jitna bhi saabun lagao, ghora nahin banta hai* (However much you may soap and wash a donkey, you cannot make it a horse)." But it was Ganesh Man Singh who set the audience alight — by detailing the corruption and disease which the panchayat system had injected

His chargesheet could rock any Government. The first audit done in 12 years had shown that Rs. 400 crores of public funds could not be accounted for: where had this money gone? There had been massive and indiscriminate defoliation of Nepal's jungles by unprincipled traders, bringing down the jungles from 50 per cent to 21 per cent: who would answer for this crime? While the population was growing at a rate of 2.7 per cent, the growth rate of development was only 1.7 per cent: why? Out of the 94 per cent of the country which was the peasantry, 69 per cent were below the poverty line, although the Government's "Einsteinian mathematics" admitted only 40 per cent below the poverty line: in any case, what was being done for the poor? Each member of the panchayat was allowed to spend Rs 10 lakhs from public funds without any sanction: how was this institutionalised bribery permitted? Out of the last 27 years, the monarchy had surrendered effective power for only three years, and what had all these 24 years of monarchy achieved for the nation? The panchayat system could be summed up in five words: *jungal*, *jail*, *jatha* (poverty), *jamin* (land) and generalship (rule of generals). And since the panchayat system meant a system of five, that is why it would get only five per cent of the vote in the coming referendum, said Ganesh Man Singh.

There were cheers, cheers and more cheers, till in the growing darkness the meeting ended and the huge crowds began melting away from the epicentre of slogans, excited, chattering; and groups of young people formed impromptu processions with placards demanding restoration of democracy; and others jumped the fence surrounding the fields and swept towards restaurants in small groups. And the guardians of law and order in their uniforms stood silently. Peace had been maintained.



Parasu Chowdhury, K. B. Bhattarai, B. P. Koirala and Ganesh Man Singh

IF EMOTION was sufficient to bridge the gap in change, we would be probably writing the happy ending by now. The major stumbling block to the restoration of democracy could be the man who has initiated the process of restoration: the King. A senior Nepali Congress leader described the King's decision to hold a referendum as the "first act of independence and courage...the first adult decision made by the 35-year-old King". The palace was not unanimous; Birendra's relatives advised against this "concession". But despite the shadow of Iran, which certainly influenced the decision, it would be too much to expect the present establishment to surrender power so easily. There are too many vested interests at work; there are too many corrupt people at the top who are worried about the questions which a future Government might ask.

There are many loopholes that they can take advantage of. To begin with, although the referendum is expected by October, it could easily be postponed to next spring. Next: nobody is quite sure about what happens after the referendum. Will a national election be held to create a constituent assembly? According to K. P. Bhattarai, this should be the sequence of events: a referendum, followed by elections, which he is sure his Party will win with an overwhelming majority. The most important thing that the Nepali Con-

Nepali Congress rally



gress would do if it came to power, he says glancing at the history of his country, is create a new Constitution in which there would be restrictions on the power of the King. For instance, on the King's control over the army. Efforts would be made to stop the direct participation of the King in the administration. And the King would no longer have the veto power. He gives the relevant example of the days when his Party was in power and he was the Speaker. Parliament passed a law abolishing princely states in Nepal, an anachronism which had not yet been removed from the country. To become law it needed the seal of King Mahendra. But the King simply refused to put his seal to the legislation. (He later abolished princely states himself after overthrowing the legally elected Government.)

But the Nepali Congress is not anxious for any confrontation now; it does not want to provide any excuse to postpone elections. Nepali Congress and Communist leaders are, indeed, eager to stress that the monarchy is a necessary institution. They accept the reality that the King still has support, even if his panchayat system does not; they know that the King is still worshipped as a god in many rural areas: the weight of tradition eases slowly in any society. Many of the volunteers at the Nepali Congress rally on June 8 wore a badge which proclaimed: "Sripanch Birendra Amar Rahun" (Long live King Birendra). The contradiction is only a recognition of reality.

But no such sympathy is expressed for the panchayat system. Ganesh Man Singh puts it colourfully: "The corpse of this system should be carried out in a Mercedes". Panchayat leaders therefore are the most nervous people in Kathmandu these days. Vishwabandhu Gupta, a deserter from the Nepali Congress, whose betrayal is still said to hurt B. P. Koirala who trusted him a great deal, has advocated a new theory: a multi-Party system should be introduced within the panchayat system as a compromise, and the King should announce this reform and withdraw the referendum. (Gupta was chief of the hated 'Back To The Village Campaign', withdrawn after the agitation.) Bureaucrats, have be-

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gun raising the scare that the process of change will ruin the nation, and once again the tough talk that has proved so hollow in the last two decades is being heard. What has put the fear in them is the rash of strikes and strike threats that erupted all over Nepal in the first few days of June. It was a simultaneous, spontaneous semi-revolt of the working class after years of repression.

Suddenly, Kathmandu's main breadearner, tourism, was on the point of being paralysed. The Royal Nepal Airlines Corporation, the hotel industry, and most vital, the Rashtra Bank, were facing threats of closure. In two days, more than 600 bank employees were arrested, and a special order banned strikes in Nepal. Milk disappeared as the dairy workers presented their demands for higher wages; beer became costlier or unavailable as stocks ran out following disturbances at the alcohol factory. By June 7 most schools in the valley were closed following a clash at the Tribhuvan University. The Nepal Biscuit Company, Golcha Woollens, Harishidi Brick and Tile Factory, the Kathmandu Kastha Udyog, Shree Textiles... suddenly there was no end to labour unrest. The administration adopted the carrot-and-stick method, quickly granting some demands, and raising a stick with the other hand. This brought peace in some places, but no one was foolish enough to think that any lasting solution had been found.

Despite the Government's oft-repeated claim that the era of freedom had dawned, the stick was always visible. The Nepali Congress tried hard to distance itself from the strikes, attributing them to the rotten system but pleading with the workers to maintain industrial harmony in the national interest. More significantly, the Government has not given up any of the means it has, some legal, some unethical, to bring back authoritarianism. Certainly, none of the obnoxious legislation which had been used to suffocate the people has been removed. There are political prisoners still awaiting amnesty; nor have the hundreds who had to take shelter in India (officially called "undesirable elements") been allowed to return. And the cases against B. P. Koirala which could lead to his hanging if he was convicted have not been withdrawn. Two people have already been hanged in the same cases: Captain A. K. Bahadur Thapa and Bhim Narain Shrestha. In fact, the major reason for the students' violent protest against the hanging of Bhutto was to warn the Nepal authorities that they should have no illusions that they could get away with anything similar in Nepal.

THE Indian Cooperation Mission is "celebrating" 25 years of its existence in Nepal — very, very quietly. And that is as good a comment on Indo-Nepali relations as any other. India has given Nepal more than Rs 200 crores in direct aid so

far, and Nepal gratefully acknowledges this: but no more. Small brothers are sensitive about the generosity of Big Brothers.

Of course, we all know that aid is not given gratis; the quid pro quo is political influence, or equally often, preventing someone else's influence. In this case, China's. There is a vital difference between Nepal's relationship with India as compared to China. Nepal has no emotional links with China; China is a neighbour which can be dealt on formal terms. But India is something else altogether. The majority of the population can trace their lineage to India, and the Terai in the south of Nepal has always had an indistinct border. There has been much movement across this border, for historical and geographic reasons. Till recently, if a Nepali from the north-west wanted to go east (without the benefit of aeroplanes), he had to come down to India, travel east, and then go up again. Moreover, the mother culture of this Hindu Raj is in India — and any nation in such a vulnerable position naturally gets more



Nepali Congress volunteers

sensitive. Independence must not only exist; it must be seen to exist. Thus: quarrels.

India has been involved with internal Nepali politics. When the revolt against the Ranas was going on in 1951, King Tribhuvan took shelter in the Indian Embassy for months. Moreover, according to the Government's own admission (*Facts about Nepal* February 1975), 85 per cent of Nepal's imports come from India. As vital a commodity as salt is one of these essential imports. The other, and more disturbing side of the picture, is that Indian businessmen have controlled the trade and the smuggling that sustains Nepal for a long while. Nepal's nearest available seaport is Calcutta. For all these and more reasons, if Nepal is not actually at India's mercy, it is as near to it as any neighbour can get. And, according to the Nepalese, our Foreign Ministry bureaucrats have not displayed any sensitivity in applying this leverage whenever possible.

It is the queer and familiar situation where even leaders of the Nepali Congress, who have found shelter and sympathy here, have to

repeatedly stress that they are independent in their thinking. While factions of the communists can openly proclaim that they are pro-China, or pro-Russian, it is extremely difficult for any politician to similarly proclaim that he or she is "pro-Indian". That would be suicide. Bhattarai demands that India "need not bribe the politicians and the civil service to get better concession from a poor country like Nepal". He makes a repeated distinction between moral support and monetary support from India: "It is in India's national interest to extend all moral support, which I am glad it is doing, to democratic forces in Nepal. In the long run, only a democratic Nepal can be a friend of a democratic India."

And well he might make a distinction. As one of the serious charges against the Nepali Congress is that it is taking money from Indian sources. Certainly, the senior leaders who stayed in India were being supported by friends and sympathisers within our country. In fact, one of the reasons why B. P. Koirala left for Nepal during the Emergency was because Mrs Gandhi had pressurised those who were helping him to withdraw their financial support to him. But it would be ridiculous to call them "Indian agents". To begin with, they would not be able to survive in Nepal if the people thought they were Indian agents. As Koirala himself points out in the interview to SUNDAY, he would probably be tougher with India than the present Government is if he came to power. And surely, on our side, we do not want another Mujib?

Nepal is so strategically located that, in these times of instability, the eyes of all super and regional powers are on this country. Everyone is keen to know what kind of Government will come to power. In classical fashion, what the foreign powers are doing, is buying support within every Party — there is nothing as safe as hedging one's bets. It is quite clear that foreign money does play a part in the country. SUNDAY has learnt that the deposits of the Rashtra Bank rose suddenly by Rs 30 crores in May, through many different accounts, and no one has a valid explanation of how this happened. Part of this money could be from the RSS, which is known to have funds in Nepal, probably in the custody of a senior politician of the ruling establishment. The Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr V. K. Sakhlecha's mysterious visit to Nepal in a State Government plane has already been exposed in the Indian Press.

There are far more questions in Nepal today than answers. The answers will take a long time in coming: precisely how long, nobody knows. Not Adhikari, not Koirala, not even the King. All they can try to do is to ensure that the people do not have to wait so long for the answers that they turn violent. ■

B. P. KOIRALA, the once and possibly future Prime Minister of Nepal lives simply in a typical Nepali house in Chubbhul, Kathmandu. Two serious operations, the scars of which are prominent on the left side of his throat, have left his voice weak and slightly tremulous, but the spirit is still strong and the man retains the courage that has seen him through the most cruel of years — imprisonment, mental torture, solitary confinement, banishment. But he looks happy now. At long last the democratic Nepal that he has fought for all his life seems to be on the horizon; the referendum ordered by King Birendra looks like the last stretch of a long climb. M. J. AKBAR interviewed "BP" (as he is affectionately known) in Kathmandu.

Q: Has the King outmanoeuvred you politically by calling for a referendum?

A: Not at all. This is exactly what we wanted, because we could not have expected the King to repudiate the present system just like that. Moreover, he could not have restored the status quo ante, that is restored us (the Nepali Congress) to power without some such manoeuvre.

Q: Why did he call for this referendum?

A: Because he wants to promote the stability of his throne.

Q: Why are you interested in the stability of the throne? Why don't you want to end the monarchy?

A: There are three basic reasons. The traditional authority of the King must be utilised to solve the problems of the country. We are not yet a nation; we are, rather, an administrative unit. We have begun thinking on national lines only from 1951-'52. We do not have a polity as yet. And economically we are very primitive. These are formidable tasks, and we have to make use of the authority of the throne to achieve these three tasks. Moreover, during the transition period, the King will have a role to play. I always give the example of Spain. If the monarchy had not been restored in Spain I don't think the transition from Franco's fascism to democracy would have been possible so smoothly.

Q: Doesn't this sound like the language of compromise? Has not your history taught you that to compromise with monarchy is dangerous?

A: I have not compromised on basic issues: the restoration of democracy, on the need for elections, on the multi-Party system, on the Government being responsible to the people, on the primacy of Parliament.

Q: You don't think you are putting too much trust again on the palace?

A: We have reached a point in Nepal's history when the King has to make up his mind whether he wants to save his throne or be an authoritarian ruler.

Q: Were you using similar arguments to rationalise your position between 1952 and 1960 (when the "royal coup" threw out Koirala's Government)?

A: I told the late King Mahendra

'Indian leaders should beware of me'



in a heated discussion with him in 1960—I think this was a little before the coup, perhaps in December itself—that the problems Nepal was facing needed total national effort and if the King thought he could autocratically solve problems he was grievously mistaken. The monarchy has been in power for nearly 20 years after that, and the King finds no improvement—economically, politically, in any way.

Q: Is it in the feudal nature to be responsive to the mass, to worry about the well-being of the people?

A: That is what people have been telling me—that this is the lesson of history. But somehow I feel, and I would like to believe, that in the interest of our nation, our King would be out of the usual run of kings.

Q: Does the King have any support among the people?

A: He has traditional authority. If he is removed it will certainly create a vacuum. And that will add to our national problems.

Q: Does the King like you?

A: I don't know. He has to like whoever is liked by the people. He should have no choice in the matter. He can't indulge in his personal likes and dislikes (when running the country).

Q: But Kings have always employ-

ed personal likes and dislikes in running their affairs.

A: That is why they have brought the situation to a point where a small students' struggle becomes a national crisis. It is because of politics which is based on personal idiosyncracies that the administration is so fragile, is so unresponsive to the aspiration of the people, is so alienated from the people.

Q: One of the things the King has done by unilaterally calling for a referendum, without consulting you, is to equate you with all other politicians of Nepal. He has shown you no special status, despite your record.

A: I couldn't have expected he would restore status quo ante. This was the device he chose. But we are going to be in power.

Q: What has been the impact of the referendum decision?

A: The King has defused the crisis and established his bona fides with the people. It must have come as a bombshell to many of the aspirants to power through intrigue and manipulation.

Q: Would you like to name some of these aspirants?

A: (Smiles) No names.

Q: But no date has been fixed for the referendum.

A: That is not possible; even if I were the King I could not have outright suggested the date. But my feeling is that the King wants to have the election as soon as possible and be done with it.

Q: But won't this delay slow the momentum towards democracy?

A: No. From the moment the King called for the election, there has been a qualitative change in the situation; people have started popular politics.

Q: What is the nature of the support that the Nepali Congress commands among the people?

A: I think ours is not a class Party; it's a national Party. Particularly on questions such as restoration of democracy, people from every walk of life look to us for leadership.

Q: It is said that your support is weak among the peasantry.

A: How can anyone say that? We won the elections in 1959 — through the peasant vote. If anything, we have improved our position since 1960. After all, we were the only ones who struggled; the others were nowhere.

Q: How do you intend to solve the problem of factionalism within your Party?

A: Ours is a democratic Party. Even in monolithic Parties like the Communist Party there are different points of view. But meet Ganesh Man Singh, Bhattarai and myself and see if there are any major differences between us. On the question of referendum there is total unanimity within our Party. We support this step of the King. Some of my colleagues want that in the interests of impartiality (in the elections) there should be further steps before the elections are held. But I don't

insist on that, and they too don't raise their protest to the level of a condition. Similarly, a general amnesty for all political prisoners would be in tune with the steps the King has lately taken, and it would create a healthier atmosphere for a referendum — but I do not want to make this a condition precedent to a referendum. My colleagues emphasise this (the demand for amnesty) more than I do, but they too have not made this a condition.

Q: How powerful is the Communist movement?

A: It is very weak, because the movement is fragmented. Firstly, by rifts between the pro-Russian, the pro-Chinese and the nationalist communists. Then, among these broad factions, internal rifts exist — the factions are waging a more ferocious war between themselves than at any one else.

Q: Why have the communists supported the King and the panchayat system?

A: I think it was an ideological anachronism, but strategically it is sound policy, because they could be effective in a situation where the two most important Parties were at loggerheads. Not having mass support, they could play an effective role by politicking.

Q: It is well known that many Indian politicians, the Socialists in particular, are your close friends. Has your Indian connection hurt you politically in Nepal?

A: I was in Indian politics. Not many people know that I was for four years in a British prison during the independence movement. In 1930, I was arrested as a terrorist; I was operating between Benaras and Hajipur. And during the 1942 movement too, when I was arrested in 1942 I was kept with Rajendra Prasad in Bankipore jail for six months. Then I was taken to Hazaribagh jail where I was with Jagjivan Ram. I knew Chandrashekhar quite a few years ago; he was a junior member then; he has attended some of my summer classes in socialism. I know Madhu Dandavate, George Fernandes, Madhu Limaye, Surendra Mohan....

Why should this hurt me in Nepal? The unscrupulous Opposition has been trying to call me some kind of an Indian stooge — but that does not cut any ice. Every time I came back from treatment from Europe, I faced demonstrations by hired people. One of the slogans called me the running dog of Indian imperialism, but I don't think that has hurt my politics. My friendship with Indian leaders does not prevent me from being an ardent nationalist. I've been telling some of my detractors that an Indian leader should beware of me rather than me being beware of them.

Q: I think Delhi's South Block knows that.

A: (Smiles) I think, yes. I have some experience also (in this context). In 1960 we were involved in some important trade negotiations.



B. P. Koirala with Shailaja Acharya (left), a fellow-leader of the Nepali Congress, and Chandrashekhar (second from left) at JP's village, Sita-bdiyara: BP and Chandrashekhar are old socialist friends

The South Bloc people were very adamant on certain issues and things were not moving. I contacted Nehru directly and he sent for L. K. Jha — Jha was a class fellow of mine from Benaras. Nehru said the treaty should not be delayed, and whatever I wanted should be given.

Q: What do you think of the bureaucrats who implement our foreign policy?

A: I do not want to comment on that because I have not had to deal with them. But sometimes they give the impression that they are too rigid, too unaware of the national susceptibilities of foreign countries.

Q: How would you compare Vajpayee's foreign policy with Mrs Gandhi's?

A: Vajpayee has been trying to soften the abrasive policy of his predecessor and I think he has improved relations with his neighbours — though I don't know if the improvement is only cosmetic. But I talked to Pakistani and Bangladeshi diplomats when I was in Washington and they also said there has been improvement since Mrs Gandhi's days. The Indian Government cannot go against the general mood of its people and we have been receiving massive popular support for our democratic movement. Vajpayeeji once admitted this at a Press conference two years ago. There is tremendous goodwill for us in India — never has there been such enthusiastic support for our cause.

Q: Is Indian money playing a part in Nepali politics?

A: I have no information about this. I don't want to say anything about something I do not know.

Q: But your Party has been accused of taking money from Indian sources.

A: This is a false accusation. This charge appears whenever we win an election and show our popular strength; or detractors come forward with this. Now we are accused of getting money from the Americans also. (Smiles.) One very important communist paper has accused me of riding to power on the back of Mr Carter!

Q: Do you have full control over the agitation now taking place in Nepal?

A: You see, we have full control over the genuine agitation. But we have no control over the anti-social elements. (By now) all genuine movements have been suspended and there is, by and large, a peaceful atmosphere in the country. We created a situation (where peaceful change was possible) when we decided to return to Nepal with the slogan of national reconciliation. We created an atmosphere where people could organise and speak out against the system. When the students decided to launch a movement, we did not associate ourselves (officially) as the Nepali Congress, but we asked our members to assist the movement wherever possible. We did not want this movement to acquire a political overtone because our policy was not one of confrontation. We had permitted our units to organise agitations on local economic issues, or sectional issues, but we did not want to confront the King with a political struggle. The student movement did play a role, but it was not the main factor which has induced the King to call the referendum.

Q: Do you think the King was haunted by the fate of the Shah of Iran?

A: I don't know. But the situation in Iran must have been one of the factors which the King must have taken into consideration.





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THE Left Front Government of West Bengal is two years old. In these two years its popularity has diminished quite a lot in the urban areas, particularly among the middle class. Correspondingly, its influence among the rural poor has gone up considerably. The organisational strength of the CPI(M), the main partner in the Left Front, has gone up at least four to five times among the poor and lower middle class in the villages.

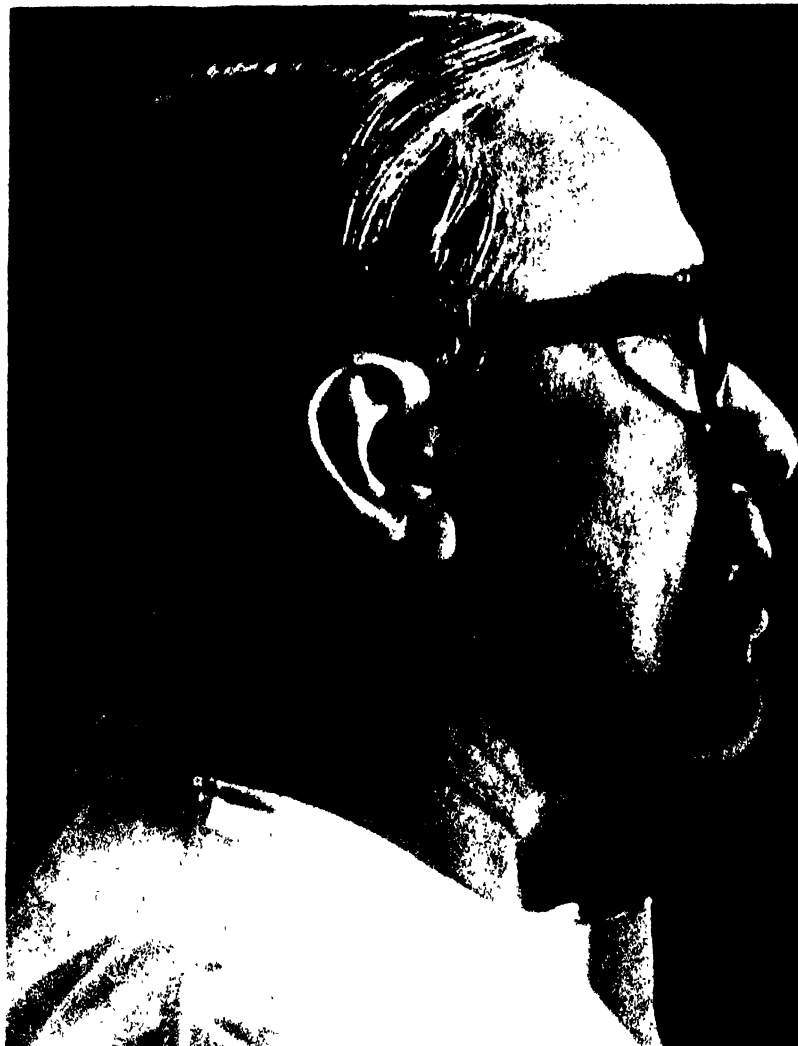
That the influence of the Left Front Government has dwindled in the urban areas can be ascertained by anybody who keeps his eyes and ears open in trams, buses and commuter trains. Critical views about it can be heard both in the greater Calcutta area and the district towns.

The main reason for this is that it is this middle class itself which had expected the most from it. Many of them had thought that if a Government came to power under the leadership of the CPI(M) then a lot of the problems of the State would be solved quite easily. But that has not happened. In the area that concerns the middle class the most—employment—the Government has not been able to show any success in two years. Quite to the contrary, the power crisis has aggravated the unemployment problem. Hundreds of small units in West Bengal have closed down against the onslaught of the power shortage. Everybody has realised that there is now little hope of new industry starting in the State under the present conditions of

power availability. That in these conditions there is no hope of new job opportunities coming up in any significant way, the middle class has clearly grasped.

The other main cause of the middle class anger with the Left Front Government is the twin problems of power shortage and transport difficulties. These problems were there also during the Congress raj but not in this magnitude. The urban middle class has never had to face such a crisis situation before. The CPI(M) is trying its level best to tell the people that both these problems are the result of the inefficiency and poor planning of the previous Congress Government. Initially many people accepted this explanation. However, when they found that even

Problems of Power



The CPI (M) has lost urban support but made significant new gains in the rural areas of West Bengal. **BARUN SENGUPTA**, the well known political commentator, outlines where the Party needs to watch out.

Gautam Patole



Two views from the agricultural State: the CPI(M)'s influence has increased rapidly among the villages

after the lapse of many months the Government was not able to provide a solution, then most of them ceased to blame the Congress Government entirely. They are now quite critical of the Left Front Government. What annoys them more is that they are not sure that the leaders of the Government care much for the solution of the problems. The public cannot see the Left Front Ministers trying their utmost to solve them. The leaders are rather trying to save themselves by shifting the whole blame on the previous Government. The public cannot quite appreciate this attitude. When in the height of summer there is no electricity for hours every day and people have to wait for an hour or more to get a foothold in a bus, who would not lose his patience? If the Congress was in power now the Left Front people would certainly have called many bandhs and created a lot of disturbances.

Other than the problems of unemployment, power and transport, the things that have made ordinary people lose hope in the Left Front Government are the prevalence of callous heartlessness, inefficiency and corruption in Government hospitals and offices. The Left Front people have for years blamed these things on the Congress rule. At one time people automatically thought that with the removal of the Congress from power these problems would also begin to disappear. But the sad fact is that the Left Front Government, even after two years of rule, has not been able to bring about any change in the working of Government offices and hospitals. In many instances the situation now is worse than before. Particularly the condition of the hospitals in Calcutta and the district towns. The Chief Minister himself has repeatedly asked Government employees to come to work on time, work conscientiously and be helpful to the common people but till now this has not borne

any fruit. This is in spite of the State Government having increased the pay, allowances and other facilities of its employees. Left Front leaders now admit in private conversation that it is much easier to get people to launch agitations to get more for themselves than to get them to work harder.

On the one hand the increasing problems of unemployment, power shortage and transport and on the other hand the callousness and inefficiency in Government offices and hospitals—these are slowly making the ordinary people particularly the middle class thoroughly disillusioned with the Left Front Government. This feeling has grown in the last one year. During the first year of Left Front rule people gave them a chance, wanted to see how they progressed. From the second year the criticism of their failure has become more strident.

THE foregoing, of course, does not mean that the Left Front Government has done nothing for the urban areas. There has been a lot of improvement in the condition of Calcutta's roads. Lawlessness among students has decreased. Examinations are being held much more regularly and properly. Mass copying in examinations has decreased.

What is most important, the CPI(M) on coming to power, has not tried settling old scores. From 1971 onwards many supporters of the CPI(M) have been murdered by Congress and Naxalite supporters. Many thousands of CPI(M) workers and activists have had to leave their houses and take shelter in other localities. But after coming to power the CPI(M) has not started to take revenge in the greater Calcutta area. The violent role that the CPI(M) adopted during the days of the 1969 United Front rule has been totally abandoned this time. No Congress or Naxalite worker has been either beaten up or made to

leave his neighbourhood. Against many of them there were charges of murder. The Left Front Government has not dug these up. It has allowed everyone to live in his own neighbourhood and participate in legitimate politics. During Congress rule many Congress workers were victims of the infighting within their Party and found themselves in jail. But under the Left Front Government no Congress worker has gone to jail, either under an old murder charge or because of his current legitimate political activities.

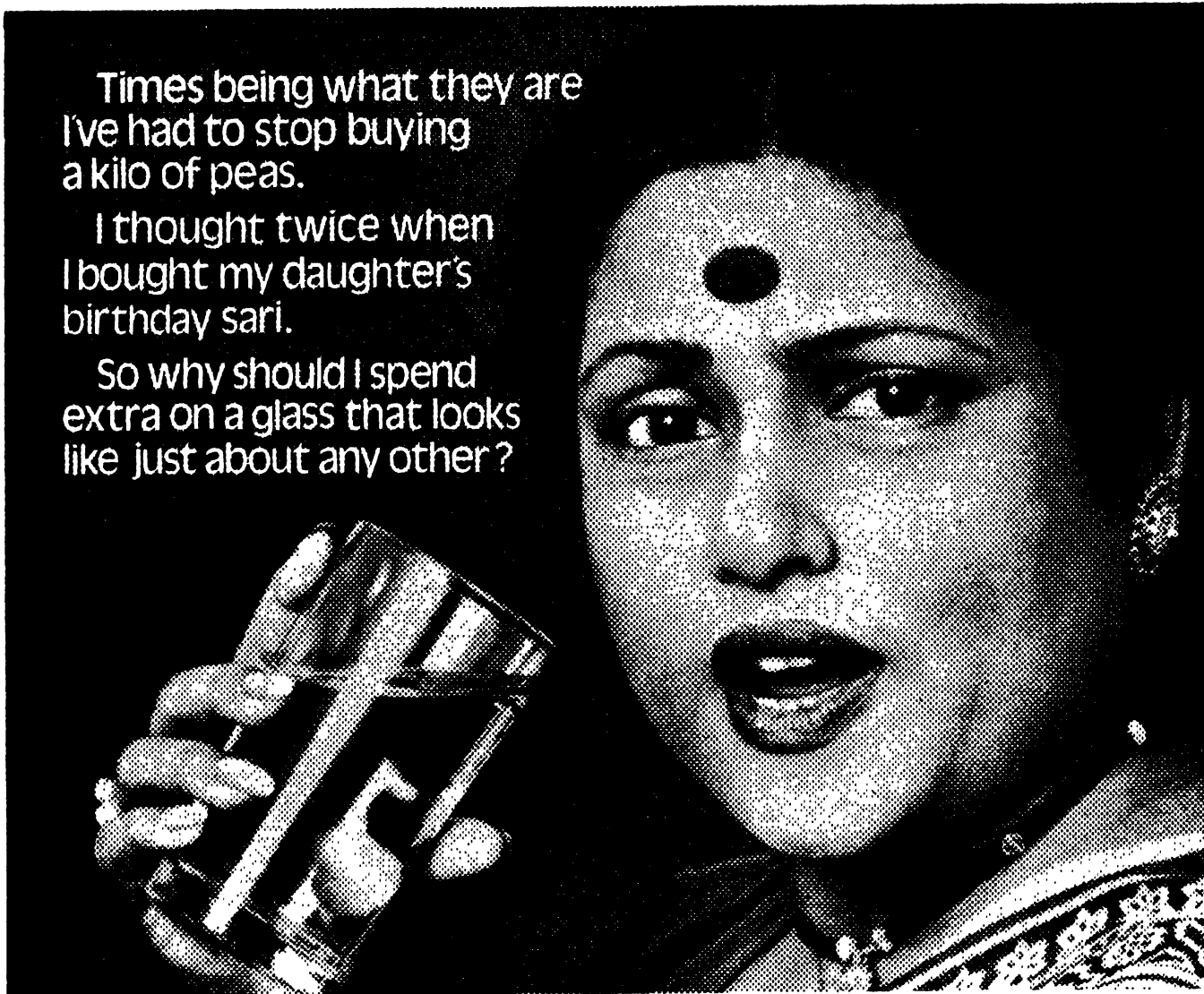
But it is in the nature of ordinary people to only remember the failures and forget the achievements. This happened during the Congress days, it is happening again during the Left Front days. That is why ordinary people are giving more importance to the power and transport problems and criticising the Government for its failures more. Many people are also annoyed with the way the Government has beaten the refugees out of Marichjhapi. This is because for many years it was Parties like the CPI(M), Forward Bloc and the RSP who had been insisting that those who had to leave East Bengal would have to be settled in West Bengal. But when these same people forced the Marichjhapi residents to leave for Dandakarnya under very brutal circumstances many ordinary people were pained.

THE influence of the Left Front Government and the CPI(M) have increased the most among the poor in the villages. In the last two years the CPI(M)'s organisational network among them has been strengthened four to five fold. Many among them feel that after a long time there is a Government that they can call their own. The political influence of the rural poor is still very low. The political, social and economic life of rural West Bengal is determined still by the

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middle and upper middle classes. But a poor man and a *jotedar* (landlord) both have one vote each! If the CPI(M) can work among the rural poor faithfully and honestly for three more years then it will be very difficult to dislodge it from power. This is because the poor are obviously in a majority in the villages in West Bengal.

The rural poor are pleased with this Government the most because of the wheat and money they earn through the 'food for work' programme. In this year alone the Government has distributed more than 60,000 tonnes of wheat. After a long time every one of the rural poor has had something to eat. With the food they have got Rs 2 each. Lakhs of poor people have been helped in this way. This wheat has been provided by the Centre but this is not known to the poor people. They know that this wheat and money have been given by the CPI(M) Government. In most cases the programme is being conducted in areas under panchayats controlled by the CPI(M). That is why the poor people are grateful to the CPI(M).

This largescale distribution of free wheat and the CPI(M) agitation have in many areas raised the effective daily earnings of agricultural workers. Earlier in some areas in the State in the off season agricultural labourers could earn about Rs 2-3 per day. Now they earn Rs 3-4 per day. For this also it is the CPI(M) that is thanked.

The third reason for the popularity of the Government and the Party is 'Operation Barga'. The law for recording the names of bargadars (sharecroppers) in the Government files was already there during Congress rule. But in practice only a few names had been recorded then. Landowners used to take advantage of this and evict sharecroppers at will. Landowners used to be quite whimsical in selecting bargadars every year. In West Bengal unregistered bargadars total over 3,000,000. The present Government has arranged to have their names registered quickly. Now landowners cannot change bargadars at will. Even if a piece of land is sold, the interest of the bargadar is protected. Slowly the banks are also lending money to the bargadars against their registration certificates. Formerly only landowners got bank loans. For this also the rural poor is grateful to the Left Front Government.

As a result of all this the upper and middle classes in the villages are very sore with this Government. With the registration of the bargadars' rights land prices have gone down. In many areas bargadar-free land fetches twice the price of land with bargadars. They now do not want to give the owners of the land more than one-fourth of the produce. Formerly the landowners would have evicted such disobedient bargadars. But that is not possible now. Naturally landlords are furious. They are angry at the rise in the wage rates of the landless labourers. This has increas-

ed their costs. No landlord wants to raise his cost of cultivation.

On top of this is the issue of losing leadership positions in society. During the long period of Congress rule one class of people had systematically established themselves in leading roles in village society. They used to determine everything about village life. They used to form groups and fight among themselves, but kept their feuds within themselves. They were all mostly the upper and middle classes of the rural society. The CPI(M) has changed this arrangement. The rural leadership of the CPI(M) comes from the lower middle class. The lower middle class, with the support of the poor, is driving out the middle and upper classes from their positions of leadership. That is why in rural Bengal the plight of the upper and middle classes is the most pathetic today. Not only have they been economically harmed, their social leadership is also being threatened. In many cases the new

Chitrajit Ghosh



A full belly, but what does the CPI(M) mean to him?

leaders have humiliated and insulted them. The upper and middle classes of the rural society today are furious with the Left Front Government. These are the people in West Bengal today who want the quickest fall of the present Government. If they had the political machinery of the city-based industrialists today then the Government would have found the going much more rough. Some of them are trying to join hands with the CPI(M) and retrieve as much of their property and status, others are asking for a joint protest by the two Congresses and the Janata. They are clashing with the CPI(M). The Party is trying in every possible way to break the resolve of those who are not surrendering to it voluntarily. They are even being beaten up.

CERTAIN dangers are also looming larger before the CPI(M) as great a speed as its popularity in the rural areas is increasing. Many of the thousands of lower middle class people who have join-

ed the struggle of the CPI(M) in the last two years have done so out of a desire for power. Just after Independence many rural people came and stood by the Congress. Most of them have no political training. The ideological belief and commitment of many of them are also not very strong. But in their hands has come a lot of power. Through the panchayats the total power for rural development is now in their hands. All the money is spent by them. All Government sponsored work in the rural areas as also all relief aid is distributed by them. But they have no administrative experience or political tradition. Therefore a lot of malpractices and groupism are bound to surface. This is in fact already visible. Also visible is extreme partisan behaviour.

The CPI(M) leadership will try its utmost to lead them in the channels of Party-approved activity. The question is whether they will succeed. Recently the Party leadership, in a secret circular, has asked the district leaderships to keep a very strict eye on them. But it is not easy to bring thousands of newcomers under the yoke of Party discipline. If they go astray they will dig the grave of the Party in the villages. If they keep on the right track they will be able to build a fortress of strength for the Party. For this the Party will have to motivate them politically rather than dangle before them the fruits of office. Undoubtedly this is most difficult. It is so much easier to tempt people.

But seeing the state of their following among the middle class, the CPI(M) must surely be realising the folly of either trying to tempt people with the fruits of office or leading them along on an agitational path. The more people get, the more they want. The middle class following of the CPI(M) is no exception. Even though the CPI(M) has delivered the goods quite considerably for them it still does not have their support. The CPI(M) is trying its utmost now to fill Government offices with its supporters. It is trying to fill the lower rungs of the State police similarly. But what is the guarantee that they will not change after some time? Many State Government employees are supporters of the pro-CPI(M) State Co-ordination Committee. When in Opposition the Party with their support called innumerable successful bandhs. But now that the Party is in power and wants them to be more hard working, is it getting any co-operation? If the CPI(M) tries to follow partisan politics in the villages through the panchayats then it will be committing a grave mistake. It will begin with favouritism for Party members, which will be followed by favouritism for sectional interests and lead ultimately to nepotism and personal corruption. And this sort of inexorable logical conclusion will ultimately ruin the Party.

'Secessionist politics has no future in Kashmir'

Q: When do you intend to relinquish your directorship of Sher-e-Kashmir Medical Institute and join active politics?

A: My basic profession is looking after the sick. This I will leave only when I am dead. But I am never away from politics. Whenever the situation has demanded my presence, I have always been there. So the question of joining active politics does not arise.

Q: What was the main reason for Mirza Afzal Beg and Sheikh Abdullah falling out? Was it an attempt to pave the way for you?

A: No! It was not to pave the way for me. Sheikh Sahib had made it amply clear that if Beg Sahib outlives him he will be our guide. Certain things went against Party discipline and they fell out. My father never stood by untruth.

Q: Isn't it that Mirza Beg wanted to see you out of politics?

A: I have no idea about it. I have always known him as a great friend of my father. I have never quarrelled with him. Why should I?

Q: Mirza Afzal Beg's comeback is talked about a lot.

A: I can't speak on it. Only the Party president, Sheikh Sahib, and the general secretary can talk about it. My only wish is that the nation's good is taken into consideration.

Q: You are tipped to succeed the Sheikh. Who will be your main contender within and outside the Party?

A: People alone will decide his successor and time alone will show who he will be.

Q: These days politicians' sons, daughters, sons-in-law keep getting into politics. Is it not a dangerous trend?

A: I have always said politicians' sons have an edge over others because they are nearer to the political scene and seat of power. The difference is only in degrees, the amount of involvement in their parents' work. And if one is able to help one's parents in a good way and not use this for bad ends then it is not a bad thing.

Q: Should parents actively promote their son's political career?

A: No one must be thrust on the people. Let them grow with the masses and let them learn the hard way. Thereby they will be more useful to people.

Q: Don't you feel that after Sheikh Sahib secessionist politics is going to thrive again?

40

FAROOQ ABDULLAH, 41, is the eldest son of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, and the director in charge of the Sher-e-Kashmir National Medical Institute Trust. He is already being talked about as the most likely successor to his father. Dr Abdullah is not only a doctor; he is also politician. He was president of the J & K Youth National Conference till its dissolution in October 1976. He lived in England for 12 long years and married a Briton. But immediately after Sheikh Abdullah became the Chief Minister he gave up his British citizenship and his practice in England to fly back to Kashmir. Z. G. MOHAMMAD had an hour-and-a-half long conversation with this VIP-son at his residence in Srinagar.

A: As far as secession is concerned, even today there are elements who are trying to stage a comeback on this issue. Let me make it clear that Sheikh Sahib and the people of the State joined the Indian Union on three fundamental principles: secularism, socialism and democracy. So long as these three pillars remain strong everywhere in India, I don't think that politicians using secession as a plan will have any future.

Q: What was the reason for the spontaneous upsurge in Kashmir against the execution of Mr Z. A. Bhutto?

A: This was a sudden outburst of the people's feelings against the inhuman treatment meted out to a man who had done much for Pakistan. It will not be wrong to say that in the United Nations he spoke for Kashmir for long. People still remember that. People believe that if there was any person, who could stabilise the Muslims of Pakistan, then it was Bhutto.

Q: During the recent demonstrations, people demanded the liberation of Pakistani occupied Kashmir. Could you comment on this, please?

A: I strongly feel that our brethren in Azad Kashmir are suppressed and are being harassed by the military junta. The BBC has clearly shown in its broadcasts that Azad Kashmir (Pakistani occupied Kashmir) wants to come out of Pakistan. But unfortunately the Government of India seems to be silent on the issue. The people of Kashmir clearly demonstrated their desire for the liberation of their Azad Kashmir brethren.

Q: Does it mean that the Bhutto execution has eliminated the Pakistani factor from Kashmir politics?

A: No. I think it has generated hatred against the ruling military junta. I feel that the Muslims of the State think that the people of Pakistan are suppressed by the present Government. I don't think people on the whole ever wanted to be a part of Pakistan. And recent happenings in Pakistan have vindicated the stand of people like my father.

Q: Some years back you visited Pakistani occupied Kashmir? How do people there feel?

A: I saw their pitiable condition. For that visit I am grateful to the late Mr Z. A. Bhutto, who permitted me to visit Azad Kashmir even when the Azad Kashmir President was against my visit. At that time, I had told the then Prime Minister of Pakistan about the state of development of Azad Kashmir. There were no roads. No medical amenities. Only a few educational institutions. The Pakistan Government have paid no attention to the development of Azad Kashmir. People on the whole there do not want to be a colony of Pakistan.

Q: What is the reason for the mounting resistance against Sheikh Sahib in the Jammu region?

A: When you talk of the Jammu agitation I must correct you. The Jammu area does not mean Jammu city only. It means the districts of Dada, Kathua, Poonch, Rajouri, Udhampur and Jammu city. The agitation started over the recruitment of some teachers in Poonch. Previously these jobs went to the city dwellers only. But now the policy is to provide equal opportunities for development to all the parts. Maybe some mistakes were made by the officials. This gave the politicians who were out of power a chance to agitate so as to create a situation in the state favourable for the imposition of President's rule. So that these politicians could again rob the people of their rights.

Q: Do you feel that the Central Government wanted the disturbances in the State?

A: I don't know.

Q: Do you feel that the RSS was behind the agitation?

A: Yes, I am certain that the RSS played its role in it but I warn them that any division of the State on a religious basis will destroy the integrity of the country.

Vajpayee's fringe benefits

By RAJENDRA MATHUR

SURELY the public speeches of a Minister are not his private property. When the speeches are being made any interested journalist may record them on a tape, transcribe them and splash the entire text across the pages of his newspaper, space and the news editor permitting, without bothering about copyright or royalties. Radio and television are equally free to use them, and by the same analogy a publisher may anthologise them in a book.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, however, has decided to derive some private benefit out of his official performances. He has brought out a book entitled *New Dimensions of India's Foreign Policy*. It is published by Vision Books, has 256 pages and is priced at Rs. 65.

The book is a compilation, from cover to cover. It contains the two speeches which Mr Vajpayee delivered in the United Nations General Assembly in 1977 and 1978, the speech he delivered while replying to the Lok Sabha debate on the demand for grants made by his Ministry, the speech he made in the conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade in 1977, the learned speech that he delivered in the Jawaharlal Nehru University, and so on and so forth. Would you like to know what Mr Vajpayee said while welcoming Mr Ramphal, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, over a banquet? Or the way in which he welcomed Mr Warren Christopher, the US Assistant Secretary of State? What did he say on alighting at Kabul airport? How did he fare in a television interview at Belgrade? Did he speak like a Japanese in Japan? If you want to gorge on all this trivia, please shell out Rs. 65.

There could, of course, be no objection to a Foreign Minister writing a treatise on his own foreign policy, and earning royalty therefrom. Mr Vajpayee could have attempted to define the new dimensions which the country's foreign policy has presumably acquired after his Party's coming to power. But he has not written a book at all. He has handed over to his publishers the official transcripts of his speeches, from which both parties should be collecting a sizable packet.

If Vision Books have paid the author a 15 per cent royalty Mr Vajpayee would be getting Rs. 9.75 for every book that is sold. Assuming that the publishers have brought out a first edition of 10,000 copies, the royalty accruing to the author



would amount to Rs. 97,500. That should perhaps be the minimum. If, however, the royalty were to be 20 per cent and the number of copies 20,000 the amount accruing to the Foreign Minister would add up to Rs. 2,60,000. A tidy fringe benefit, apart from the junkets abroad! And he has been in office only for two years.

Why could this book not be printed by the Publications Division of the Government, run by Mr Vajpayee's faction-mate Mr Lal Krishna Advani, and sold, let us say, for Rs. 15? This establishment has in the past published speeches delivered by Nehru, Radhakrishnan, Rajendra Prasad and Indira Gandhi. Would it not have been more Janata-like if the speeches of the first non-Congress Foreign Minister of India had been published in cheap editions, and going by Vajpayee's own logic, in Hindi? Is it not the duty of the Government to make official documents inexpensively available to the people?

The copyright of the book, we are informed, is held by Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee. It is a ridiculous claim. As a matter of fact if an enterprising publisher were to reprint the entire book without any kind of permission whatsoever, and sell it for Rs. 25 instead of Rs. 65, Mr Vajpayee couldn't do a thing about it. He need not be paid a penny for the piracy. It would be mean to grudge an author his royalty in an illiterate country like India, and a

six-digit return should be something to crow about. But the objection is that Mr Vajpayee has not personally authored the book. It is a collection of official transcripts and many minds must have contributed to the texts as they appear here. (If they haven't, what is the entire South Block there for?)

If Mr George Fernandes were to write a book about the new dimensions of India's industrial policy in a similar fashion he could surely sell it to obliging industrialists at Rs. 165 a copy. And the Government may entrust the publication of the next Five-Year Plan to a private publisher, who may then sell the tome for Rs. 500. Copyright: The Union Minister of Planning. In Mr Vajpayee's book there is only one thing which deserves the protection of the copyright: the preface by Mr M. C. Chagla. But a price of Rs. 65 is surely exorbitant for a three-page preface.

It is to be hoped that Mr Kanti Desai will not now start a publishing house to bring out the *Selected Speeches of Morarji Desai* in a suitably priced de luxe edition. It is also to be hoped that the Publications Division will awaken to the fact that there has been a different Government in office for the last two years, and although what its Ministers have been saying has been jejune in the extreme, there may be nuggets of sense which may be worth culling and presenting.

Aligarh—the fag-end

By O. V. VIJAYAN

THE complaint of Mr. Harikesh Bahadur (in Parliament) that the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police of Aligarh treated him and six other MPs 'very casually and in an insulting manner' led to loud protests against the conduct of these officials...Mr. Harikesh Bahadur particularly mentioned that the Superintendent of Police smoked in the presence of seven MPs, and when asked either to smoke later or go outside to finish his cigarette and come back, walked out...News Report.

In my lean days I had worked with a coaching shop which prepared boys for the competitive examinations, so had a deep understanding of the working of the bureaucratic mind. I rushed to Aligarh, and brushing aside a policeman on guard, stormed into the Superintendent's

room. And sure enough, he was there sitting with his feet on the table and smoking away to glory.

"Aligarh is burning," I said, "and here you are, smoking instead of fiddling."

I brought in the fiddling to impress him with a bit of ancient Roman history.

He smiled like all policemen do, and said blandly, "You're right, sir."

"Why don't you put the cigarette out?" I said. "Just smother it in the ash tray."

"This is a Dunhill, sir," he pleaded. "And I'm enjoying it."

"But dash it, we're a parliamentary democracy," I said. "Use that ash tray."

The IPS boy was shaken when I brought in the subject of parliamentary democracy, because such things brought back memories of all the cramming done for the competitive exams. Seeing him dither, I plugged my line harder.

"It all began with the Magna Carta," I said "and now we've gotten

as far as Ershine May. Have you read *Parliamentary Practice*?"

"I'm sorry, sir," he said.

"Benjamin Franklin—" I began formidably.

I saw the sweat glisten on his brow.

"I'd read it all, and forgotten it," he said in desperation. "Please, sir, don't force me to take the examination again."

I patted him on his pips.

"Have no fear," I said. "This Government is committed to the undoing of the Emergency apparatus. So there'll be no refresher courses or re-exams. In fact all over the Hindi belt they're copying freely in the examination halls. Well, this man Benjamin Franklin—"

"Sir," he said.

"He was beheaded for inventing the cigarette," I said. "And our Government is committed to prohibition and the banning of cowslaughter."

The Policeman fidgeted, then said, "Sir, may I correct you?"

"Shoot!" I said, and the very next moment regretted that indiscreet use of slang.

"It was Sir Walter Raleigh, sir," he said apologetically. "Ben Franklin merely invented the kite to prove that even adults could fly them."

"It all amounts to the same thing," I said. "But what I want you to remember is that he went up the scaffold for smoking before the Commons."

"Sir!" said the policeman, in a deathlike whisper.

"Remember there has been a riot here," I said. "A non-communal riot, a secular riot, and if you will, a joint-sector riot. I mean, one where the Government and the rioters creatively interact. It's your duty, as a senior police officer, to keep off cigarettes. Do you see the logical connection?"

"I do, sir," said the policeman. "I'll see anything you ask me to see."

"The Prime Minister will be pleased to hear this," I said.

"Could we put aside our cigarette packets and our arms," said the policeman, "and march on the politicians to pay them our respects? Would that amount to mutiny, sir?"

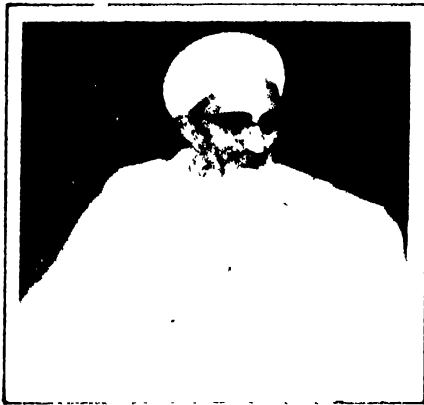
"I hope not," I said.

Before leaving him, I gave him a copy of the *New Revised Rural Police Manual*, which forbade police officers to smoke in the presence of rural politicians who held their own cigarettes between the little finger and the next digit, and dragged the smoke through the clenched fist from between the thumb and the forefinger. There was something disconcerting and elitist in the way the officer cadre smoked their cigarettes, which made it difficult for us to implement our election promises.

It's all quiet in Aligarh.







Dawoodi Bohras challenge their high priest

ASGHAR ALI ENGINEER reviews the findings of the Nathwani Commission, instituted to enquire into charges against the Bada Mullaji of the Bohra community

AFTER about one and half years' stormy existence, the Nathwani Commission, appointed to inquire into the allegations of persecution of the conscientious objectors among the Bohras by their high priest, has, at last, produced its report. The commission, appointed by the "Citizens for Democracy" — an organisation committed to protect human and democratic rights — at the request of Jayaprakash Narayan, passed through a meandering course. On July 14th, 1977, JP wrote to Mr V. M. Tarkunde, the General Secretary of the Citizens for Democracy: "My friend S. M. Joshi met me this morning and explained to me how the Dawoodi (Bohra) community is suffering under the injustices perpetrated on them by their high priest—Bada Mullaji—of their community...The high priest functions like a State within a State. He levies taxes and penalises his followers for acts which he considers an offence to him. Recently, a deputation headed by S. M. Joshi went to see the Prime Minister to appoint a commission to enquire into the grievances regarding harassment of the reformist section of the Bohra community...The Prime Minister expressed his inability to appoint a commission but he suggested that a non-official committee should be asked to do this work and in this connection the work of your committee in regard to the atrocities perpetrated on the Naxalites in Andhra was mentioned."

So the inquiry commission was constituted by the Citizens for Democracy at the instance of JP. Though it was an unofficial commission, the high priest, not unexpectedly of course, raised the well-tasted slogan of "religion in danger". Many Muslim leaders, overawed by the power of the high priest's purse, dutifully orchestrated the slogan. They were being more opportunist

than orthodox, at least in this case. The obscurantists, hand in glove with the vested interests, exerted so much pressure (all this speaks volumes about our secular political culture!) that even Jayaprakash Narayan retracted (Or was it a case of amnesia as thought by a section of the Press?). However, the commission with Mr Nathwani, a retired high court judge and the sitting member of Parliament as its chairman, had, besides Mr V. M. Tarkunde, Dr Alam Khundmiri, Dr Moin Shakir and Mr Chandra Kant Daru of Ahmedabad, as its members. Despite the hysterical outburst organised by the Bohra priesthood against the commission, it held its sittings to examine the witnesses at Bombay, Ahmedabad and Delhi.

UDAIPUR is the citadel of the reformists and hence it has suffered most at the hands of the high priest's cohorts. Apart from stray incidents of violence, there have been organised attacks. One Mrs Mehfooza Abidali Adeeb, aged about 30, narrated before the commission the harrowing tale of collective assault at Galiakot (near Udaipur) in 1973. According to her, "28th February, 1973, is the day which still creates a shiver in my heart. On that day suddenly a mob came and started beating us. They were saying that I am an enemy of the *Dat* (high priest). They were swearing that they will outrage my modesty. Then I was asked to condemn my husband because he is *kafir* (non-believer). When I declined to do so one individual rushed towards me and dealt a lathi blow on my head. I felt giddy. After some time I regained consciousness. I saw that some persons were casting lustful eyes upon me. They also abused me and tore my outer garment. In this state I had to run up to (the) market from that place."

There are hundreds of such in-

cidents. The commission has investigated only a few and established their veracity. The commission has also documented in detail the rigours of *baraat* and its disastrous consequences. There are many instances in which betrothal, were broken due to pressure by the priestly class because one of the family members belonged to the reformist group. There is a tragic case of two daughters of Tayyabbhai Koicha of Bombay who had taken active part in the reformist movement. One of the two daughters, Shirin stated that both remained unmarried and lived isolated lives in Bandra for 35 years. Their mother was not allowed to be buried in the Bohra cemetery.

The report has, with the help of documents as well as oral evidence, proved it beyond any kind of doubt that the plight of the advocates of reform and their supporters is worse than that of untouchables in the Bohra community. In fact the Bohra high priest is guilty of creating a new class of untouchables in free India. The commission finds the charge that the Bohra priesthood seeks to establish total control over the members of the community and demands total conformity to be quite well-founded. The priesthood in fact leaves no aspect of a Bohra's life uncontrolled. The commission has proved with documentary evidence the case of the high priest ordering followers to vote for certain candidates in the municipal, State Assembly and Lok Sabha elections.

The commission, therefore, says in the concluding chapter of its report which runs into more than 225 pages: "Our enquiry has shown that there is large-scale infringement of civil liberties and human rights of reformist Bohras at the hands of the priestly class and that those who fail to obey the orders of the *Syedna* and his *Amils*, even in purely secular matters, are subjected to *baraat* resulting in complete social boycott, mental torture and frequent physical assaults." Then the commission goes on to observe, "The *Misaq* (the oath of unquestioning obedience to the Head Priest) which every Bohra is required to give before he or she attains the age of majority, is used as the main instrument for keeping the entire community under the subjugation of the *Syedna* and his nominees."

The *Misaq*, in its present form, has been described, as a "bond of slavery" by the commission. It contains some highly objectionable conditions. The breaker of the oath has to suffer serious consequences. The taker of the oath is warned thus: "If a person taking the oath breaks it, all his possessions, i.e. movables, cash, housing, utensils, jewels, ornaments, carriages, horses, cattle, milch

cows, she - buffaloes, slaves—males and females — and all worldly materials become unlawful for him. All his property is liable to be looted and to be distributed among the poor and the needy...And if the breaker of the covenant has a wife that wife becomes forbidden to him. The breach (of covenant) has the effect of three Talaqs (divorce) against the wife...The woman can never marry him again, neither he can take her as a wife."

The commission, therefore, observes: "We have seriously considered the question whether the abolition of Misaq should be recommended as measure of necessary social reform. There can be no doubt that insofar as the Misaq involves an undertaking to accept the guidance of the Syedna in religious matters, it represents an essential feature of Bohra faith and calls for no interference. But we have seen in Chapter IV that the Misaq is so far-reaching as to involve unconditional surrender to the Syedna in secular as well as religious matters and that it amounts to a virtual charter of slavery. We have also seen ... that it is the breach of Misaq in secular matters which is made the basis of all-sided persecution of dissenting Bohras. We therefore recommend that the Syedna should in the first place be requested to limit the Misaq to obedience of his directions in religious matters." "If he refuses to do so", the commission observes, then, "the giving of Misaq

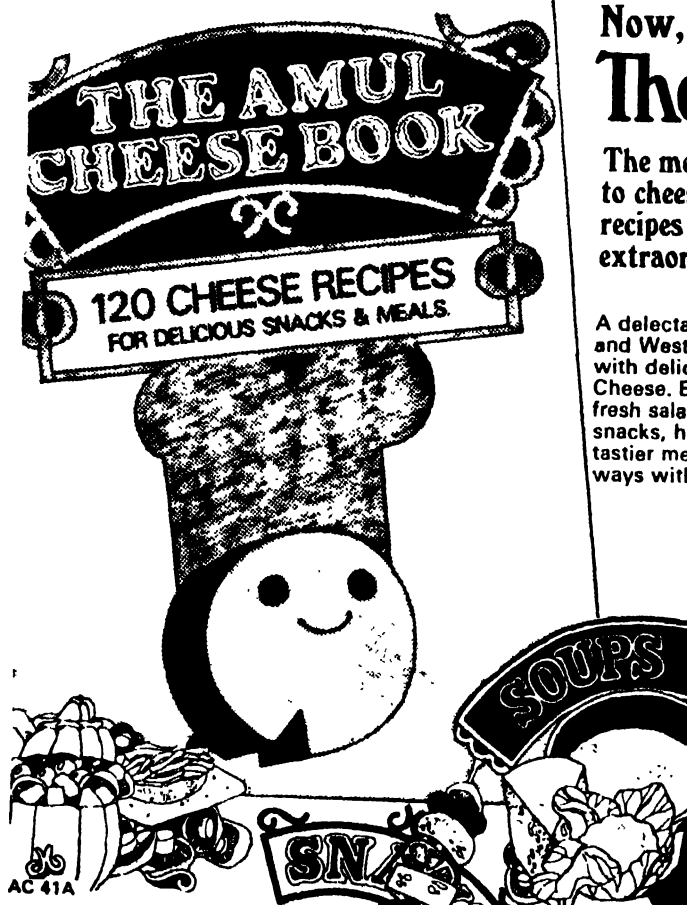
in its present form should be prohibited by law."

Baraat is the most obnoxious weapon used by the high priest to persecute the reformists and their supporters. It is nothing short of medieval barbarism. The commission, therefore, recommends: "Baraat or social boycott should be made illegal and be penalised as an offence." The report further rightly points out, "The full facts about the Baraat and its consequences were obviously not placed before the Supreme Court when it decided the case Saifuddin Saheb vs. State of Bombay (AIR 1962 S.C. 853). Baraat among the Bohras is not proclaimed for religious apostasy, nor does it merely imply exclusion from communal worship and use to communal property." "Baraat is proclaimed", the report tells us on the basis of documentary evidence, "for non-conformity in secular matters and it implies complete social boycott, isolation from close relatives and friends, loss of business and employment, and virtual imposition of untouchability. Contrary to the view expressed by the majority of the Supreme Court in the above case, abolition of Baraat is undoubtedly a matter of urgent social reform."

The Syedna, over the years, by forcible exactions, and wielding the weapon of social boycott, has accumulated vast fortune. He has compelled the Bohra philanthropists to endow charitable trusts to him personally and, over and above that, refu-

ses to account for these charitable funds. Anyone who questions him or any member of his family or any mulla appointed by him about the trust funds is put under boycott. The commission, therefore, feels that "all the trusts where the Syedna claims to be the sole trustee, and the receipt and expenditure of all the customary taxes and nazranas (tributes) should be regulated by suitable legislation. Acts like the Wakf Act of 1954 and the Durgah Khwaja Saheb Act of 1955 show that such legislation is constitutionally valid. Since many of the trusts receive income from different parts of India and other parts of India and abroad, and since the customary taxes and Nazranas are also collected in India and other parts of the world, legislation for the regulation of such trusts and income should be the responsibility of Parliament rather than of any State Legislature."

The commission has recommended these and other measures in order to mitigate the sufferings of the Dawoodi Bohras at the hands of the unscrupulous priesthood. It remains to be seen how far the government musters political courage to make necessary enactments. The power of the purse can exert formidable pressure; much more so if it is also used to buy over the politicians belonging to the minority community. The Syedna has plenty of money to play this game. For him the stakes are too high indeed.



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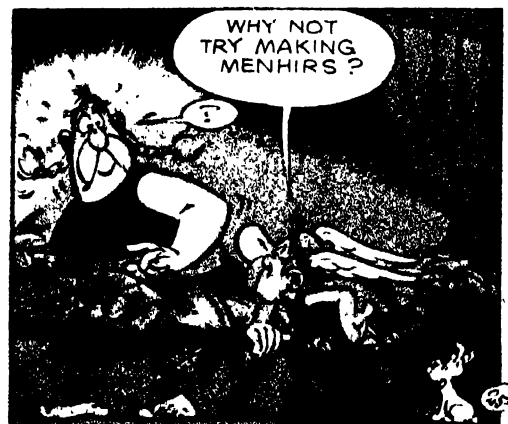
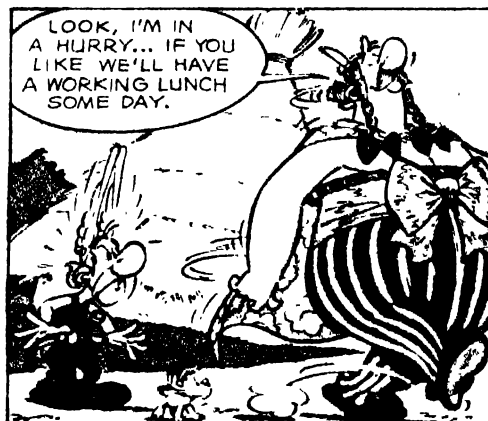
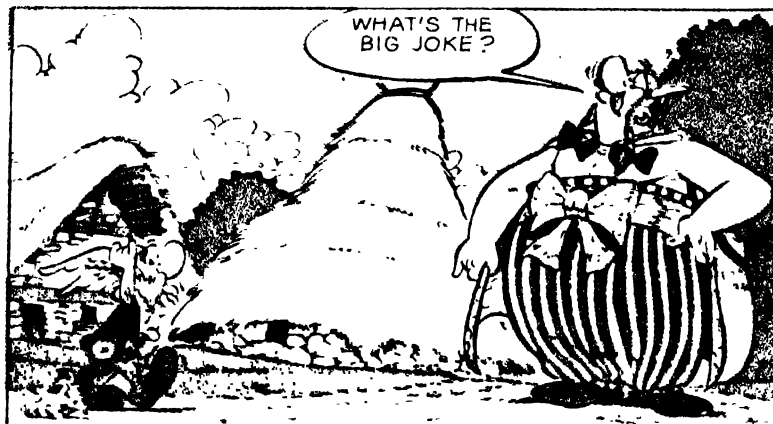
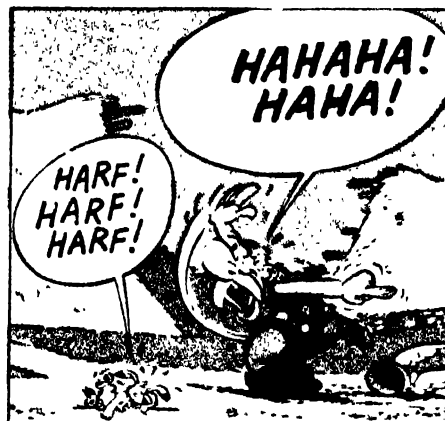
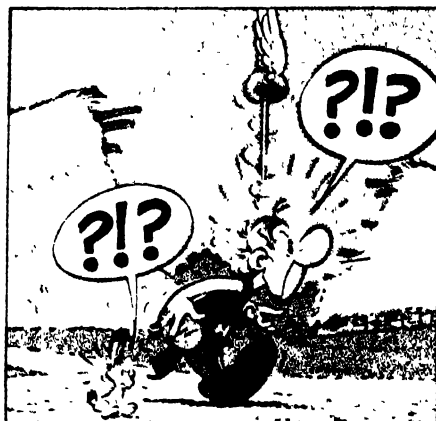
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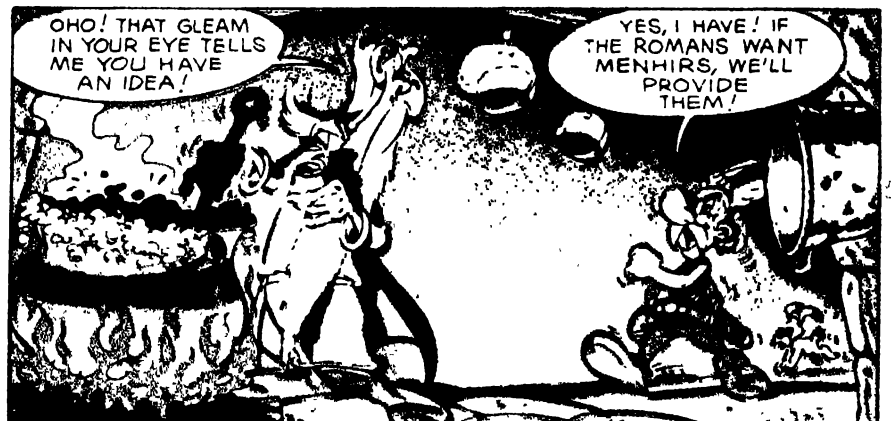
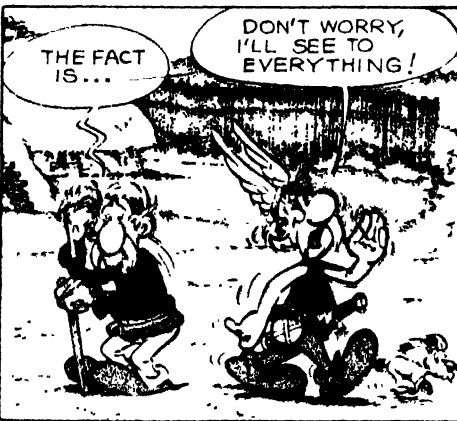
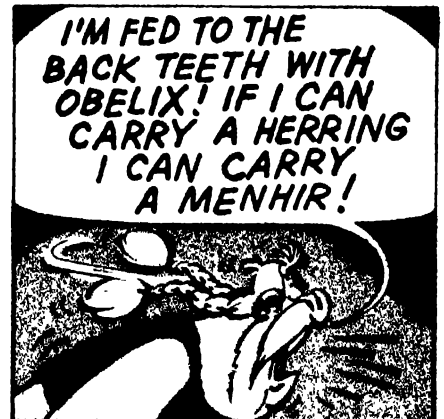
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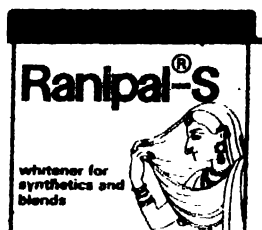
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The father Socialist

By BHOLA CHATTERJI

IN his foreword to the 476-page book, a compilation of most of Narendra Deva's important speeches and essays, Janata Party President Chandrashekhar says that Narendra Deva was the epitome of "all that is virtuous in our public life. He symbolized selfless sacrifice in the service of society". Is that a somewhat larger than life picture? Not at all, says Brahmanand who has edited the book. The 42-page editor's note strives to substantiate Chandrashekhar's observation that might appear a trifle mellifluous to those who would rather have men and events assessed in terms of arithmetic. Taken at its face value, Brahmanand's introduction to the book would convince you that the Janata Party President, his close association with Narendra Deva notwithstanding, has done no more than justice to the man.

Enough for a prelude. The focus may now be turned on the man who was, in the words of Jayaprakash Narayan, "the vanguard among (Marxist) Socialists in the country". The failure of the civil disobedience movement had cast a shadow on the Indian political scene. Disillusioned with the Congress leadership, a few young Congressmen mooted the idea of radicalization of the freedom struggle, reorientation and redefinition of its methods and objectives. The idea did not get frozen in the track of debate and discussion; it materialised in the shape of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP), thanks to Narendra Deva, Jayaprakash, Yusuf Meherally, Rammanohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan and Asoka Mehta. The CSP was formed at Patna in 1934, as a Marxist group within the Congress. This provoked the criticism that Socialism and nationalism being irreconcilables, the Socialists should have, if they were sincere about their professions of faith, made their debut as a separate group outside the Congress.

It fell on Narendra Deva to refute the critics' argument. In the course of his Presidential address to the Party's foundation conference Narendra Deva stated that the Socialists did not opt for an independent existence because "we do not wish to isolate ourselves from the great national movement against British imperialism which today the Congress symbolizes ... the present stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution ... In the peculiar conditions of India, the Socialists can very well work within the Congress and combine

national struggle with Socialism".

His defence of the Party's stand did not conflict with either his understanding of Marxism or his commitment to principled politics. This explains why he did not drag his feet when it became evident that the Congress was fast degenerating into an outfit of "social climbers", that it could no longer be depended upon to perform even the limited task of completing the bourgeois democratic revolution. Addressing the Party's Nasik conference in 1948 he said: "I have been so far advocating that we should not quit the Congress. Today I am telling you that we must get out of the Congress." There was no dithering, not the slightest effort made to stall a decision that might not have been to everyone's liking. He could not care less, for the problem involved, other things apart, principles of political conduct.

IT was still a long way off before Indian Socialism would learn to talk the language of high principles and allow expediency to determine its policy and action. The Socialists in this part of the world were yet to appreciate the utility of pragmatism that could short circuit the road to power, albeit limited. And they had not become tame enough not to raise questions and difficult to boot. Or to accept any ideological formulation without dissecting it. Naturally, Narendra Deva had to face the question whether his understanding of Marxism implied a denial of democracy as it was generally understood. The answer was an emphatic "no". For his Marxism was not an immutable religion that knew the final answer to every conceivable problem.

And he made it clear that he would have nothing to do with a political system that did not derive its sanction, freely expressed, from the people.

That caste and politics of religion have from historical times made a muck of life in the subcontinent is not particularly a revealing observation. Could it be denied that politicians of every hue and shade have all along been cynically using them as political tools? One could not agree more with Brahmanand when he says in his introduction that "the exploitation of caste and communal bitterness is the basis of the political system today in India". How did Narendra Deva propose to combat it? Initially, he was of the opinion that other measures besides, caste-based "alignment of the down trodden" would be "a happy and an inevitable feature of elections". Such alignment, as he put it, "reflected that the lower castes, consisting of landless agri-

cultural labour and the small peasantry, were rising against the vested interests, the economically superior higher castes". Did he expect that the caste struggle would eventually transform into class struggle? Not quite unlikely.

BUT then reality belied the expectation and he was constrained to utter a word of caution as early as May 1948: "The growth of conscious casteism must be arrested now, since it has exhausted its utility. It is now necessary to tell the lower castes that their real enemies are the vested interests and that the upper castes had held them under their yoke only on account of their economic superiority. The oppressed castes must be told that the remedy of all their ills lies in joining hands with the other economically oppressed people, maybe of any caste or creed, to fight the vested interests even among the lower castes." That is an approach with which few sensible Indians would disagree. In fact, Jayaprakash also prescribes more or less the same remedy. But, in the given climate of unreason and insensibility, who is going to pay heed to what essentially hinges on rationality.

Not a system-builder, system building requires a certain closed mind. Narendra Deva was one of those rare intellectuals in politics who were incapable of tagging the word "ism" to their name. Equally true is the fact that he was one of the three theoreticians, the other two being Lohia and Jayaprakash, of the Indian Socialist movement. What distinguished him from his peers was that he could with equal ease conduct a turbulent Party conference as well as occupy a University vice-Chancellor's chair.

None would accuse Narendra Deva of looking back once the journey commenced. By the time independent India's first general elections were over the Socialist movement had slid into a process of fission, fusion and fission. In spite of a fine crop of intelligent and dedicated men, the like of which no other political movement here could pride itself on, Indian Socialism got irrevocably enmeshed in debilitating internecine conflict. Much to his chagrin, he could not reverse the process that ultimately split the movement down the middle. All this, however, could not shake his conviction that "the salvation of the world lies in democratic Socialism and only those who have a firm faith in democracy and Socialism can be the vanguard of the new movement for world peace." Brahmanand has not failed the man who was indeed one of the best minds of our times.

Towards Socialist Society, Acharya Narendra Deva, Edited by Brahmanand Centre of Applied Politics, New Delhi. Rs 90.00



REVIEW

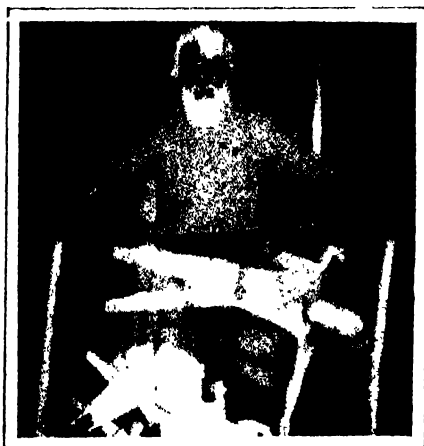
A brush with success

TANIA SHAH meets noted painter M.F. HUSAIN who held an exhibition of his work at Kuala Lumpur recently.



IT is difficult to be Muslim today and not to be affected, one way or the other, by what is happening in the world of Islam. M. F. Husain's recent paintings reflect his perceptions of the changes, the turmoil and the bloodshed. The main paintings at an exhibition he had in Kuala Lumpur in May depicted men being executed—'grey men in limbo silently fighting with their self-inflicted wounds. The woman is a symbol of mercy and hope to the doomed men'. Other paintings also had reflections of Islamic images and calligraphy.....Khomeini's face, a black chador, a gold Arabic letter imprinted on a background of sunlit sand.

Husain is more optimistic about what is happening than some of his paintings reflect: "I don't believe that things can go backward. I believe in the ability of youth to perceive the future...to me in the final analysis it is the individual that matters, not a political system" The exhibition was at the Kuala Lumpur Hilton in a foyer full of greenery and fountains. Husain, barefoot and



in a black *salwar-kurta* with a gold pendant round his neck, looked like a prophet or an eccentric aristocrat.

The Malaysian President, Tun Mohamed Suffian, opened the exhibition and said, "Shri Husain has done the almost impossible: bridged East and West, orthodox tradition with today's freedom. His works, although essentially Indian, have won the praise of international art critics from Tokyo to Prague. I trust that Shri Husain will open new vistas of creativity, help show our artists new trends of communicating their emotions to the world at large; help them find new meeting-points which will result in the birth of a style Malaysian and yet belonging to the world".

The Vice-Chancellor of the Malaysian University, Professor Ungku Aziz, was also there and remembered that he had bought his first painting by Husain in Calcutta in the early Fifties. "There were these

Photographs by Tania Shan



brilliant sketches done on cardboard and the art dealer told me the artist was so poor that he couldn't afford to buy canvas." The Vice-Chancellor said he would like to see Husain's work exhibited in the universities so that more people could see them than would come to the Hilton.

The exhibition, which was organized by the Pundole Gallery, Bombay, was on for four days. In the mornings students would come and talk to Husain about art and about their problems. An intense, bespectacled 18-year-old told him that he had been forced to leave home because his parents thought art was a waste

of time but he had sent one of his paintings to an American University competition and they had offered him a scholarship. Husain asked to see some of his work. The 18-year-old was silent for a few moments, then said "You can't.....I couldn't afford canvas so I painted on the cunboards and walls at home."

Husain's success in Malaysia and at another exhibition in Dubai in April has prompted a Dubai art dealer, Mr. A. Khan, to start a gallery of modern Asian art in London. "The East has a great deal to offer the world of modern art, it is simply a question of promotion and exposure," he said. ■

A decision on the wrong track

Will it put Railways back on the rails?

THE performance of the Indian Railways has been under fire from all the economic Ministries in the past few months. The Ministers of Energy and Steel persistently attacked the Railways at meetings of the Cabinet's Economic Monitoring Committee because of the slow movement of coal, fertilisers, steel and cement, among other things. But the Railway Minister, Mr Madhu Dandavate, could not offer any satisfactory explanation to his Ministerial colleagues. Finally the Minister did find a solution: If he could not defend his Ministry's inefficiency, he could at least find a scapegoat. And so, late in the evening of Saturday, June 2, the Cabinet Secretary, Mr Nirmal Mukherjee rang up the Railway Board Chairman and ex-officio Principal Secretary to the Government, Mr K. S. Rajan, and informed him that he had been removed from his post and appointed Officer-on-Special Duty (OSD) in the Cabinet Secretariat. A senior Railway official, who was fourth in the hierarchy of the railway officers' cadre, Mr M. Menezes, was appointed Mr Rajan's successor. Mr Menezes had been working as the Defence Production Secretary at the time of his sudden elevation to the most coveted post in the Indian Railways. Mr Rajan, who is scheduled to retire on April 30, 1980, refused to move to the new post and proceeded on two months' leave. Two members of the Railway Board, Mr S. C. Misra (Member-mechanical) and Mr J. N. Kohli (Member-traffic), who were senior

to Mr Menezes, also proceeded on leave following the new appointment. Mr Misra and Mr Kohli are due to retire on June 30 and September 30, respectively.

The new appointment came as a windfall for Mr Menezes. He was due to retire on February 28 next year, and had Mr Rajan continued in his post till his normal date of superannuation, April 30, 1980, Mr Menezes would have retired in the rank of Secretary to the Government and not risen to the rank of Principal Secretary.

Apart from the Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr V. Shankar, who holds the rank of Principal Secretary, the post of Chairman of the Railway Board is the only other office equivalent to the rank of Principal Secretary in the Government. When the Government decided to appoint Mr Rajan as an OSD in the Cabinet Secretariat, the resultant problems of administration were therefore overlooked: along with the Cabinet Secretary, the administrative head of the department, there would have also been an OSD of the rank of Principal Secretary in the Cabinet Secretariat. The confusion caused by this situation would have been unprecedented in the annals of Indian administration. Fortunately, Mr Rajan refused to move to his new post.

The reason given by the Minister, Mr Dandavate, for Mr Rajan's removal was that the Government felt the Railway Administration needed toning up; by implication, Mr Rajan had failed in his duties and therefore

was given the order of the boot. But sources in the Railway Board assert that Mr Rajan was an able administrator and his removal is an attempt by the Minister to find a scapegoat for his own failures. They point out that the administrative set-up of the Railway Board is such that each member of the Board has total autonomy regarding the portfolio he holds. The role of the Chairman is purely administrative and each member reports directly to the Minister. The failure of the Railways, for which it has been criticised by the economic Ministries, is in regard to the movement of essential goods and, as such, it was the office of the Member (traffic) which needed to be toned up, these sources said.

The sources in the Railway Board said that the former Railway Board Chairman, Mr G. P. Warriar, who is now Chairman of the Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd (BHEL), is still calling the shots in the Rail Bhavan. Mr Warriar was Chairman during the 1974 Railway strike and a group of officers who were responsible for masterminding the Railway Board's handling of the strike are still ruling the organisation, it was alleged. These officers owe personal allegiance to Mr Warriar. Even in the Minister's personal secretariat, there is one man who received accelerated promotions during Mr Warriar's time and is still "reporting" to his former boss, the sources said. They pointed out that as a result of the machinations of this group, many railwaymen victimised in the 1974 strike had not been rehabilitated, despite the Janata Government's declared stand on this issue. Mr Rajan was not in the good books of this group and through its agents planted in strategic positions of the Railway Ministry hierarchy the group successfully engineered his removal, it was alleged.

In fact the Railways do need toning up. The equipment used by the Railways needs immediate overhauling and replacement. Thirty per cent of the locomotives and 40 per cent of the coaches are worn out and need immediate replacement. Seventy per cent of the tracks are so old that they can bear a pressure of only 90 pounds per square feet. Against the backdrop of this alarming situation, the number of gangmen has been cut drastically in the last few years. The shaky balance between tracks, engines and wagons is upset with the slightest disturbance in the work-schedule. This was amply demonstrated during the recent work-to-rule agitation by railwaymen. Whether or not the cosmetic changes brought about by Mr Dandavate will help the Railways out of this situation is anybody's guess.

Old-timers in the Railway Board

Ex-Chairman Rajan (second from left) with Mr Dandavate (third from left)



recall the shabby treatment meted out to the former Railway Board Chairman, Mr B. C. Ganguly, by the then Railway Minister, Mr K. Hanumanthaiya, in 1971. Mr Ganguly, who was a skilled engineer, was sacked when he was on tour. The dismissal order was communicated to him in a saloon by which he was travelling. In Mr Rajan's case, it took the administrative section of the Railway Board less than 24 hours to replace the nameplate in the Chairman's room in Rail Bhavan. The decision was taken late on the Saturday evening and by noon on Sunday the nameplate had been changed. Mr Menezes has been appointed for a term of three years. That is, he

has not only earned an unexpected promotion, but also an extension of two years. He has a reputation of good service and his performance in the Defence Ministry has been praiseworthy. But whether the new Chairman will be able to keep the Government pleased till the expiry of his extended term has become a matter of speculation among senior officers who are extremely critical of the way in which the matter has been handled by the Government. One official interpreted the removal of the Railway Board Chairman as "the shape of things to come in the Government's drive to redress the present-day problems".

Mr Rajan's reaction to the whole

affair was: "Is the Railways the only thing that is going wry in the country? At this rate every IG of police should be asked to go." It is not certain what step Mr Rajan would take after the expiry of his two-month leave. But while the dust raised by his removal and the voluntary departure of two Railway Board members is yet to settle down, a rumour is circulating in the corridors of Rail Bhavan that another member, in-charge of finance, Mr V. C. A. Padmanabhan, may soon be asked to go.

A CORRESPONDENT,
New Delhi

Banking on humour

Was an innocent parallel carried too far?

BANKERS are not given to banter. They are serious people handling money. Nor do customers, big or small, take them for a ride.

It is in this background that humourless politicians took an innocuous question paper set by a panel of two examiners for book-keeping and accountancy held last April under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Bankers.

A Janata Party functionary from Tamil Nadu sent Prime Minister Morarji Desai a clipping of a brief letter to the Editor which appeared in the Madras edition of the *Indian Express*. Mr Desai, in the normal course, sent it to the Reserve Bank Governor, Dr I. G. Patel for comments. Dr Patel of the Indian Economic Service passed it on to Mr P. C. D. Nambiar, President of the Institute.

The question paper sought to find out the candidates' knowledge in regard to drawing up of a balance sheet for a partnership firm. The exception taken was to the names of the partners. They were simply Morarji, Charan and Ram. The final accounts of the firm were prepared by Patel, an accountant of the firm. The question paper then went on to give details of the partnership firm. They were very precise. The details, however, were rather drab as they had come from a chartered accountant; one of the examiners.

The following are the details: "Morarji, Charan and Ram are partners in a firm sharing profits and losses in the ratio of 2:1:1. It is agreed that interest on capital will be allowed at 5 per cent per annum and interest on drawings will be charged at 4 per cent per annum. (No interest will be charged or allowed on current account).

"The following are the particulars of the Capital, Current and Drawings accounts of the partners:

	Morarji	Charan	Ram
Capital (1st January 1978)	75,000	40,000	30,000
Current account (1st January 1978)	10,000	5,000	5,000 (dr.)
Drawings	15,000	10,000	10,000
Interest on drawings (1978)	500	190	350



Charan Singh: testy retort

"The final accounts as prepared by Patel, the accountant of the firm, showed a net profit of Rs 60,000 before taking into account interest on capital and drawings and subject to the following adjustments:

a) Life insurance premium of Morarji's son amounting to Rs 1,000 has been debited to Plan account and depreciation thereon charged at 20 per cent

b) Travelling expenses of Rs 3,000 of Charan for attending Kisan Sammelan paid by the firm on 30th June, 1978 has been debited to travelling expenses.

i) You are requested to prepare profit and loss adjustment account.

ii) Profit and Loss appropriation account.

iii) Current accounts of the partn-

ers for the year 1978. Janata Company Limited offered 3,00,000 equity shares each at Rs 12 per share payable, Rs 3 on application (including premium of Rs 2), Rs 3 on allotment and the balance in two equal instalments at the end of 3 months and 6 months from the date of allotment. Applications for 4,10,000 shares were received by 30th June, 1978

and shares were allotted at the rate of three shares for applied for on 15th July, 1978. Rs 30,000 were refunded by 31st July, 1978. All amounts due were received on due dates with the exception of the final call on 3,000 shares. These shares were forfeited on March 21, 1979.

The candidates were to draw a

balance sheet. The examiners were Prof T. Aguiger, retired Vice-Principal of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and Mr N. H. Krishnadawde, a chartered accountant. Both obviously considered the question too innocent to merit attention. It was meant for about 3,000 candidates who would privately enjoy this dig at politicians. The Government at the Centre is undoubtedly a partnership concern with unequal shares held by each one of them. Mr Charan Singh was annoyed. He thought the questions were "malicious". He has suggested that the examiners be dropped from future panels. They should not be given any Government or public sector work. In fact, he would like the Union Law Ministry to examine whether a case for defamation could be brought against the examiners. The Minister of State for Finance, Mr Satish Agarwal, considered it a "serious lapse" and "highly objectionable."

A N PRABHU New Delhi

Police to get more

But who will foot the bill?

WHILE the so-called consensus at the one-day Chief Ministers' Conference with the Home Minister, H. M. Patel, in the capital to "better the policeman's lot" has put the temporary brakes on the police agitation in the country, it remains to be seen how large the gap between promises and actual performance is. The five major steps agreed upon by the Chief Ministers were: higher pay scales for policemen, special pay for extra hours of duty, housing facilities, permission for police associations and the abolition of the orderly system.

To implement these steps, however, might be very difficult since each of them have major obstacles to overcome first. Higher pay-scales and special pay, for instance, proved a ticklish issue at the Conference, with a number of Chief Ministers demanding central grants for this sudden increase in expenditure. The Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Mr V. K. Saklecha, for example, flatly refused to increase the police pay scales on the plea that the State Government just did not have enough money to do so. The Home Minister, on the other hand, was equally adamant that the Centre was not ready to give any assistance whatsoever. Mr Patel's argument was that since the police issue was a State subject, the question of the Centre providing any financial assistance to increase police emoluments did not arise.

A large number of Chief Ministers, particularly from the poorer States, said that they did not even envisage being able to increase the police pay-scales and pointed out that they did not have the same resources (like the affluent State Punjab) to increase the police paypackets suddenly. The Punjab Chief Minister, Prakash Singh Badal, in fact came in for strong attack from some Chief Ministers for "panicking and rashly increasing the salaries to policemen". The Chief Ministers blamed him for precipitating the police agitation in other States by the pay hike he allowed.

Housing facilities is another promise which is likely to sound hollow very soon. The decision at the Chief Ministers Conference to provide 75 per cent of the policemen with houses within the next ten years is fairly limited. Even this small target looks a formidable one if one takes into consideration the fact that less than 50 per cent of the policemen have houses now. The Centre has promised no assistance and very few Chief Ministers are ready to answer the question: where are the houses going to come from?

There was strong resistance by a number of Chief Ministers to formation of police associations. The anti-association lobby was led by the Chief

Sumit Dutt



H. M. Patel: will not budge

Ministers of Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh who felt that associations would be "detrimental to the discipline of the police force." Even after Mr Patel assured them that such associations would not have much teeth since they would not have the right to strike or agitate, the Chief Ministers insisted that elected associations could not be permitted. After wrangling over the issue for many hours, the question of associations was left hanging with a vague announcement that the Chief Ministers were in agreement in principle with police associations.

The only issue which was speedily agreed upon by the Chief Ministers was the abolition of the orderly system understandably since this did not affect them. A strong resistance

to this however is expected from police officers who are very upset about the withdrawal of privileges enjoyed by them for decades. "If they want to improve the policemen's lot, how can they forget the officers' lot", complained a Delhi police officer bitterly. There is a reported move by police officers to fight against the abolition of orderlies. "We are not just going to stand and watch the few privileges we have being robbed like this. If they stop us from having orderlies then why should they leave out the army officers", asked a police officer.

But perhaps the major issue which is likely to prove crucial in the future, and wasn't discussed at all in the Chief Minister's Conference, is the fate of thousands of policemen arrested and dismissed or suspended from service during the two-week-long police agitation in the country.

The majority of these are in Punjab, where the Inspector General of Police, B S. Danewalia has a stake in seeing to it that the 'errant' policemen are severely punished since he was personally humiliated during the agitation. While most of the active agitators are languishing behind bars they still command tremendous support among their fellow policemen outside. Their continued arrest and dismissal is likely to be a constant source of anger and dissatisfaction among the policemen.

Ultimately, the outcome of the policemen's agitation, as well as the decisions taken at the Chief Ministers' Conference, is a tremendous moral victory for the police constabulary in the country. While the announced benefits might not materialise, the police constable today is feeling on top and has learnt the crucial lesson that agitation could bring them rich dividends. This new-found confidence might prove difficult to break in the future if the police decide to take to the streets again.

AJOY BOSE, New Delhi

Fire in the press

IT's a star crossed time for the local established evening papers in Bombay. And harvest time for a new evening paper called *Mid-Day*. The reason: the sensitive rotary and lino machines of the Free Press Journal group, which has some of the most enterprising journalists in the city, were badly damaged in a fire that engulfed the press section at 2.30 p.m. on Friday, June 15. Its popular evening paper, the *Press Press Bulletin*, (circulation, 40,000) was to have increased its pages to 12 and introduced three new comic strips from that day. But everything has come to a halt. "The press could have been saved," said the electrical engineer, Sardesai. "I had just come out of

the press after seeing the Nasik edition sent out, and I heard the shout 'fire, fire'. I turned round to see leaping flames. We tried to use the fire extinguishers but there was no water. Even when the fire brigades came they were helpless for 20 minutes. There was no pressure in the mains and precious time was lost waiting for water. There were about 50 people in the building, including the night staff and two journalists who live on the top floor. The night staff were alerted and they rushed down the main staircase of the five-storeyed, 80-year-old concrete and stone building".

Reporter Deepak Neogi who lives at the top was also warned but he

could not come down as the stairs were a thick black cloud of smoke. "I watched the flames rising slowly higher and higher from the ground floor to the first and as I wondered what would happen to me the fire brigade snorkel reached me and brought me down to safety". Sardesai, a frail old man, had tried to rush up the steps to warn Neogi and had to remove his clothes down to his briefs because "it was so scorching hot. My dentures also melted and I have lost my teeth" he added, showing his missing dentures.

According to one eyewitness, the Nasik edition was already printed and they were running the city edition when the fire broke out. The fire brigade men suspect a short circuit. Others say there were oil-soaked logs near the machine, causing the fire to spread. A fresh stock of Swedish newsprint had just arrived.

The Free Press group is owned by young Calcutta industrialist Jai-kumar Karnani and brings out *Navshakti*, *Janashakti* and the *Free Press Journal*. It has been bogged

by labour trouble over the years. "We have never had smooth sailing," said one of the oldest staff members. "We have always had to struggle for every wage rise. In the last six years we had five strikes. Almost every year we have been on the streets and now we are really on the streets. One doesn't know when the press will start working again. The machines are in a terrible condition." The *Onlooker*, a weekly printed by the group elsewhere, is not likely to be effected. Meanwhile, *The Times of India*, often referred to as the Grand Old Lady of Bori Bunder, has been on strike in the press section since June 11 and with its evening (circulation 25,000) also effected, the field is open for Khalid Ansari's (Inquilab group) new evening *Mid-Day*. The evening paper was scheduled to come out from June 26, but its date was understandably advanced to June 16 to take advantage of the vacuum. "It could not have been better timed," said one journalist. "A real god-send".

OLGA TELLIS, Bombay



Janata MLA, Ramesh Varlyani

Minister of State for Irrigation, let the muster roll system continue in their Department. It is interesting to note that even when Mr Saklecha became Chief Minister, he did not give up the Irrigation portfolio though he raised Pande to Cabinet rank. Both, however, did nothing to discourage the muster roll system.

The muster roll scandal started brewing since the commencement of work but became serious in 1976-77, as the figures of payment reveal—1973-74 : Rs. 8,50,000; 1974-75 : Rs 7,56,000; 1975-76 : Rs 15,27,000; 1976-77 : Rs 97,63,000; 1977-78 : Rs 1,67,26,000 and from 1-4-1978 to 31-12-1978 : Rs 1,67,26,000. The monthly figures for payment are equally interesting—January '77 : Rs 16,87,000; February '77 : Rs 6,62,000; March '77 : Rs 25,00,000; The corresponding figures for 1978 when the change in leadership of Janata Government in the State was effected were Rs 15,58,000, Rs 17,69,000, and Rs 47,35,000.

What is unique is that according to the muster rolls work continued during the monsoon as well. Payments made during the monsoon of 1977 were July : Rs 2,28,000 August : Rs 6,09,000; and September : Rs 4,44,000. In the 1978 monsoon when the Janata Ministry had had a year's experience and Mr Manharan Pande was well in command of the Irrigation Department, the payments made were : July Rs 19,85,000; August : Rs 7,60,000 and September : Rs 8,10,000. Nowhere in India is muster roll work done during monsoon and Jonk is an exception.

If the muster roll figures are taken at their face value, they would reveal that during March 1977 and March 1978 at least 20,000 to 40,000 persons were employed in the Jonk Project. It is contended that the Jonk area can hardly claim 3,000 workers for muster roll work and that too when they are gathered from all over the Balorabazar sub-division, where the Project is situated.

Mr Ramesh Varlyani has alleged that all ten fingers of persons available were used for thumb impressions on the muster rolls. Payments made by the project are also at very high rates. Mr Varlyani told Members in the Vidhan Sabha that Morrum which costs Rs 3.00 per cu.m. was bought for Rs 9.00 per cu.m. and the price paid for soft rock (Rs 22 per

Muster roll scandal

Janata MLA alleges graft in irrigation project

THE Rs 4.86-crore Muster Roll scandal of the Jonk Irrigation Project in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh has outlasted three Chief Ministers and appears to have got a new lease of life under the fourth one—Mr Virendra Kumar Saklecha.

Mr Ramesh Varlyani, Janata MLA and secretary of the State Janata Legislative Party, who unmasked the scandal and raised it in the Vidhan Sabha, wanted the seizure of muster rolls; suspension of officials concerned and a CBI probe into the whole affair. But Mr Manharan Pande, the Irrigation Minister, while accepting that serious irregularities had been committed in the project refused to hand over the case to the CBI. He wanted Mr Varlyani to be content with only a departmental probe.

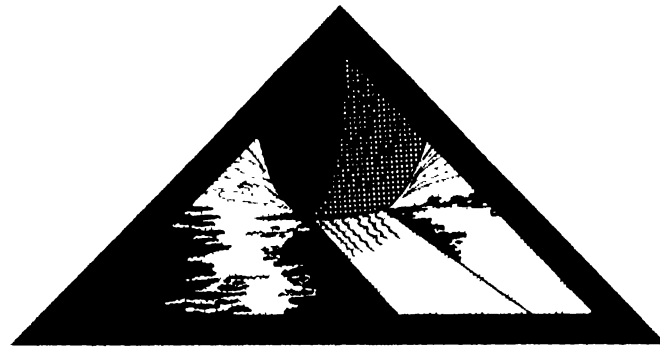
Work on the Jonk Project, which was meant to irrigate the parched lands of Raipur district started in 1973—but all these years it has been mainly a source of widespread corruption. Tenders were called for the work and some contractors even started the work but they gave it up since some of the officials were hostile towards them. The officials then recommended to the top brass that since the contractors were reluctant to work, the job should be done departmentally under a muster roll. It seemed a well planned strategy which must have had the blessings of all—from top to bottom.

In 1973 Mr P. C. Sethi, the Chief Minister cleared the muster rolls. When Mr S. C. Shukla took over,



MP Irrigation Minister, Manharan Pande

sanctions for all irrigation projects were raised for he considered himself an expert on the subject. When the Janata Government came to power in the State and Mr Jabar Singh became Minister for PWD (Building and Roads), he scrapped the muster roll system observing that in most of the construction works done departmentally under the system, officials were minting money. But Mr V. K. Saklecha, as Irrigation Minister and Mr Manharan Pande,



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cu. m.) was actually the price of hard rock.

Since the Jonk Project involved work costing several crores of rupees it was proposed that two sub-divisions of the Irrigation Department would be responsible. Actually one sub-divisional officer was entrusted with the job. And since 1973 it has been his monopoly. Under the rules a sub-divisional officer (SDO) of the Irrigation Department cannot be given independent charge of any work estimated to cost more than Rs 30 lakhs. The SDO was given a transfer order last year. Within 24 hours of receipt of the transfer order, he got it cancelled. A pro-Janata Party and also pro-Janata Government daily of Raipur published a report mentioning that the SDO paid Rs one lakh to the Irrigation Minister for cancellation of his transfer. Mr Manharan Pande has neither contradicted the report nor sued the daily. Another officer of the project, a junior one, met the Chief Minister and Mr Pande at Bhopal, although protocol does not permit such direct interviews. The official later said that he had donated Rs 80,000 to the Janata Party from the funds earmarked for the projects. Another official of the Project is said to be running two construction companies. Yet another has built a Rs seven lakh bungalow for himself at Raipur. Incidentally, Mr Pande has got himself a new bungalow at Takhatpur in Bilaspur district.

And so Mr Manharan Pande has every reason to reject the demand for the CBI probe or suspension of officials and seizure of muster rolls. Circumstances forced him to admit, however, that there were irregularities in the work on the Project. He is not prepared to hear anything against the Jonk Project. He does not believe in Press reports and says that the Press which has been charging the Jonk Project with corruption has benefited much from it. He charged the pressmen with being sleeping partners of corrupt elements and raising funds through them for their dailies.

Mr Ramesh Varlyani said that since he had raised the issue in the Vidhan Sabha he has been receiving threats and warnings against pursuing the scandal any further. He had raised the issue first in September 1978 in the Vidhan Sabha but it did not yield any results. Now the Government has agreed to an examination of the matter by the Chief Technical Examiner of the Irrigation Department, but his other demands which could help a meaningful probe has been rejected. Mr Varlyani maintains that the officials had actually been extended time and opportunity to tamper with the muster rolls and they were fully exploiting the opportunity to save their skins.

M. V. KHER, Raipur

it to seek the cosy comfort of the Bihar Raj Bhavan. This means that if Urs's proposal to have an elected President for the KPCC is rejected by Indira Gandhi, he will have no other go but to retaliate and the best course suggested is to stage a Sharad Pawar-type of coup in Karnataka also. The Janata Party is too willing to swallow one of the only two surviving Congress (I) States in the country.

However, this proposal of the Prime Minister, which is understood to have the blessings of Charan Singh also, has not been liked by the State RSS and Jana Sangh. Lingayats and a section of the Vokkaliga MLAs too are opposed to this idea of saving Devraj Urs, having suffered a lot under his regime.

But this section, though comprising the powerful landed gentry and having the blessings of Brahmin and Lingavat Jagadgurus, is likely to ultimately lose as even the little remaining scheduled castes, backward classes and Muslims inside the State Janata are forced to come closer to Urs's group under the attack from RSS-Jana Sangh which has captured the State Janata. Even the tiny Socialist Party group will support Urs. The CPI and RPI have always been with him. That means Urs will get solid support not only from his Party MLAs but also a sizable section of the Janata, frustrating the Indira Gandhi game. If things do reach such a critical stage, Urs may form a new regional Party and go in for a coalition with the Janata as in Maharashtra. Already, Urs has had consultations to this effect with leaders in different parts of India.

Indira Gandhi would be solely responsible for destabilising the stablest Government in the country and also killing one of the two last surviving Congress Governments. This is the price Indira Gandhi will have to pay for her ego that could not tolerate the growing popularity of Urs. By this the desperados in the Congress (I) would be also forcibly driving Devraj Urs nearer to the Janata and particularly towards Charan Singh. Such a forcible exit from the Congress (I) at a time when it actually needs him so badly, might even help him to get over the problems created by the Grover Commission. The Janata leaders will be obliged to help him in return for staging this coup.

With Indira Gandhi facing serious problems before the different courts and the RSS under severe attack from the progressive forces all over the country, the ouster of Devraj Urs from the Congress (I) is expected to pave the way for the emergence of that long-awaited Third Force. Already, there are enough indications that RSS-Jana Sangh and Indira Gandhi are thinking alike on many issues and the birth of such a Third Force will force them to come together.

V T RAJSHEKAR SHETTY,
Bangalore

Urs demurs

Will Karnataka go the Maharashtra way?

A SHARAD PAWAR-type Government is likely to take shape in Karnataka also if Indira Gandhi were to try to pull down one of the few stable Governments in the country. Her recent two-day visit to Bangalore turned out to be a total failure. The anti-Urs group could not even produce 35 MLAs before her.

According to political circles, Prime Minister Morarji Desai, who was here recently too, had offered his Party's support to Chief Minister Devraj Urs in case a section of the pro-Indira MLAs were to withdraw support, but their number is too small to upset the big majority Urs enjoys. Although, differences between Mrs Indira Gandhi and Urs may not reach a showdown stage (because both cannot afford to antagonise each other at this crucial period), the Janata is getting ready to fish in the troubled waters. The anti-Jana Sangh faction inside the Janata, numbering about 30 MLAs, has already been hobnobbing with the Congress (I) after its leader Veerendra Patil, after having been defeated by the Jana Sangh nominee H. D. Deve Gowda in the State Party President's election, deserted



Urs: no return?

NOTHING anybody says is going to stop *Randhir Kapoor* from directing his next film under the R. K. banner. "I am one of the best directors in the country," says Mr Kapoor, and is not worried by the fact that he is the only one saying that. "Arrey, it's just because my past two films did not do all that well. If the films had done well, and even if I was a s...t director, everybody would have said I'm the most talented guy in the world. These blokes here are like that," says a knowing *Randhir* (or *Daboo* as his close pals in the industry call him). Besides, *Randhir* has an extra ace up his sleeve where his next film is concerned. He will be directing his brother *Rishi Kapoor* for the first time. To which one catty observer said, "Two hams in one film! It's bound to be a success." Now that's being unfair. Give a guy a chance, will you?

"I don't know why people think I'm involved with *Raj Tilak*. I am like a child of the family in that house," *Bindiya Goswami* told me when we met on the sets of *Shaan* some time ago. She denied that she is involved with anybody (including *Vinod Mehra*) at the moment. "I'm too young for that sort of thing. Besides, I have my career to concentrate on." When I met *Raj Tilak* later on, he laughed at what *Bindiya* had had to say, though he refused to confirm or deny her statement. All he said was, "I don't see why these girls have to open their mouths so big. All they have to do is keep quiet and not say anything. Don't they realise that by talking like that when everybody knows what they are, they make proper asses of themselves?" You learn by experience, *Tilak saab*, you surely do!

THERE were all kinds of comments following the engagement of *Rishi Kapoor* to *Neetu Singh*. And the industrywallahs who had insisted all along that he would never marry her, were asked what they had to say now.



Neetu Singh, not bothered

"We'll wait for the marriage to take place before we give our final comments on the subject. After all, what's in an engagement. *Waheeda* broke one, *Shabana* broke a couple. Everybody knows that engagements are a joke in the industry." Keeping what had been said in mind, when I met *Neetu Singh* (in between her busy shifts the other day, as she has been shooting at top speed to complete her numerous assignments) I asked her why she and *Rishi* had not got married at once. Why the engagement? After all, the doubting Thomases did not lay much importance on an engagement. *Neetu* took it sportingly and said, "But what makes you think I am living my life to please the doubting Thomases? And in any case, they are people who will never be satisfied under any circumstance. Once I get married, they will say, 'Wait till she gets her first child. After all, what's in a marriage?' Don't tell

me you want me to bother my head about such stupidity?" No *Neetu* baby, we don't want you to bother your head about anything. From now on you just concentrate on keeping *Rishi* happy.

NOWADAYS, it seems, newcomers will resort to anything to get themselves some publicity. They start maligning their elders, people who have been respected in the industry for so many years. These are not my thoughts, but these are the views expressed by a couple of producers and directors whom I have been meeting on the sets, when I go to meet the stars. One producer was complaining of one newcomer in particular—*Dolly Jena*. "That girl," he grumbled, "would come around to producers offices and stick there like a leech, and refuse to get up unless they gave her some hope, if nothing else, for work in future. And now, just to get into the limelight, she has gone

to the office of some film magazine and made all kinds of maligning statements against filmmakers of various standing and repute." Well then, if the producers already have their standing and repute, why are they bothered? After all, what a mere newcomer has to say can hardly make a difference.

I'M not very intelligent, but even I can see signs of a cool-off in the *Zeenat-Sanjay* liaison, the cold breeze coming from *Zeenat's* direction. Why else has her mother been giving a whole chunk of dates for foreign location shootings? So that *Zeenat* can be away from Bombay from July right on to October. *Zeenat*, of course, says it is because of the hot weather and the rains. But I strongly suspect the reason is six feet tall, not higher. And the only reason why *Zeenat* has carried on so long with this romance is because she has found it difficult to shrug him off. Where her other boyfriends were concerned, they had been busy with their own careers and did not have so much extra time and energy to pursue, soothe and pamper *Ms Aman*. But *Sanjay* has all the time in the world, and something tells me that *Zeenat* is not going to find it easy at all to get rid of this leech.

IT is a matter of pleasure to *Mumtaz* (who spends more time here, in Bombay, among the film folk, than with her husband) that no other heroine has been able to replace her, and it hasn't been for want of trying. "*Rekha* now copies me without reservation. Look at some of her latest films and you will know what I am talking about," advises the pug-nosed, once-famous heroine. And it leaves me wondering. How does *Mumtaz* know whether anybody has or hasn't replaced her or whether *Rekha* copies her or not? Does she spend all her time seeing every film that is released just to satisfy her ego about the fact that she is irreplaceable?

SHIRJEE

GUESS who's obsessed most with Deepa's (alias Unni Mary) mammaries? Her own mother. This sweet, bulky lady doesn't miss an opportunity to tell you how her only daughter developed a well-formed bosom even before she was eleven.

Deepa's mother wants us to believe that her daughter used to "swallow too many vitamin pills" and that's how she acquired her famous bosom. (well, it isn't as famous as Katy Mirza's). The girl is just seventeen—so the carefully preserved baptism certificate says. Her mother is a bit peeved about the fact that people stare at Deepa's bosom and then decide she's over twenty.

Deepa finally passed her matriculation examination. But as some cynics believe, she need not have studied for it. Her very presence in the examination hall, they say, would have been enough for the star-struck examiners to have passed her. But she did study, her mother maintains: "You know, my daughter goes to sleep with books all around her." So much for the cynics!

Deepa had two major ambitions in life: to pass her matriculation examination and to act in a hit Tamil movie. Now both of them have been achieved. The film, *Rosappu Ravikankari*, a remake of a Kannada super hit, *Prasangada Gende Thimma*, is one of the biggest hits of the season. Though she has a small role in the film, she's still the heroine. And what's more, after this film, Tamil producers are taking more interest in her.

ONE of the amusing scenes I recently witnessed at a studio in Madras, was the picturisation of a song sequence of a Telugu venture, *Yugandhar*, a remake of the Hindi film *Don*. There was N. T. Rama Rao (NTR), the superman of Telugu films, doing the *knike banaras-paan* dance. The people of Andhra are great *paan* eaters and the producer's feel that the song should go very well with the Telugu audiences. However, NTR, with his paunch, sagging jaws, and an expression of ennui, looked quite silly in the dancing scenes. And this isn't the first time that he has done such a silly scene: there was this classic film



Jayabharathy and Kamalahasan in a scene from "Alladin and the Wonderful Lamp"

Rama Krishnalu in which NTR and A. Nageshwara Rao kept hugging each other's bare breasts in a prolonged bathroom scene. But then NTR's popularity has few parallels down South. He's still going strong despite the presence of younger actors like Kamalahasan and Chiranjeevi. Anything he does is acceptable. His heroine in *Yugandhar* is Jayasudha.

CHEAP bedroom humour is both a regular and a sickening feature in many Tamil films. But the lousy jokes in *Nallathoru Kudumbum*, a film godfathered by *Sivaji Ganesan*, are really irritating. Not only are they in bad taste, but they also take up a good portion of the film. Ironically, *Sivaji Ganesan* is often hailed as a "clean actor".

JAYABHARATHY, the heroine of *Allavuddimur Arputha Vilakkum*, continues to accept more and more roles which demand mild stripping. Already a proven veteran of a number of hits, in which she portrayed sober characters, Jayabharathy got a bit panicky when several young starlets started

exhibiting their vital assets without any inhibitions. Apart from Seema, there were several others: Manju Bhargavi, Surekha, Mamta and Shuba, who were prepared to strip even before the director finished his first cigarette. Jayabharathy's stripping spree began with *Iltha Ivade Vare* and continued through such soft-pornos like *Rathi Nirvedham* (Sexy Dreams) *Aval Oru Nadod!*

PRAMILLA's new rented house, off Adayar, Madras, seems to have brought her luck: her career has started looking up and now she wants to buy the lucky house. Problem: the owners are not keen on selling it. It's good that Pramilla is thinking of acquiring her own house: she has a terrible reputation of being a lousy tenant. Many house-owners here have changed their minds at the last minute, and decided not to make their house available when they heard that Pramilla was moving in.

K. R. VIJAYA is sponsoring the Tamil remake of Sawan Kumar's *Sajan Bina Suhagan*. It is understood that Vijaya will play Nutan's role. And Krishnan-Panju,

her favourite directors, are associated with this untitled Tamil film. This duo has directed more than twenty films featuring Vijaya. An interesting feature about these directors: you find only Panju on the sets. Krishnan, introvert and withdrawn, is supposed to prepare and finalise all the paperwork. He must be very good at it, for the films made by Krishnan-Panju are completed within a very short time.

RAJNIKANT was in great form on the sets of *Kali*, a much publicised Tamil venture being directed by I. V. Sasi. Seema is the heroine. Said Rajni, "I am once again working on three shifts to complete all the pending assignments and then only I want to relax." Surely, he does not want to have another nervous breakdown, which would only make his rivals feel happy. Rajnikant and Kamalahasan's last film together (as things stand now), *Allavuddimur Arputha Vilakkum* (also advertised as *Alladin and the Wonderful Lamp*) is a solid hit in Kerala. Its Tamil version awaits release.

PIOUSJI

Beginning June 24

This week the Sun alone is in Gemini, Jupiter and Mercury are conjoined in Cancer, Saturn and Rahu are in Leo, Uranus is in Libra and Neptune is in Scorpio. Kethu is in Aquarius, Mars and Venus are conjoined in Taurus. The Moon will be moving through Cancer and Leo from Gemini.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) In spite of all the pains you take in doing your work, you will not achieve success. Financially this period does not seem to be good and you might have to go in for loans. Taxpayers are advised to keep their accounts up-to-date. Avoid travel and be cautious in your movements outside. Pending suits and debts will cause you worries. **Good dates:** 26, 28 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) This is an ideal period for love and matrimonial affairs. You will gain financially through a new friend. The home-front will be quiet and peaceful although there are chances of social gatherings in the weekend in which you will be a host. You might have to cancel an important journey at the last moment. You will gain by your contracts with elders, family relatives and officials. **Good dates:** 24, 25 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) The beginning of the week will be troublesome for you. Your companions will quarrel with you. Any legal suit will cause you worry. Be careful in your talks with friends and relations. Take decisions fast. Cancel tours and do not take part in any social gatherings like parties. **Good dates:** 26, 27 and 29. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 3. **Favourable directions:** South and South-west.



Cancer (June 22 — July 22) This is the opportune time for looking after your domestic problems. Purchase and dispose property now. It will be financially gainful for you. You will receive some good news from far away. Parties are in the offing. Your health will be good. This is a good time for speculation, sports and gambling. **Good dates:** 24, 27, 29 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) The latter part of the week is going to be good for you. In the beginning you will have to face problems in your job and home. Many people will frustrate your prospects. However, this week is good for love and matrimony. One of your old friends will help you in an important matter. **Good dates:** 28, 29 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 4. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) This week is going to be a very busy one for you. Take care of your health and see that you get plenty of rest. Avoid all sorts of controversy with business partners and family members. Defer courtship and marriages at this time. A short journey will solve a problem now bothering you. Financial debts will not worry you. Some of you will go in for new vehicles. **Good dates:** 25, 27 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 8. **Favourable directions:** North and West.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) For businessmen, a new contract will be beneficial. Partners and relatives will prove helpful. Discuss your problems with others before taking any major decisions. Women and children will gain presents. Avoid travels. This is not a good week for gambling and speculation. **Good dates:** 27, 28, 29 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 4. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) This week will be one of great tension. So, do not lose your cool and be patient. Your homefront will not be calm and peaceful. Your subordinates will betray you. Try to postpone important decisions. Avoid love and matrimonial negotiations. Take care of the health of children. Don't stand guarantor for anyone. Health will be excellent this week. **Good dates:** 27, 29 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** North.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) A congenial atmosphere prevails in your home and office. The time is good for parties and entertainments. Do not neglect your responsibilities. There is no need to worry about financial matters. A distant relative will send you some good news. Some will gain promotions. Business will be good. **Good dates:** 28 and 29. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-east.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) You should be swift in your actions. There will be an acute shortage of funds. Some of you will go in for new loans. The weekend will be successful. Meeting influential people will help you in your career. This is a good week for love and matrimonial affairs. Letters will bring in good news. **Good dates:** 26, 27 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 10. **Favourable direction:** North-west.

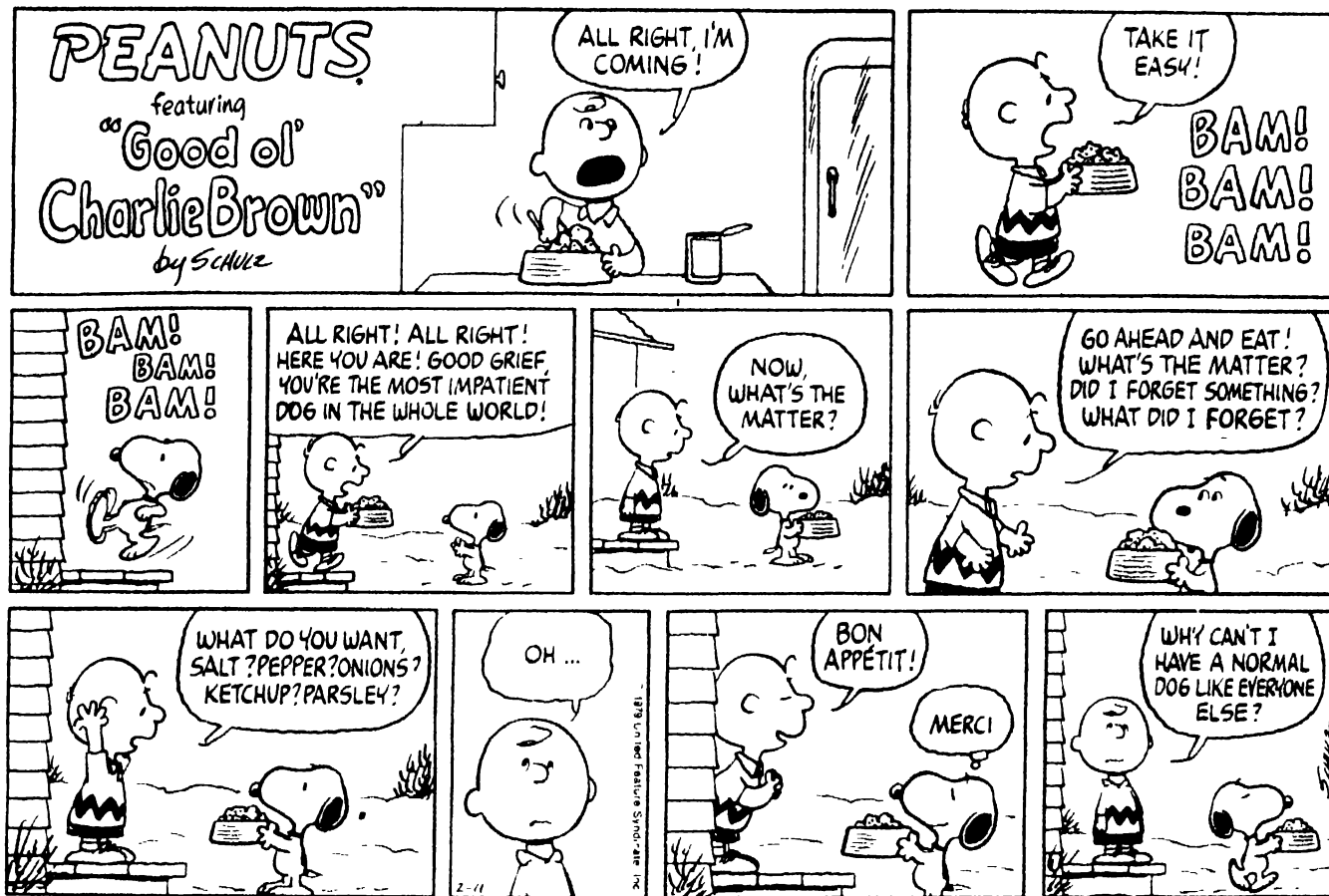


AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) Your homefront will be very lively and pleasant. Some good news is in the offing. Your words will carry weight. Financial problems will not trouble you. Some family members may fall sick and this might cause you mental worries. Do not be impatient. Try to fight against opposition in your job and you will be rewarded. **Good dates:** 24, 25 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 6 and 9. **Favourable direction:** East.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) The week will be a pleasant and lively one. Friends and relatives will be around to share your happiness with you. You might not gain financially but this should not dishearten you. Letters will bring in good news. The time is not favourable for legal matters. Some of you will go in for new debts. **Good dates:** 24, 28 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.

M. B. RAMAN



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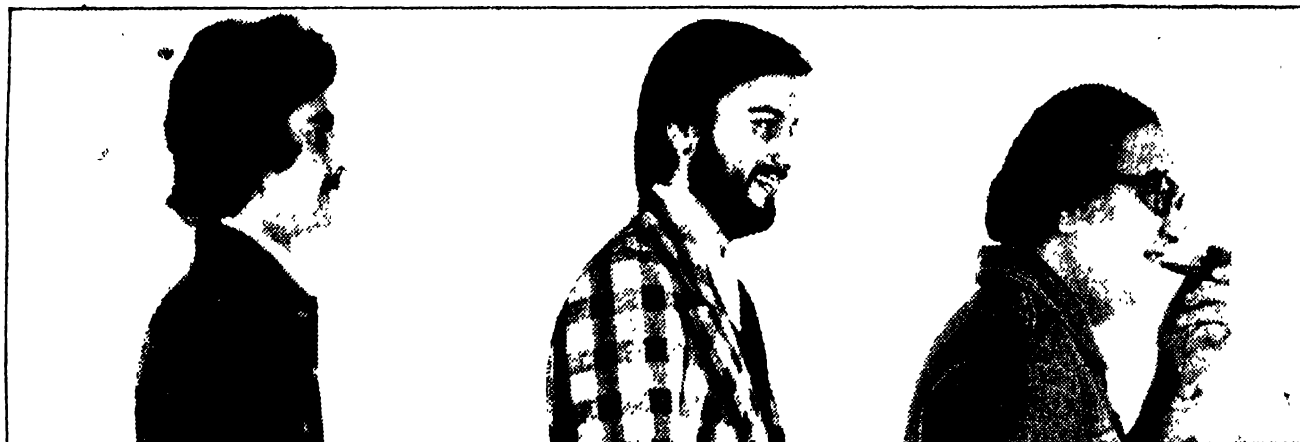
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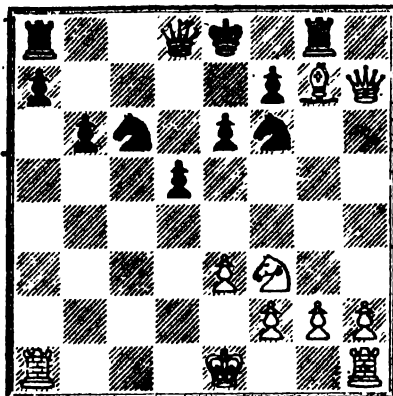
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chess

Golombek (black)



Geller (white) to move
Position after Black's 16 move

White E Geller Black H Golombek
Budapest 1952 Nimzo-Indian Defence
1. P-Q4, N-KB3; 2. P-QB4, P-K3; 3.
N-QB3, B-N5; 4. P-K3, P-B4; 5.
P-QR3, P x P; 6. P x B, P x N; 7. N-B3!
Sacrificing a pawn for two bishops and
open lines
7. P x P; 8. B x P, P-Q4; 9. P-B6,
P-QN3; 10. B-N5+, B-Q2; 11. B x B+,
KN x B!! 11. QN x B, 12. P-B6 or 11.
Q x B, 12. P x P
12. Q-B2, N-B3! A very enterprising idea
Play now becomes very sharp
13. B x P, N x NP; 14. Q-N1, R-KN1. With
the idea 15. Q x P, R x B, 16. Q x R, N-B7+.
15. P-B6, N x P; 16. Q x P, N-B3! (Di-
agram) A classic double rook sacrifice but
with a neat point-counterpoint theme at the
end
17. B x N, Q x B, 18. Q x R+, K-Q2; 19.
N-K5+ The point White blocks the vital
diagonal before taking the second rook. (If
19. Q x N then 20. Q x P+ and 21. O-O.)
19. N x N; 20. Q x R, N-B6+! The
counterpoint unblocking the diagonal
21. P x N. Or 21. K-K2, Q-N7+, 22. K x N,
Q-B3+ with perpetual check
21. Q x R+; 22. K-K2, Q-N7+. Drawn.
Black still has perpetual check.

Continuation of Position No. 8

This position occurred in a game Bjorkquist-
Kivihao, played in Finland, 1977.
r2qkb1r, 1b4pp; p3Pn2; 1pp1p3;
4P3, 2NB4, PPP3PP; R2Q1RK1
White won by 1. R x N, P x R; if 1. Q x R;
2. B x P ch!
2. Q-R5 ch, K-K2; 3. Q-B7 ch, K-Q4; 4.
B x P, resigns.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge



SOMETIMES a player drops a card by acci-
dent, or because he had misheard or mis-
read the card played by an opponent, and
the result is a small triumph. Eric Kokish, a
Canadian who was runner-up in the Pairs
Olympiad, gives an amusing and possibly
instructive example from a mixed pairs

event These were the North-South cards:
Dealer, North Game all

♠ 3
♥ K 9 5 3
♦ K 10 9 7 3 2
♣ 3 2

♥ 2 led
N E
W S
♠ A J 9 6
♥ Q 10 4
♦ A 8 6
♣ A Q 8

South opened 1NT after two passes,
North bid Two Clubs and, over Two Spades,
Three Diamonds. This was non-forcing but
Kokish ventured 3NT. West led ♥ 2, East
won with the Ace and declarer unblocked
♥ 10. East switched to ♣ J.

As he was in a contract that would pro-
duce a good result if he made it, Kokish
went up with ♣ A, not giving the defence a
chance to establish club tricks before the
diamonds had been cleared. Hoping to
develop the diamonds without letting East
into the lead, South led a low diamond to
the King. East played the Jack and showed
signs of leading to the next trick, but her
partner intervened to point out that declarer
had called for the King from dummy, not the
10. When ♠ 10 was led to the next trick,
East played low.

Now, what do you make of that? No doubt
East had made a genuine mistake, but
meanwhile South was faced with a dilemma
that had three prongs:

(1) If the diamonds are Q x and J x,
declarer will look pretty silly if he finesse
and loses to the Queen. He will never be
allowed to forget this 'idiot's finesse'.

(2) To play for the drop will appear bad
play if East had ♠ Q J x. 'You had a heaven-
sent chance to make an impossible contract
and you blew it', etc, etc

(3) To run ♠ 10, while certainly correct in
a technical sense, contains a risk of a
different sort. If the play enables him to
make the contract when East held ♠ Q J x,
the opponents, already upset and annoyed,
will (quite unreasonably) complain after-
wards that they were 'hotted' by a pro who
took mean advantage, etc, etc

In the end Kokish did run ♠ 10 and lost to
the Queen, but 3NT made with an overtrick
was still a good score

One can see that this play of the honour
from J x or Q x, if made without any indica-
tion that you have misunderstood the card
played from dummy, is a perfectly legitimate
deceptive play, capable of yielding an
impossible trick

TERENCE REESE

stamps



M. PAUL-HENRI SPAAK, one of the found-
ing fathers of the European Economic Com-
munity, is portrayed on a new 14-francs
stamp from his native country, Belgium. The
style of the portrait recalls that M. Spaak

once said, alluding to his inability to speak
fluently any language but French: 'I am
often told that I look like Winston Churchill
and speak English like Charles Boyer. But I
wish it were the other way round.' The new
stamp is one of four, all illustrating the
theme of European unity. Other designs
show part of the European Parliament
building at Strasbourg and the Campidoglio
Palace, where the treaties of Rome were
signed in 1957

C.W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. Who is the first Negro woman to be appointed as a General in the US Army?
2. When, according to experts, is the Skylab due to fall on earth?
3. What do the words eV, an unit of energy used in nuclear physics, stand for?
4. Who is the present general director of the Bolshoi Theatre?
5. What would you be doing if you were leather hunting?
6. Which neutral country has joined the United Nations?
7. What is Aqua fortis?
8. Who invented basketball?
9. A battle in 1757 changed the history of a country. What was it?
10. Who owns the Thames swans?
11. What was the Conspiracy of July 20, 1944?



1. Brigadier-General Hazel John-son.
2. It will fall between June 26 and July 4, 1979.
3. Electron volt.
4. Stanislav Iushin.
5. Fielding in cricket.
6. Switzerland.
7. Nitric acid.
8. Dr James A. Naismith.
9. The Battle of Plassey in India.
10. Out of 600 swans, one-third is owned by the Vintners' and Dyers' Companies, the rest belong to the Queen.
11. The climax of attempts by anti-Nazi groups in Germany to overthrow the regime and secure a negotiated peace.

ANSWERS

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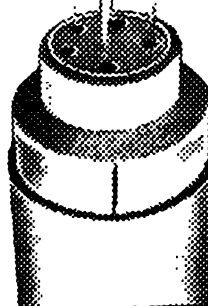
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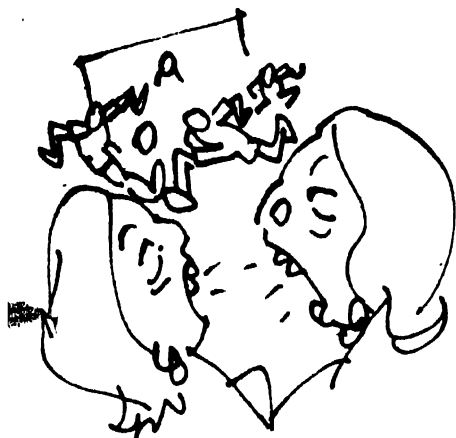
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odour-causing bacteria.
4. Soothes the skin.





SHILLONG: Two Khasi female fans in a football match developed heated arguments over the outcome of the game and finally settled their quarrel in an unusual manner when one stabbed the other fatally.

The incident occurred at Lapalang village near Dawki about 45 kilometres from here when the two football teams belonging to Lapalang and Nonothymmai played a friendly match at Lapalang village. At a time both became terribly angry and suddenly one fatally stabbed the other. The lady died on the spot. —*Assam Tribune* (Thungpuia Nagamlai, Gauhati).

KANPUR: A bundle, containing written answer books of the B. A. (part one) sociology examination of Kanpur University, has been found from a garbage dump at Varanasi. The bundle reportedly contains 43 answer books, between roll numbers, 29,872 and 29,973.

Inquiries revealed the University had no knowledge of this though the bundle had been deposited with the police by the civic employee who removed the garbage from the dump—*Times of India* (O. P. Bajaj, Jabalpur).

NEW DELHI: A man, who posed himself as an MP and collected Rs. 1,500 for securing a telephone connection and Rs 500 for a gas connection in the capital ended up in police custody.

His "tenure" as secretary of the MPs Club, North Avenue, ended when the crime branch nabbed him on a tip-off by

a West Delhi shop-owner whom he had promised to get a telephone. Identified as Prem Shankar Shukla (50) of Meerut a professional thief, he has been arrested on charges of impersonation, forgery, cheating and using forged documents. —*Hindu* (N Chandrasekharan, Madras).

HYDERABAD: A six-year-old racket in selling forged degrees and many other certificates, came to an end as city police nabbed the two-man gang. The City Police Commissioner, Mr. P. V. Pavithran, told a Press conference that the cost of the fake certificates ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 500 or more.

The degrees included B.A., B.Com, B.Sc, B.O.L, M.B.B.S, B.E, diplomas in polytechnic courses, secondary education, State Board of Technical Education and Training, Industrial Training Institutes, National Trade Certificates, Matriculation, besides marks, memoranda of various courses, transfer and age certificates. —*Deccan Chronicle* (D. Khan, Hyderabad).

HAZARIBAGH: A panther voluntarily placed himself under house arrest in the heart of Chatra town, headquarters of Chatra subdivision of Hazaribagh district.

It so happened that a panther from nearby dense forest came to take shelter in an outer room of a house in the heart of Chatra town in the night without the knowledge of anyone. When the house-owner, on the next morning, entered the room he found the panther fast asleep there. He immediately bolted the door and raised a hue and cry —*Amrita Bazar Patrika* (L. Lakshman Rao Bhubaneswar).

MADURAI: The Customs inspectors at the Rameswaram Port outwitted three gold smugglers and recovered from them Rs. 37,000 worth of gold concealed in one of the most unimaginable part of their body.

Alerted by the higher officials of Customs, two inspectors made a thorough search of the baggage of the passengers from Sri Lanka at the Rameswaram port. There was nothing in the baggage of the passengers but a man with a hungry look interested the inspectors. When exposed to the metal detector, it was found that the man had concealed gold in his rump—*Hindu* (N. Ramesh, Madras).

HE (JP) has proved that he is the master of the Janata Government. The Government announced his death, but he overruled it... Cho Ramaswamy.

WE HAVE been in power for two years and four months. There is very little that has happened.. George Fernandes.

I WISH Morarji had a mistress... M. O. Mathai.

IT DOES not look good when you have a stream of young girls coming out of school with ten pregnant women among them... Iran's Ministry of Education announcement barring married women from attending regular schools.

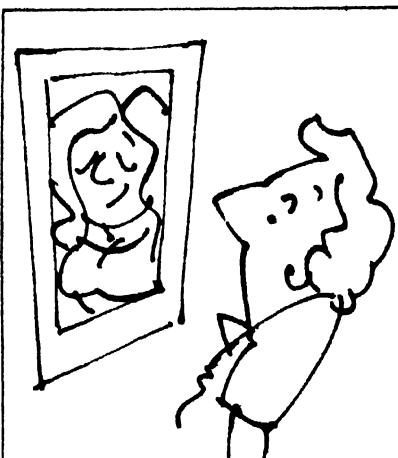
THE MEDIA cannot remain like an island free from all control... The Prasar Bharati Bill would give the media more autonomy than the BBC ... Morarji Desai.

BHUTAN HAS managed without aid for hundreds of years, it can continue doing so ... Bhutanese spokesman at UNCTAD conference in Manila.

I AM going to miss Wimbledon. I don't know if Wimbledon will miss me ... Nastase

I HAVE nothing to do with Mrs Gandhi's son ... C. M. Stephen.

humour in real life



GOING AROUND an exhibition of paintings, a portrait caught my attention. It was entitled "My wife" and below it was written: "Not for sale"—B. R. Srinath, Bangalore

A TAXI plying in our town has this inscription: "Hypothecated to my father in law. Father-in-law's bank balance is my bank balance"—Lila K. Barkakali, Nowgong

india abroad

WASHINGTON: India may be on the verge of giving rich America a come-uppance. A consortium of overseas Indian residents is negotiating to buy for \$35 million Washington's Hotel Shoreham, one of this capital's most fashionable and prestigious hostleries —and use Bombay's Taj Mahal management to run it.

The huge Shoreham property cov-

ers access abutting Rock Creek Park in the centre of Washington. The hotel itself has no less than a million square feet of floor space and its landscaped gardens contain annex buildings as well as a swimming pool and tennis courts. But the hotel has been allowed to run down in recent times and its present owner wants to opt out.—*Statesman*

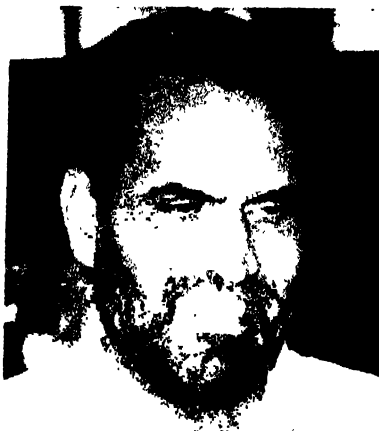
SNOOPING IN PUBLIC

FOLLOWING the virtual expulsion of two Soviet diplomats from the country, the Russian mission here, which is the most heavily staffed among all foreign missions, has been taking it out against some of its old Indian employees. It sacked a few soon after the story was broken by the *Indian Express*. Now after the report in SUNDAY (March 25) it has threatened a few others. The reason: It suspects that these employees have leaked the story to the Press. Meanwhile, Indian intelligence authorities have been cut up about the way the Russians are behaving, violating the unwritten code of friendly snooping. The incident that has upset them the most is the open defiance of the code when a heavy-duty truck with Aeroflot markings went up and down the route of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation rally in support of their demand for bonus. Hefty Russians armed with movie cameras quite openly photographed the marchers and the response of the audience at Fernandes' rally, presumably to make their own assessments. Now some pretensions are never shed even though everyone knows that Aeroflot the world over provides good cover to KGB agents. The Russians didn't even care to remain within the truck and snoop out of the little windows.

FOREWARNED AGAIN

THE raid on the house of Mrs Amteshwar Anand, mother-in-law of Mr Sanjay Gandhi, was a total flop for there are still men in the enforcement directorates who continue to be loyal to the old Emergency caucus. Sanjay of course, has his own favourites in the Press. The only people he summoned to "cover the Janata express" were from the *Times of India* and the PTI. The Intelligence Bureau dittoes the impression that the information about the raid was leaked out by a couple of senior officers who were arraigned for their role during the Emergency by the Shah Commission. Meanwhile, the export house in which Mrs Anand had a share did yield information. The owner managed to get a stay order from the court and next day when he was boarding a plane to leave the country, he was nabbed by the authorities and forced to stay put in the country.

WATCH ON WATCHERS



ARE the country's intelligence services supposed to keep a tab on the goings-on in, of all places, Jaslok Hospital, Goenka's Express Towers and Rajni Patel's house in Bombay? Those days when JP's life was hanging by a thread, Party president Chandrashekhar, Express tycoon R. N. Goenka, Chief Minister Sharad Pawar and Nanaji Deshmukh were perched in the well-appointed penthouse in Express Towers. The reports received at the Prime Minister's office of what these honourable gentlemen were up to make quite saucy reading, especially about Mr Chandrashekhar and Mr Patel at the latter's house.

NO FEAR OF FLYING

LABOUR Secretary Raghupati (mentioned previously in these columns as the flying Secretary) is once again in the news. He left Delhi on May 26. He will be in Geneva for a month. But the most interesting feature of his foreign jaunt is that he was accompanied by an under secretary who had just joined the Labour Ministry. She had come to the Labour Ministry from the Ministry of Civil Aviation. It is alleged that she does not know the subject and only ten or 15 days' work in the Ministry cannot give a proper training. The reasons for her selection seems to be that Mr Raghupati was a chum of her father who also believes in foreign trips.

It seems that nobody is interested in the work of the Ministry. Most of the officers are interested only in foreign jaunts. Will the Expenditure Committee look into the affairs of this Ministry?

NO TAKERS

THE DAY 43 dissident MLAs from the Haryana Legislative Party called on Desai, they pleaded with him to order a vote of confidence against the Chief Minister. The Prime Minister not only promised the vote, but encouraged them in their resolve to throw out the last of the BLD Chief Ministers in the Northern States (one may also call Nilamoni Routray, a BLD CM).

Mr Desai inquired from the gathering about the abortive move last time to vote out Devi Lal. He asked, "Who are the four among you who are going to replace the four Ministers who have tendered their resignations today? I know very soon your move will fizzle out and some will accept the ministerial baits." The dissidents whimpered and mumbled an apology for the last time and assured Mr Desai that they were now not willing to fall a prey to Devi Lal's allurements and would throw him out. Mr Desai promised them that he would extend his moral support. Wasn't it Devi Lal who had repeatedly asserted that there were only three leaders in the country who had a mass following—Indira Gandhi, Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram? Desai naturally felt hurt at this public snub.

On the same day a senior correspondent of a national daily met Mr Bhajan Lal, the CFD leader. Mr Bhajan Lal was one of the four who had resigned from Devi Lal's Cabinet.

The brief conversation between them went thus: "*Bhajanlalji, apka isteeefay ka matlab hai ki ap logon (CFD) ka chaudhary say mamla toot gaya?*" (Bhajanlalji, does your resignation mean that you (CFD) have broken all contacts with the Chaudhury?) B. L.: "*Toot gaya? Juda hi kab tha jo toot gaya? UP main Bahuguna nay apni marzi say kiya tha. Uski vo hi janay. Babuji ka ussay koi malab nahi tha. Babu Jagjivan Ram say pooch kar UP main kuch nahi hua. Is liye hamse un baton ka koyi wastu nahi.*" (Broken? We were never together in the first place. Mr Bahuguna in UP had done it on his own. Babu Jagjivan Ram had nothing to do with it. For that reason, I have nothing to do with it.)"

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

**You've read
about
the cyclone.**



**Now read
about
the flood....**

Not the kind Noah would have felt at home in. A cascade of 1600 lakh litres of Milk. Downpour of 4000 tonnes of Baby Food. 5000 tonnes of ghee, 4000 tonnes of Skim Milk Powder, 500 tonnes each of Butter and Whole Milk Powder, and 100 tonnes of cheese. Yes, a virtual milking over.

The kind of deluge that Andhra Pradesh has been subjected to. All this, the doings of one organisation: The Andhra Pradesh Dairy Development Corporation Ltd.

This has been the pattern of APDDC activity, almost since its inception in 1974. Expanding the frontiers of Dairy Farming in the State, APDDC has brought about dramatic results in the very short spell of 5 years.

Today, APDDC has spread the concept of organised Dairy Farming to the remotest corners of the State. Its network of Mother Dairies, Chilling Centres, Mini Chilling Centres, Cooling Centres and Mini-Cooling Centres, numbering 84 in all, along with its 6 Milk Products factories form the nucleus of this vast movement that has set in motion far-reaching changes.

For the first time, scientific Dairy Farming has come to be practised in the State. APDDC's rigorous procurement drive - 1600 lakh litres will be procured this year as against 686 lakh litres in 1974-75 - has resulted in new dairy units being set up as also small and medium farmers taking to dairying as a means of livelihood.

With the enhanced procurement, APDDC has been able to bring pasteurised milk to millions of

people in the State. Milk sales will be up to 1100 lakh litres. The APDDC Dairy Parlours, with their stocks of milk based products like Icecreams, Flavoured Milk, Butter Milk etc have proved enormously successful.

Not only that, its milk products - the Vijaya range - Ghee, Baby Food, Butter and Cheese have won instant acceptance all over the country. The Vijaya range of milk products is today recognised as being as good as imported ones.

It's been a staggering rate of progress for APDDC. Yet, it has set itself even more daunting tasks - to raise per capita availability level of milk in the State to 100 gm. from the present 75 gm. and to cover 50% of the Milk Market of towns and cities with more than 1 lakh population.

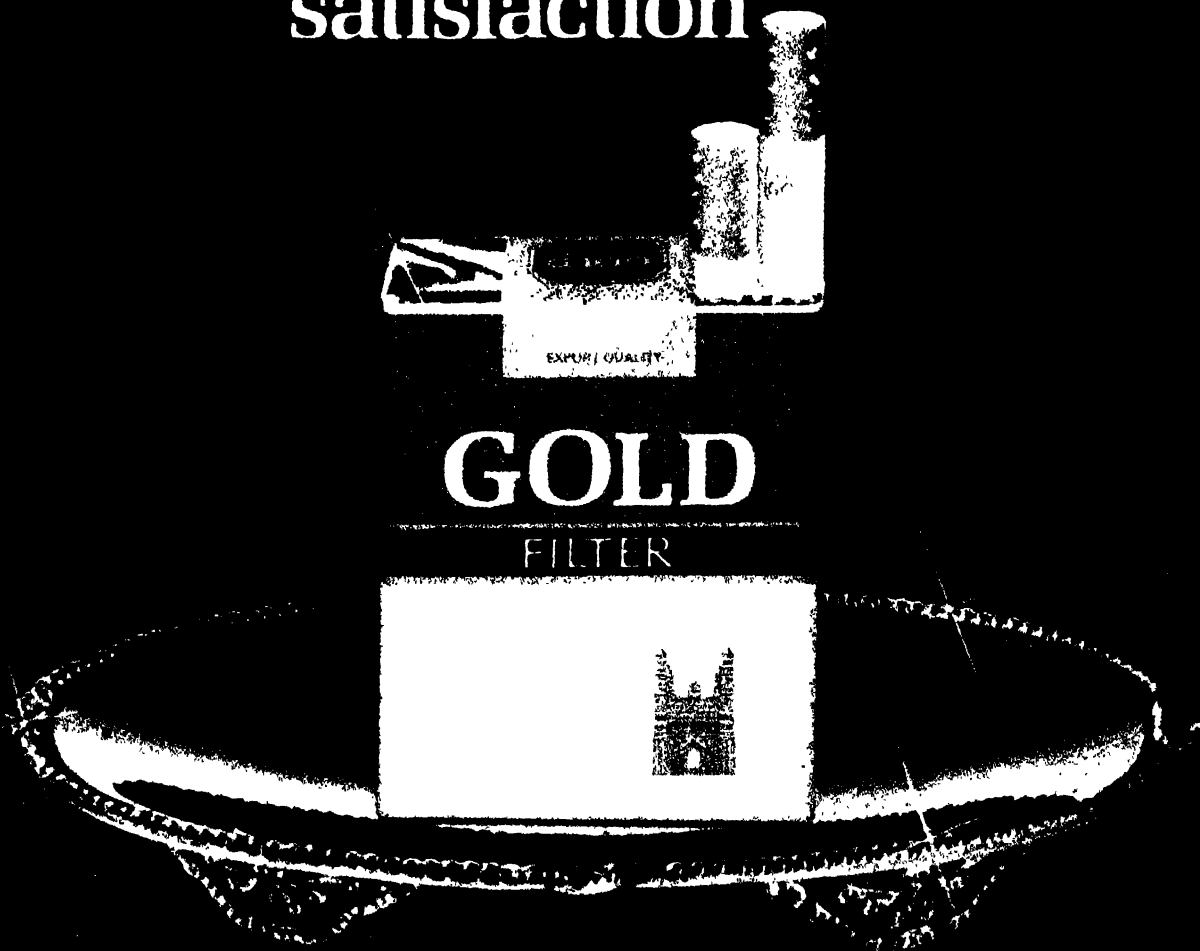
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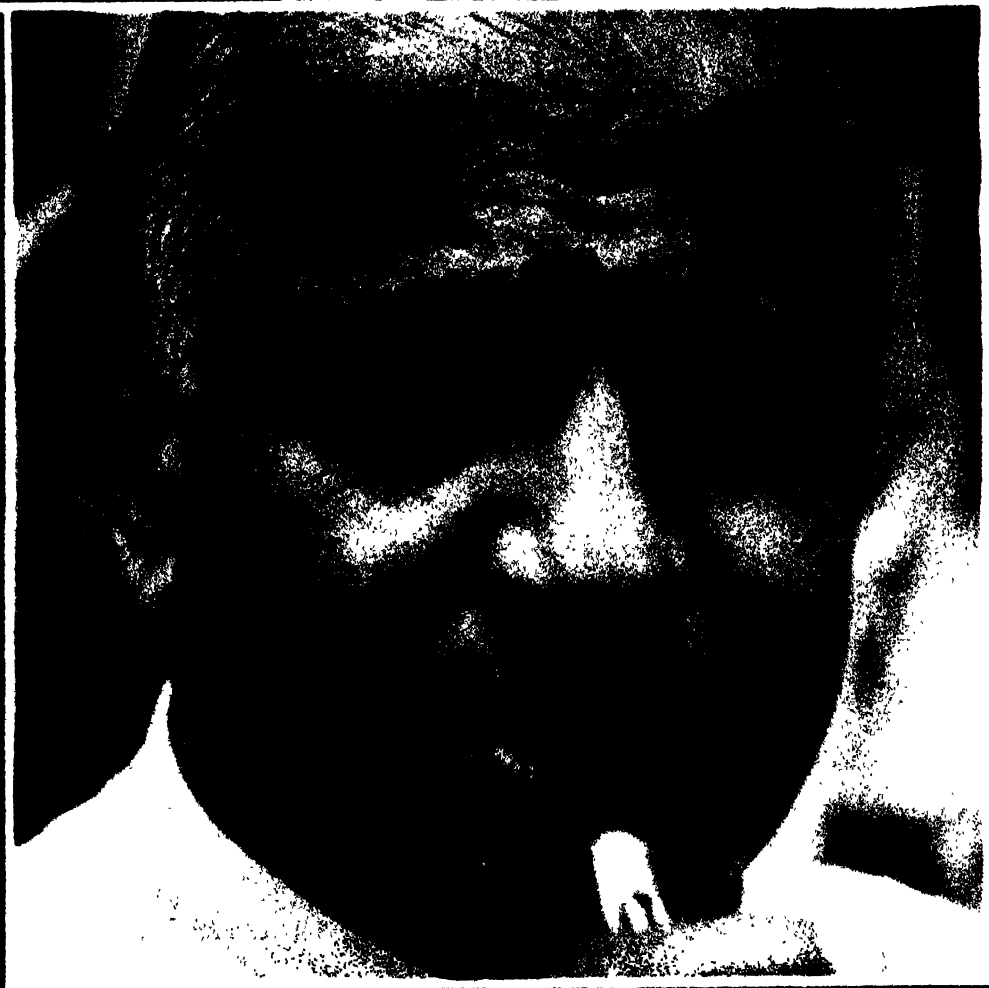


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SUNDAY

FERNANDES:

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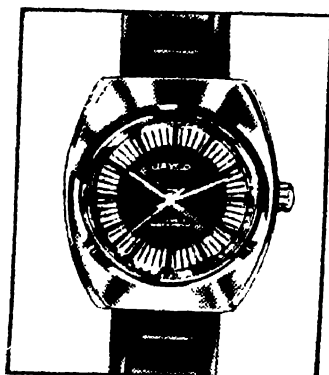


Urs Displays His Muscle



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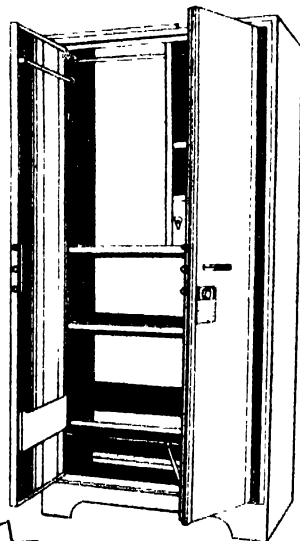
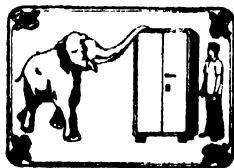
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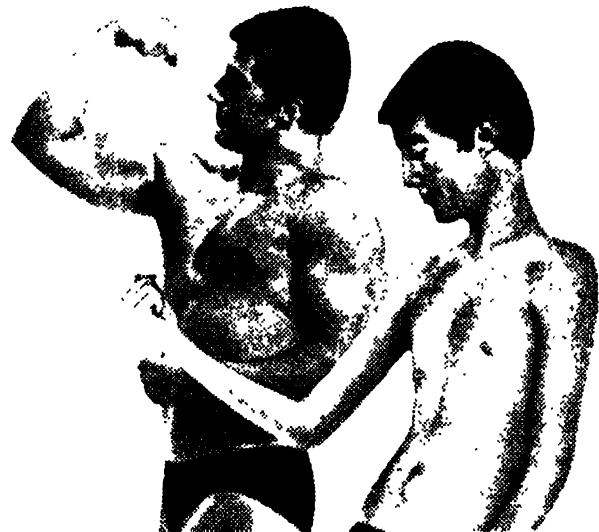
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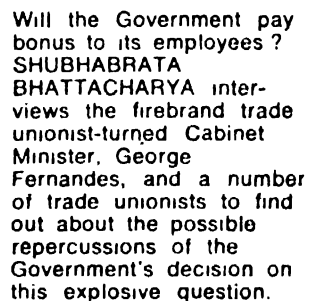
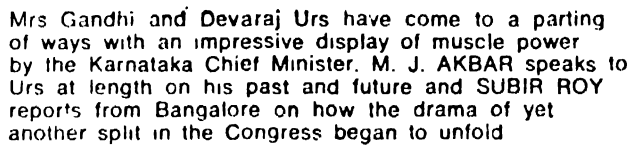
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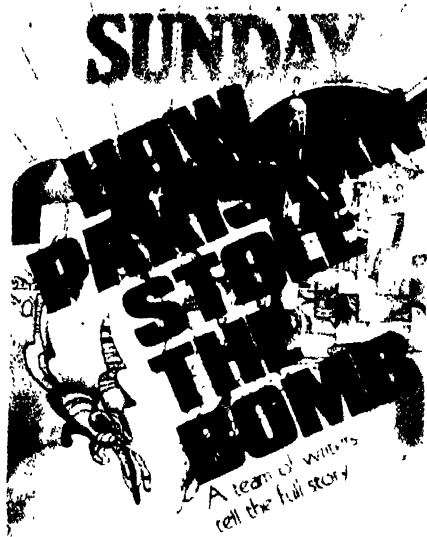


The Special Courts have begun proceedings against Mrs Gandhi and the caucus for offences committed during the Emergency. A G. NOORANI says that the Special Courts set at rest the fears that the Emergency offences are being whitewashed and those who violated the public trust are going scot free.

Cover transparency of Devraj Urs by Raghu Rai and of George Fernandes by Satyen Sen.

Assistant Editor: Subir Bandyopadhyay, Editorial Staff: Subir Bandyopadhyay, Norman Mitra, David McMahon, Sudamitra Ghosh, Subir Bandyopadhyay, S. N. M. Abdi, Delhi Correspondent: Anil B. Singh, Art Director: B. G. Gupta, Asst. Art Director: Anil B. Singh

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Deadly paranoia

PAKISTAN's feverish paranoia about nuclear weapons was clearly brought out by Kewal Varma in "How Pakistan stole the bomb" (May 20). Despite its staggering economy, it is bent upon procuring the deadly weapon by any means. If the big powers are really keen to curb this mad race, they should set an example themselves. Of course, there is a great gap between their practice and precept.

Ashok Dubey, Patna

IN "Islam and the bomb" (May 20) Maj Gen D. K. Palit and P.K.B. Namboodiri say: "The Pakistani concept for their role in the Islamic

world is somewhat analogous to the Israeli concept of their role in relation to the Zionist movement". It is wrong to say Israel was created for religious reasons only. It was created to provide refuge to the Jews of the world who were being persecuted, humiliated and killed ever since they were attacked by the Babylonians 2,000 years ago. Likewise, Pakistan was created due to political reasons, and not for religious reasons. In fact the slogan of Islam was meant to attract foreign aid. It is absurd to compare Israel with Pakistan the way the authors have.

Sudhendu Ranjan Pandey, Bhagalpur

WHEN India and other Super Powers can build the nuclear bomb, why cannot Pakistan? But one thing is clear — if Pakistan does come up with one, it will be the first to explode it.

Ashok Sami, Jaipur

THRILL, suspense, drama — all of which were promised in the headline "How Pakistan stole the bomb", were lacking in the cover story by Kewal Varma. Instead, what it contained was an engaging study of how Pakistan "got" the clue and carried out experiments to master the controversial technology of making nuclear bombs, under the inspiration of the USA and the Islamic states. In fact, for want of mutual trust among Third World countries, money is being channelised into defence at the cost of development. And rich nations are provoking them with hollow treaties like the NPT, to facilitate exploitation.

Bhaskar Sen, 24 Parganas

Radically wrong

IN HIS interview to Subir Roy "Urs: Charan Singh sees eye to eye with me" (May 20) Mr Devraj Urs has tried to project himself as the only radical thinker of the country, friend of the poor, champion of the backward and downtrodden, and pioneer of the job reservation policy. But facts differ. The first advocate of reservations was Dr Ram Manohar Lohia; Mr Urs has simply institutionalised the concept. Dr Lohia was the first to declare that in our country, caste was synonymous with class, and gave a call for a caste struggle instead of a class struggle. Mr Urs is mistaken if he believes Mr Karpoori Thakur was following his footsteps. In fact Mr Thakur is more radical in his views about caste than Mr Urs. Mr Urs' statement that "in Bihar only Kayastha and Bhumihar dominated" is true if we recall the pre-Independence days when Mr Sachidanand Sinha was executive member of the Governor's Council and K. B. Sahaya was Chief Minister. Today the statement does not hold water. The Kayasthas have lost their sway in politics.

Sambhu Prasad Singh,
Bokaro Steel City

A FEW points should be understood before judging Mr Urs' comments. First, Mr Karpoori Thakur is a member of a backward community, a son of the soil, while Mr Urs is a Kshatriya, a forward caste. Mr Thakur is therefore a natural leader of the sons of the soil — the backwards, Harijans, and Muslim natives. Ashish K. Chaudhury, Laheria Sarai

The troublemakers

THOUGH Vivek Sengupta in his report "Aligarh: Back to violence" (May 20) traced well the events at Aligarh, he has not mentioned certain facts. That the assault on the AMU boys near Dadri railway station was due to their teasing of a young bride in a train is a version fabricated by the UP Chief Minister Mr Banarasi Das, to explain away the violence. The fact is the goondas, while beating the boys were shouting: "Yeh lo minority character" (Take that for minority character). This itself shows the assault did not start with eve-teasing. The sole aim of the assault was to ensure that the boys could not reach Delhi where they were going to hold a rally.

Being a student of J. N. Medical College, Aligarh, I was present in the casualty ward in the night of May 10-11 to help the doctors cope with the injured students. There we came to know that an armed group of non-AMU students was roaming

the medical college campus to harass the doctors and prevent them from attending to the casualties. It was reported to the police, but they turned a deaf ear. This armed group is supposed to be responsible for the killing of four persons on the campus near the medical college.

Lastly, the Vice-Chancellor of the University cannot be blamed for the lawlessness among the students. The refusal of the district authorities to remove the PAC men from the campus, in spite of persistent requests by the VC, agitated the students and encouraged lawlessness. Whenever there have been untoward incidents inside or outside the campus, it was the VC who tactfully pacified the students.

M. Nasim-e-Sehar, Gaya.

YOUR reportage on the trouble at AMU was superb but it didn't throw light on the activities of the Jamaat-e-Islami in the campus which has been preaching religious intolerance. Why didn't your report mention that while a Hindu's bookshop

was completely destroyed in this violence, amazingly, no harm was caused to the adjoining office of the Student Islamic Movement, a student organ of Jamaat-e-Islami? You also did not mention that a shop of one Mr Singh was completely burnt because his getting married to a Muslim girl was considered un-Islamic by AMU members of the Jamaat-e-Islami.

Since I myself have been an office-bearer of the AMU Students' Union I can say with all confidence that it is not the majority of the students of AMU but a handful of students and teachers, mostly members of the Jamaat-e-Islami who are responsible for this shameful violence. As a matter of fact the majority of AMU students want to fight communalism in their campus but often face resistance and threats from teachers who are strongmen of the AMU Jamaat-e-Islami. These teachers belong to the departments of Islamic Studies, Philosophy and Faculty of Engineering. Even on earlier occasions these elements

have indulged in vandalism. These very elements had humiliated and assaulted Mr Khawia Ahmad Abbas when he was picturing a documentary in AMU on the education of Muslim women. The reason was "such films are un-Islamic".

There have been many agitations for the restoration of the minority character to AMU but never have they turned into a communal riot as on this occasion. The demand

for a minority character does not mean that the gates of AMU should be closed for non-Muslims; it simply means the recognition of AMU as an educational and cultural centre of Indian Muslims. But unfortunately the recent violence in the campus has given the demand a communal colour for which every Muslim should feel sorry.

M. Pervez Ahmad, General Secretary, Bihar Yuva Janata, Patna

Right, perhaps...

IT MAY well be true that Nana Deshmukh has been behind Dr Swamy's attacks on Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee — a most puzzling thing to all of us. He has been Nanaji's blue-eyed boy, often following him with the greatest *shraddha-bhakti*. Now that it has been openly said, people deserve an answer from Nanaji, Dr Swamy, the RSS and all those concerned.

Mr Vajpayee, on the other hand, is not given to such manoeuvrings; he is rather a little too simple and even indifferent to things. I also believe that he is not a *pucca* RSS-ite. Ergo, (given the vast prestige he commands in the country) he can perhaps set many things right at this most critical hour in our history, if he behaves a little more in-

dependently. Will he? Once while discussing the RSS with him, I even suggested he leave the Party if they do not improve, which of course he rejected. Unfortunately, it didn't occur to me to argue that he should be more loyal to the country than to the Party.

To be fair, Nana Deshmukh has qualities that others in the RSS do not possess. He has new ideas, can also launch them, though sometimes, owing chiefly to oversupervision, succeeds only in spending money.

Another thing: Santosh Bhartiya's description of the RSS General Secretary's behaviour to him as a journalist is also quite likely. My first impulse was not to believe it, but then I checked and found it could well be true. If so, Mr Sarkaryavah, you must learn democratic behaviour.

Mahendra Kulasrestha, Delhi

Cops 'n robbers

AS A police personnel, I was given to understand that the National Police Commission was interested in collecting statistics and preparing charts of crimes and criminals only since most of the questions it asked were about crime. But after going through "The constable's lot: frustration, bitterness" (May 20) by Ajoy Bose I, as well as my colleagues, were pleased to learn that the Commission went into the problems of policemen as well. We would like to read the entire report of the NPC in your magazine.

Akhil Kumar Baruah, Tura

IN MY opinion, any rebellion is a product of an aspiration for a better order. So is the police uprising.

Ironically, while the police have helped to crush many rebellions in the past, they are themselves being crushed now.

R. Aravindan, Calcutta

IN THE interview to Ajoy Bose, the unnamed constable ("We are not scared", May 20) says: "If we are slaves, the officers are double slaves". I do not agree with this. It is the police officers who have introduced slavery in the force. They torture the constabulary, mentally and physically, through illegal orders. Constables have to literally weep before officers to obtain leave and other facilities they are entitled to. If the officers' authority is questioned, the constables are 'blackmailed' into obedience.

N. C. R. Purushothaman, Hyderabad

Chickenhearted

MD. KHADIL SHAMIM and Mr Anil Bhandari's letters in "Opinion" (May 20) have finally drawn me to the writing desk. Md. Shamim's comments about Mr B. R. Gupta and Prof B. G. Chatterjee's arguments only go to prove his total ignorance about the situation at I.I.T. Kharagpur. At Kharagpur no one ever enquired about the caste of the cook. Doesn't he realise that conceding to one troublemaker's demand for "Zabeeha" chicken would in itself be an act of communal discrimination, which he himself ab-

hors? His narrow outlook may not be his fault, but an I.I.T.-an is expected to and does have a broader outlook on such issues. As far as Mr. Bhandari is concerned, he is totally confused about what he wants to say. I'd just like to remind him that you can't have the cake and eat it too.

I agree with Mr. Shur Kumar that you have unnecessarily sensationalised a trivial issue, drawing in the process, the eye and comments of the uninformed public on what is purely an internal issue. Having gone so far, you would publish this letter.

B. Ghosh, Calcutta

Fight the fascists

S. R. DATE, in his interview "Hindus are the nation" (May 13) has inadvertently revealed that the RSS has tried to conceal Nathuram Godse's RSS connection. The reactionary, fascist and communal nature of the RSS is evident from his answers. Even the militant nature of the RSS is clear from Rajendra Singh's threat to SUNDAY and Raviwar. The time is ripe for fighting the RSS on an ideological plane.

H. R. Basavaraju, Chandigarh

I WOULD like to correct two sentences in S. R. Date's interview which are either based on insufficient information or half-truths. Mr Date has stated Dr Hedgewar was secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha in Nagpur. At the same time it is worth mentioning that Dr Hedgewar had also worked for the Indian National Congress in different capacities in Nagpur and had also participated in the "jungle satyagraha". All this was possible because in those days Hindu-minded nationalists were not treated as "untouchables" by Congressmen. This is also evident from Mr Date's interview where he states that even Mahatma Gandhi was present in 1915 at Hardwar, where the Hindu Mahasabha was formed. Secondly, I would like to point out that it would be incorrect to state that it was on Vir Savarkar's advice that Mr Hedgewar started the RSS. Dr Hedgewar, prior to 1925, when the RSS was formed, had the opportunity to associate himself with varied and multifarious national and social activities in India. Moreover, his first meeting with the RSS took place about seven years after the formation of the RSS. Vir Savarkar's elder brother, G. D. Savarkar, had no doubt met Hedgewar earlier and helped him in the late Thirties to start some branches in Western Maharashtra.

Vaid Parkash, New Delhi

Maligned missionaries

SAUMITRA BANERJEE's interview with Cardinal Picachy ("Christians are cross", May 6) made clear the fact that certain people are under the misconception that whatever work is being done by the Christian missionaries to help the poor and needy Adivasis is aimed at converting them to Christianity. I would like to point out that ever since Independence the Government has done precious little to help better the condition of these downtrodden people. They have been given only false hopes and promises. It is a pity that instead of praising the Christian missionaries for doing some humanitarian work for the betterment of the exploited Adivasis, they are being criticised.

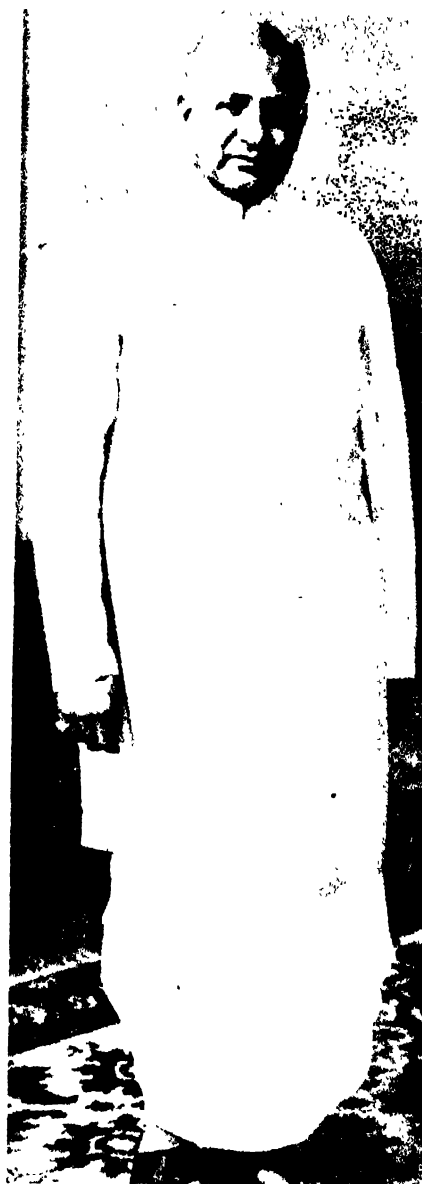
Anthony Parakal, Bombay.

Urs Displays His Muscle

IN Bangalore, people in a Glass House throw stones. They did in 1969. In that year, the All India Congress Committee met at Glass House in Lal Bagh in the beautiful city of Bangalore, and the Congress broke into two. In a sense Bangalore has had something to do with all the three splits that have taken place in the Congress. In 1978, Urs was Mrs Indira Gandhi's warrior when he led the troops against Brahmananda Reddy's Congress; Urs' personal antagonism towards Reddy (Urs did not vote for Reddy when the latter was Mrs Gandhi's candidate in the May 1977 AICC) was one of the motivating forces as far as Urs was concerned. And now, of course, it is Urs and the Karnataka PCC(1) which is breaking away from Mrs Gandhi.

The first battles in the present war were mainly fought through the media, through the traditional letters, and with the important rounding up of heads. Urs held his Press conference at his spacious official residence, in a room which was decorated with pictures of Urs and his wife, Guru Nanak, carvings of Buddha and Hindu gods and goddesses and a large and dominating portrait of Mrs Gandhi looking young and beautiful. This portrait seemed particularly inappropriate on Thursday, June 21, when Urs released his answer to the CWC(1)'s show cause notice: or, "the so-called show cause notice" to quote Urs. Among other things, Urs called Mrs Gandhi a "headmistress" who had "thoughtlessly demolished and destroyed" in response to "individual whim". Urs and his Party were facing a "diabolical onslaught made by the CWC under your captainship". And that was only the beginning.

On the other side, Mrs Gandhi's emissaries, the seasoned veteran Kamalapati Tripathi, later joined by the equally veteran fixer Mr Uma-



shankar Dixit, and the blunt Pranab Mukherjee spoke to the media from the ornate Government guest house, less than a stone's throw away from the CM's residence. The local activists, the young leaders, Gundu Rao, F. M. Khan, Jaffar Sharif, Bangarappa, busily set about trying to repair the shambles that Urs seemed to have left their Party in. They were all aggressive and confident that victory would be theirs.

It would be too charitable to Indian politics and Indian politicians to lay too much importance on ideology in a war of this nature, despite the pious statements made by both sides. The stakes are power, power in the present and power in the future. A few months ago, Mr Devaraj Urs and Mrs Indira Gandhi (perhaps simultaneously) decided that their ambitions were no longer compatible.

The victory in Chikmagalur was perhaps the peak of a decade-long and mutually beneficial relationship. And Mrs Gandhi had been generous to Urs, perhaps more generous than she had been with most of her colleagues. Urs was shaping the southern PCCs, and was involved in most of the important policy decisions of the Party: this is recalled with some bitterness by the anti-Urs forces in Karnataka whose complaints against Urs were repeatedly ignored by the High Command. But after Chikmagalur came the mutual disillusionment: or, more precisely, where the two egos (of Urs and Mrs Gandhi) had been complementary before, they began clashing now. Urs began to feel that all this business of Mrs Gandhi's charisma was a bit overplayed, and he saw the margin of Mrs Gandhi's victory (a bit over 70,000 votes) as proof of this. If Mrs Gandhi really had charisma, he felt, she should have won by at least two lakhs in a constituency that was so favourable to her. In fact, Mrs Gandhi had not been able to improve on Chandra Gowda's margin.

And his blunt condemnation of Sanjay Gandhi has once again exposed a problem which Congressmen in Mrs Gandhi's camp were trying to ignore. The effect has been stunning. M.J.AKBAR reports.

He was convinced that if he had not put in the last ditch effort to swing the Lingayat vote in Birur, Kadur, Terikere and Chikmagalur, she would have lost—a view shared by Janata.

And it is also possible that Urs was tiring of his empire in Karnataka, and was looking for better personal rewards. In Mrs Gandhi's Party, he was sensible enough to realise, the leadership could only be with Mrs Gandhi herself, followed by Sanjay—if Mrs Gandhi had her way. Moreover, the Third Force concept appealed to him, as it did to so many others in the Congress and the Janata. (Will Urs go down as the first victim of the media-spawned Third Force concept?) The possibilities were endless, and the prospects heady, if things fell in place: Urs could even become the first Prime Minister from the South. The famous dinner parleys encouraged such notions. The most famous was, of course, the dinner at Chandra-shekhar's house, which even George Fernandes, who does not like Urs at all (and for good reason; his family was tortured by Urs' Government during the Emergency), attended after much persuasion from Chandra-shekhar. Still, the fact remains that Fernandes attended. An idea was beginning its long journey.

Mrs Gandhi was watching that journey. Obviously it did not appeal to her, and she decided that the idea's wings had to be clipped as fast as possible. She ridiculed the idea in public; and of course she decided to deal with Urs. The longstanding con-

troversy over the presidency of the KPCC was a good enough excuse. In fact, both Mrs Gandhi and Urs literally decided to break over this issue: there is no other explanation, because if they had wanted to settle the problem they could have settled it in a matter of minutes.

The future promises to be fascinating. Of course Mr Urs will become a bitter critic of Mrs Gandhi: the best of friends always become the worst of enemies. In the battle for the control of the Karnataka legislature, Mr Urs displayed his awesome influence over the MLAs by getting a substantial majority on his side in the first few days—but that was probably too good to last. His opponents insisted that at least 50 of the Congress(I) MLAs would come over to Mrs Gandhi's side. In any case, a period of instability has begun in Karnataka politics, which could lead to an early election—perhaps by October or November. Even Mr Urs might be interested in an early election (the Congress (I), being out of power, would obviously like a quick election). Urs, reasons are simple: he would not want to give Mrs Gandhi sufficient time to build another organisation, and would hope to cash in on his record as soon as possible. In all probability, there will be an Urs-Janata electoral alliance. Mr Gundu Rao is, however, convinced that the Congress(I) would win easily even against this combination, leaving them with no more than 50 seats out of 224. Naturally, Mr Urs believes otherwise.

But an Urs-Janata understanding may not be that simple. Janata leader Deve Gowda who is backed by the majority of the Janata MLAs does not want any truck with Urs. On the other hand, Veerendra Patil (who is said to have the backing of only 13 Janata MLAs out of 56) is keen on this alliance. Mr Patil is possibly keen on the Third Force idea as well.

One of the important things Urs has also done is to resurrect the Sanjay problem—it was an embarrassment which Mrs Gandhi and her Party have been trying to hide with lies and evasions. The surprising thing is that there is so much bitterness against Sanjay even among the loyalists left with Mrs Gandhi after the 1978 split.

In any case, one thing is undeniable: Urs has set in motion a chain of events which could have far-reaching repercussions in national politics. Even Chaudhury Charan Singh's sympathies are said to lie with Urs, and Urs had made statements in public to show that he believes in the Chaudhury's back to the village thinking. How would you like to vote in the next general elections for a Party with these leaders: Chandra-shekhar, Madhu Limaye, Y. B. Chavan, Devaraj Urs, Sharad Pawar, A. K. Antony, Abdul Gafoor, Karan Singh, Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Rajni Patel, Vengal Rao, Mohan Dharia etc etc etc? And with, just possibly, Chaudhury Charan Singh and George Fernandes, from their separate corners, joining in. ■

She respects Parliament as long as it suits her

In an exclusive interview with M. J. AKBAR Urs gave enough evidence of his self-confidence and his ability to fight a long battle.

Q This break with Mrs Indira Gandhi has taken you to the centre stage of national politics. What kind of role do you see for yourself in the immediate future?

A: I would like to see Congressmen being brought together.

Q: Congressmen, wherever they may be, as the saying goes...

A: To start with, both the Congresses.

Q: Do you expect some people from the Janata also to respond to this?

A: I can't say at the moment. In course of time—it may depend on so many other developments.

Q: Do you conceive a new Party, or do you prefer to work within the



Mandira Purp

framework of the Congress?

A: That is a matter on which all my friends should sit together and decide. (Creating a new Party) is one way; the other way is to strengthen the existing organisation.

Q: That means you would prefer to rejoin the Congress?

A: Let it be anything, it doesn't matter. Naturally it is the organisation which is important. I can't say that I am the organisation. If we have decided to work together, this becomes irrelevant—who joins what.

Q: But you expect people like Sharad Pawar, A. K. Antony, Siddhartha Ray, Rajni Patel to come together; you are thinking of a coalition on these lines.

A: Where is the question of a

coalition? If at all (these people) mean business they must come together: if they really want to provide an alternative Party.

Q: Do you expect people like Mr Madhu Limaye and Mr George Fernandes to join such a Party?

A: Those are all points which will come up later on, (these people) are all in Janata now. I am talking of all Congressmen coming together first.

Q: To turn to Mrs Gandhi. You have built up Mrs Gandhi all this while—

A: (Cutting short the question) No, let us say it was mutual.

Q: But you have praised her continuously and placed her before the public as the person —

A: Yes, I did.

Q: And now?

A: Now (I realise) I have been thoroughly mistaken; for all that I have done I have been maligned (by Mrs Gandhi).

Q: Do you think Mrs Gandhi has suddenly turned authoritarian?

A: Not suddenly. That streak of authoritarianism is in her. Now and then it erupts and comes to the surface and exhibits itself to the dismay and disappointment of many of us.

Q: You supported her so strongly; you, in a sense, created the 1978 split. Didn't you think at that time that she was also being authoritarian?

A: (sighs) That was a time when she had suffered most. She had fallen from Himalayan heights. It was not unnatural for some of us to expect that she would learn certain lessons. But we proved to be wrong.

Q: Are you feeling bitter today because you like her?

A: (Looks sharply) Bitter? Oof! I have never felt bitter in my life against anybody, even against my worst enemies.

Q: But you may be feeling disappointed today.

A: Nothing of the kind. I am neither disappointed nor bitter. I take things in my stride. I am an instrument, she is also an instrument in the larger context of the country. We have to play our roles. Sometimes we play well; sometimes we play ill — why bother about these things?

Q: What role do you think Mrs Gandhi will play, specifically, in the next few years?

A: Now she thinks that she can build up the organisation by herself, with her charisma and popularity. And perhaps she may be having the impression that she does not require so many people who, according to her, may not follow her implicitly or toe her line of thinking. Take, for instance, the issue of the Special Courts Bill. I, for one, wanted to fight it in a parliamentary way. There was a possibility, if both the Congresses had come together, that in the Rajya Sabha it would not have been passed. But she felt, what if it may be delayed by another six months; in any case, it will be passed, so why should there be unity? That was her way

of thinking. All right, unity (did not come about); we were not able to muster a majority (in the Rajya Sabha). Now, the Parliament has passed the Bill. It is a black Bill, undemocratic — what are the other epithets? Vindictive ... when we passed the Emergency law, the same thing was said. But we justified it by saying that Parliament had okayed it, and the President had given his assent. If you can justify an act of Emergency because you have clothed it with constitutionality, how can you prevent the same right to the next ruling Party? (The Bill) may be black, it may be white, it may be red, it may even be vibgyor; but it is an act of Parliament. You yourself proclaimed Parliament as a sovereign body. Once you accept Parliament as a sovereign body, in a parliamentary system of democracy, do you wish to fight against a Bill or a measure which is passed by a majority of Parliament by dragging things to the streets? By resorting to violence — whatever you may call it, satyagraha, and this and that? Is that the parliamentary way? In one breath we say we believe in democracy, we believe in the parliamentary system, we believe in non-violence. In another breath, (we react in this fashion to) an act of Parliament — mind you, passed by not only the ruling Party, but by other Parties too, the Communists, Akalis, DMK ...

Q: Do you think Mrs Gandhi ever had much respect for Parliament?

A: She has respect, as long as it suits (her). This is the difference. I for one, said: let us choose either way. If you don't want democracy, let us say we don't want the parliamentary system. But: if I am in power I want democracy and the parliamentary system, and the moment I am out of power, no: this I don't understand. I can never subscribe (to such an attitude). At least the Communists are more honest in a way. All right: is it our idea to bring about chaos? Supposing tomorrow we are put into power. All these problems, economic problems, price rise, hoarding, unemployment, industries not working, coal not being supplied, railways not moving, cement shortage — so many problems are there. Tomorrow, if Mrs Gandhi were to come back to power and I have told her that even she cannot control the situation. Why? The whole atmosphere is surcharged with indiscipline, lawlessness, no respect for any kind of authority anywhere. In the family, no mutual respect; in the schools and colleges, no respect; in Government services, nothing; factories, no. Where is it then? There is not even the minimum of democratic discipline left in this country. If ten boys move in the streets, if they are going on the right side and if somebody asks why are you going on the right side, baba, don't obstruct, they will reply, who are you to ask me?

Q: Why do you think this has happened, this lawlessness, this lack

of faith perhaps in the system?

A: (sighs) This is too long an answer. This happened over a period of time, over decades, because fundamentally democracy was thoroughly misused by politicians. The human tendency is always to take the line of least resistance. If politicians want to win an election, the correct way is to propagate the programme of the Party, the ideology, to convert and convince people, get them to your side. The other way is: if you are a Muslim, go and tell Muslims quietly, I am a Muslim, baba, please vote for me. If you are a brahmin, you go on whispering to every fellow in the nights, I am a brahmin, don't let me down. You appeal to your caste. More important, in an impoverished country like ours, five rupees is something substantial to a person who has to every morning, fight for his bread. Purchase: this is another way.

Q: Who has been most guilty of corrupting the system?

A: You want me to give a comparative study of all political Parties? Tell me, who is not guilty?

Q: Why do you see so much of a difference between Sanjay and Mrs Gandhi?

A: (sarcastically) Difference? Sanjay is her son, she is his mother. What is the difference? She is the most loving mother.

Q: To great political cost?

A: What cost? To her? Why should there be any cost? The mother wants to see her son come up (in life)—nothing unnatural. You and I may not like it, but for the mother it is perfectly natural to wish for her son to come up.

Q: Is that why, do you think, Mrs Gandhi will never allow any leader with a mass base to remain in her Party?

A: Of late, that is my realisation. I never realised it a few years back. As time passes, with closer observation and experience, I have come to the conclusion that she does not tolerate anyone coming up.

Q: Others who have left Mrs Gandhi in the past, during the 1969 split, or during the 1978 split, have not fared too well politically. What makes you so optimistic about your own future?

A: My optimism is based on the principle on which I am fighting.

Q: And you think the country will respond to the cause?

A: (forcefully) Sure. The cause I have taken up is the correct one. Don't forget, our country consists of 65 crores of people, and today the healthiest aspect is that we have millions and millions of young men and women who are educated, who are intelligent, who can discern, who can differentiate, who can see what is what in politics.

Q: Could you explain, particularly since you have known the family so well in the last decade: why exactly do you call Sanjay Gandhi

autocratic, and why do you call Mrs Gandhi autocratic?

A : You see, Sanjay Gandhi cannot function from behind the scenes, taking advantage of his mother's position. I will congratulate the young man if he comes up on his own. This is my point. I have nothing against him. Every man has the right, as a citizen of India, to come to politics, to fight his way up : Sanjay may also become Prime Minister : who knows? Every Indian is a potential Prime Minister.

Q : *Some Indians are more potential than others.*

A : Maybe. Potential, I said. So if Sanjay Gandhi wants to come up in politics, who am I to prevent him? But no more can the people tolerate (a situation where) because I belong to this family, and I am the son of so-and-so, because I was the son of the King of Mysore so therefore I should be made the Chief Minister! Do you agree?

Q : *I thought we gave up feudalism in 1952.*

A : Then why bring it up again?

Q : *I have not brought it up.*

A : Why are they thinking of it again? I am sitting here. This is my brother, younger to me (Mr Urs points to his brother, standing a couple of feet away). Being my brother, naturally outsiders, whether he likes it or not, will all say, 'Sir, please tell the Chief Minister to do this or do that'. Naturally, they think that because he is my brother, he has my ear, and he is in a position to influence me. Supposing I allow him to do it, would you like it, my dear friend?

Q : *Then why did it take you so long to discover all this?*

A : Ah. That's the point. Till 1977, I did not really know so much, let me be very frank. Stories I used to hear; they used to tell me that this man (Sanjay Gandhi) was interfering in many matters. Maybe they were right, maybe they were wrong: I did not know. But nobody came out openly. The 1977 elections came. Of course one gentleman who came out was Jagjivan Babu. I don't want to go into details: whether he was right or wrong is not the question, anyway he did it. Then came defeat. What angered me was: most of these elders who were considered leaders and who never spoke a word, started speaking of a caucus. (They said) there was a 'coterie'; Sanjay did this, Sanjay did that; an extraconstitutional centre was created. When did they come out with all these things after the elections? If I were in the (Union) Cabinet perhaps, God willing, I would have had the courage of conviction to say, 'Look here, my dear lady, either you have your son and yourself, or you have me', and clear out. What is it she could have done? I would have gone back to my village, that is all, isn't it? Why did these people not do this?

Many things we did not know. Okay, maybe the stories were true. But, the veracity of your statements didn't carry so much conviction because when you were inside you did



Sanjay Gandhi being accorded a royal reception in Bangalore during the Emergency: those were the days!

not talk. When you came out you started talking. Although papers wrote about (the stories), men like me were not convinced. That is (I told the Congress leaders), 'I am not going to be with you'. Nor was I with her (Mrs Gandhi) when she asked me to vote for Brahmananda Reddy (during the first AICC session after the elections). What I felt to be correct, I did. Nevertheless, I did continue to remain with her. I thought, maybe she has committed a hundred and odd mistakes, but in the history of a nation this is one of the greatest tragedies: a person having ruled this great nation of ours for eleven years as Prime Minister, to have fallen into such an abyss. This was really the biggest tragedy. Never in the annals of any history had such a thing happened: to be completely swept off the entire north. I thought this was not the period for me to desert her — with the hope that having fallen from such a height, (she would) mend her manners and methods and style of functioning. For some time it was all right. But of late what has happened, according to me, is that she seems to be gathering an impression that on the one side the Janata is coming down fast, and there is no other Party. The Congress is almost dormant; only the Communists are there in pockets. She rightly feels that she should do everything to fill in this vacuum. But the only mistake she is committing, according to me, is, she thinks she can do it by herself. And there is one fault which she has continued to commit so far and she is going to commit further, and that will be to her tragedy and ruination: she can never, never gather men of merit.

Q : *And even if she does, she can't keep them?*

A : (vehemently) No, she can't. By nature she is so suspicious, and she is too proud to admit that she

needs others to do things. On the very face of it, this is so absurd! In a country like ours, I want a first class man even at the village level to run a panchayat: otherwise how can you build this nation up? You may say, no, no, no, you need a first class man for a legislator: I would not mind a legislator not being a first class man; I want a panchayat chairman to be a first class man. Even if some legislation goes wrong, there are others to advise, but at the village level? Your country is villages only, even now, despite all the growth of your cities the 80 per cent business continues, never has it been reduced, it is still 80 per cent. Mrs Gandhi thinks she can manage with any person. Any man is all right as Chief Minister. Any man is all right as Minister. I once told her, what is this thinking? Modern administration is so complicated, and its parameters have increased so much, people of ordinary minds cannot even comprehend it. In such a situation (imagine) what type of men you need. Even supposing Mrs Gandhi came to power, where are her men? As if she is going to control alone, is it? Those days are gone. Really, I shiver to think of anybody coming to this position of Prime Ministership and holding this country with so many problems. And in these circumstances, Mrs Gandhi thinks she can manage with anybody.

Q : *Do you think she has still not forgiven you for Chikmagalur?*

A : Forgiven me? What is the sin I committed?

Q : *The sin you committed was that you showed your strength.*

A : Then I should have lost the election?

Q : *Probably; that would have solved everybody's problem, wouldn't it?*

A : (laughs) I am not such a cut-throat,



"Have you seen a puppet show? That fellow is the show master"

And is Sanjay Gandhi's puppet Mrs Gandhi?
SUBIR ROY reports from Bangalore.

THE news reached Bangalore late on the night of Friday, June 15. The Congress (I) Working Committee had officially "solved" the problem that had been plaguing the Karnataka unit: should Mr Devaraj Urs continue as State President, should a new leader be elected (as Mr Urs wanted) or should the next Party chief be nominated by the High Command (as Mrs Gandhi wanted), Mrs Gandhi had her way.

The ailing Chief Minister Devaraj Urs, down with a very painful and severe attack of herpes, got out of his sick bed upon hearing the news. Despite his illness, he did not show the uncertainty and lethargy that had characterised the behaviour of Congressmen who had fought Mrs Gandhi in the past. His answer was quick, and matched the challenge of the High Command. At 2.45 a.m. Mrs Gandhi's man, Mr S. Bangarappa, received a telephone call from the Governor, Mr Govind Narain, asking him to resign, as the Chief Minister had lost confidence in him. Mr Bangarappa did not, and got the sack at 9.30 a.m. Next day, the axe fell on the other major dissident and Sanjay loyalist, Mr Gundu Rao, who had been made a cabinet minister on Sanjay Gandhi's prodding and had effectively become a thorn in the Urs flesh.

On Saturday evening, Devaraj Urs showed Mrs Gandhi and the High Command that they were not dealing with either a timid or an insignificant man. He called a Press conference at his large and impressive official residence. Never had so many journalists attended a Press conference of his as this evening. A rather battered Mr Urs walked in, heavily

covered in woollens; his face was unshaven and the ravages of his disease were all too apparent in the pock marks that lined his right cheek. But in a minute everyone sitting there knew that it was the same, indomitable, smiling, charming Devaraj Urs that they knew so well through so many crises. He brushed aside the request his staff had made to the photographers not to take pictures of Urs in his illness. "Let them portray me in all my ugliness," he said lightly. Then, to the journalists squatting on the carpet, he said, "I don't care if I look like one of the creatures of the jungles. But you should have seen me two days ago with my face swollen up. I looked a real Nala Maharaja." The jokes over, came his official reaction to the decision of the Working Committee: a pithy, occasionally satirical statement. "The decision is very good politically not only for Karnataka but for India as a whole. This will be a pacesetter for the realignment of forces. In a way the President and the Working Committee deserve to be congratulated for accelerating the process... I believe that my stand will be praised for upholding the principles of inner-Party democracy... Indian politics is in a state of turmoil and many thinking politicians are groping in the dark, unable to see the vision of the future. An event like this may help in striking out the right path. It is now time for those, who think alike to dare and act."

Mr Urs had diplomatically avoided discussing the past; but he had summed up the present and the future. And the next day, Sunday, showed how successfully he had dared and acted. At his residence once again, over 120 MLAs belonging to his

Party pledged their support to him against Mrs Gandhi, giving him a clear majority in the Assembly, and assuring him that he could stay in the Chief Minister's house (Urs had not given up his residence even after being dismissed from office in 1977 prior to the elections; the election results vindicated his conceit). But the crowning moment for Urs on a day he called the happiest of his life was when one of the leading members of the ad hoc committee, the Revenue Minister, Mr Basavalingappa, spurned Mrs Gandhi and joined him. Mr S. Basavalingappa had gone to Delhi to mediate between the two groups, then hitched on to the Mrs Gandhi's side when the Working Committee took its decision.

MRS Indira Gandhi and Mr Devaraj Urs had finally parted; and perhaps a dramatic new phase had begun in Indian politics. Mr Urs, who has often enough protested his loyalty to his 'leader' was the finest showpiece in the Congress (I)'s vastly depleted political stock. Driven out of the North, Mrs Gandhi found solace in the following her Party still commanded in the South, and there none ruled more mightily and confidently than Mr Urs. How much the support of Mr Urs meant to her was underscored by her return to legitimacy in national politics through her victory in Chikmagalur. That the rest of the South was not Karnataka was brought home to her all the more brutally by Mr M. G. Ramachandran backing out at the last minute and depriving her of a constituency in Thanjavur where, as events were to prove, she could have won.

If this is a momentous decision for Mrs Gandhi then for Mr Urs also this is a watershed. Ever since he jumped on to her bandwagon in 1969, when the Congress split, their fortunes have been inextricably linked. Before 1969, Mr Urs had put in three decades of political activity in the backwaters of Karnataka's caste ridden politics, holding unimportant portfolios in the Nijalingappa and Veerendra Patil Ministries. He came to power riding on the crest of the Indira wave in 1972 and continued until his Government was dismissed in 1977. He staged a grand return in 1978 but then also the victory of the Congress(I) in Karnataka was attributed largely to the continuing popularity of Mrs Gandhi in the South, as the results in Andhra and the other Southern States showed. Through all the years that Mr Urs has held undisputed sway over Karnataka, the rest of the country has perhaps not been aware of the extent of dissident activity that has gone on in the State. The appointment of every Ministry and every Cabinet reshuffle has been cause for representations to the High Command against Mr Urs. And every time without fail Mrs Gandhi has backed him, to the dismay of the dissidents. Today, therefore, the charge of treachery is being bandied about.

The question that is likely to intrigue is why Mr Urs fell out with Mrs Gandhi now, when he could have done it either in March 1977 or in January 1978. Dissidents scornfully point out that of course he would want the two Congresses to unite, as that's where all his friends were: Rajni Patel, Siddhartha Ray, etc. Some of his friends, like Krishna Kant, had even joined the Janata. A good reason for the Urs-Mrs Gandhi alliance was Brahmananda Reddy. Urs could not stand Reddy, and if Reddy had sided with Mrs Gandhi it is quite conceivable that Urs might have gone the other way.

In self explanation, Mr Urs has this to say to SUNDAY: "After the 1977 elections the people suddenly realised that the Congress had given the go-by to the important principle of internal democracy and authoritarianism was on the rise. On that score, there was so much comment. Ultimately you know what happened. In those days, I did not support those friends who chose these planks to fight on. You see, my reasoning was, they should have started fighting when they first realised this; only after the lady was out of power it looked as if they had suddenly discovered that these principles were in danger. In a Party system, there are issues where you adjust. But there are issues that cannot be adjusted to. You may differ from me on posting an officer. That need not be a big issue. But internal democracy or authoritarianism are not issues to be compromised on. But they kept quiet. Out of power, overnight everybody became wise and started talking about all kinds of things, including the caucus. My only

real quarrel with them was, how did you keep quiet? Why do you say all this now?"

Brahmananda Reddy became President, and the same thing happened, said Urs, pointing out that he fought Reddy on the question of internal party elections. "And now the same issue. Now it is Sanjay Gandhi. He is like a ... You have seen a puppet show? That fellow is the show master."

It all began to go public at the AICC(I) meeting in Delhi on April

21. Mr Urs, while moving the official resolution made the historic reference to Sanjay Gandhi. An angry Mrs Gandhi beckoned to him and admonished him, and Urs apparently left the meeting in a huff. The next provocation, again from Urs, came in the form of a speech to Congress workers in a training camp in which he warned them against the personality cult. The battle had heated up. Karnataka Congress(I) legislators who met Mrs Gandhi in Bangalore a few days later noted that

Historic June

PEOPLE are beginning to get very suspicious about June; too much seems to happen in this hot summer month.

June 1973 was a period of frenzy. President's Rule was introduced in Uttar Pradesh on June 13, 1973 after a mutiny by the Provincial Armed Constabulary. Two Chief Ministers—of Bihar and Gujarat—were forced to resign on June 24 and June 29, respectively, due to opposition inside their own Party.

June 1974 was quieter, but May 1974 had seen enough turbulence: the nation's first railway strike, led by George Fernandes. The strike began on May 8 and ended on May 28 when almost 1,700,000 railway workers including 300,000 casuals returned to work unconditionally.

June 1975, of course, nobody can forget. First on June 3, the CPI organised a mass demonstration of over 100,000 people in Patna to condemn JP's demand for dissolution of the Bihar Assembly. A counter-demonstration by JP presented a petition in favour of dissolution to the Bihar Governor on June 5. The size of the demonstration was nearly 500,000. JP called on the demonstrators to prevent members from entering the Assembly and to force them to resign. He also appealed to the people not to pay taxes, to the police not to obey orders and to students to boycott college for a year in order to devote themselves to the agitation.

On June 12, the Allahabad High Court declared the election of Mrs Indira Gandhi to the Lok Sabha null and void. Almost at the same time the election results of the Gujarat State Assembly were announced: it was a fateful victory of an alliance of Opposition Parties. Emboldened by their success, the Opposition Parties decided on June 25 to launch a week's civil disobedience campaign from June 29 in an effort to force Mrs Indira Gandhi to resign.

Shortly after dawn on June 26, President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed proclaimed Emergency. In her

first crackdown on the Opposition, as many as 676 leading opponents of Mrs Gandhi were arrested.

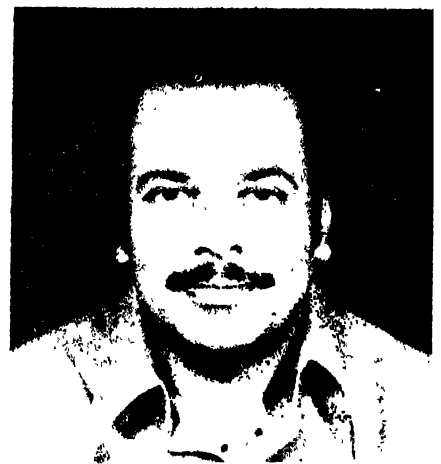
On June 27, the President issued an order forbidding those arrested to invoke their constitutional rights to equal protection of law. On June 29, MISA was amended to remove the requirement that a detainee must be informed of the reason for his detention within a specified period of time. Mr V. C. Shukla took over as Minister of Information and Broadcasting on June 20. By 1976 the Emergency was in full swing. On June 17, MISA was amended to enable the Government to detain any person without supplying the reasons for it for 24 months.

June 1977 saw the Assembly elections in Goa, Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and the Union Territories of Delhi and Pondicherry: an election which completed the rout the Congress had suffered in March.

And in June 1978 the Janata Government almost fell, due to the Morarji-Charan Singh clash. Home Minister, Charan Singh called the Prime Minister's son, Kanli Desai corrupt. On June 5, Raj Narain attacked the Janata Party President, Chandrashekhar, and demanded his resignation. (A year later, in June, he was thrown out of the National Executive for this another historic event.) And the Prime Minister capped a tense month by asking Mr Charan Singh and Mr Raj Narain to resign on June 29: they did so on June 30.

June 1979 saw an unprecedented heat wave. Far more serious was the police agitation. In Gujarat on June 1, the condition deteriorated and the army had to fire on errant policemen. By June 9, the Congress (I) President, Mrs Indira Gandhi, and the Karnataka Chief Minister, Mr Devraj Urs had reached a point of no return. Another historic split was taking place.

Tirthankar Ghosh



Dissidents Bangarappa, Gundu Rao and F. M. Khan (from left to right)

she hit the roof at the mention of Sanjay-baiting by Urs. Her other charge against him was that he was hobnobbing with Janata leaders. Referring to Acharya Kripalani's assertion that any ordinary girl would have won from Chikmagalur if she had Urs' support, she is reported to have said: "If he thinks so, let him go out and get the votes."

Meanwhile, Mrs Gandhi was not sitting idle. The dissidents renewed the campaign against the Chief Minister holding the post of the PCC (I) President: this did not conform to the one-person-one-post rule. Mr Chenna Reddy had given up his PCC post in 1978. Then began a somewhat legalistic duel as to whether there had been any election in the Glass House in Bangalore in 1978 when Urs was chosen PCC chief. Mr Urs' supporters insisted that he had been elected, and pointed out that almost 200 of the 250 members present then were still with the Congress (I). The dissidents insisted that he was an ad hoc president as no proper elections had been held that day. The breach became irreparable during Mrs Gandhi's next visit to Bangalore during May 12-13 this year. This time Mr Urs tried a new ploy. Yes, he would resign as PCC (I) chief but the new President would have to be elected. That was, naturally, not acceptable to Mrs Gandhi, for no one doubted Urs' ability to get his own candidate elected. The newspapers in Bangalore on May 13 carried on their front pages pictures of the two grimaced leaders: It was indication enough that the differences between Mrs Gandhi and Urs had gone so far that the two leaders could not even smile for the benefit of the cameramen.

The Karnataka Legislative Party met on May 16 and passed a resolution favouring an elected Party leader. The dissidents got equally busy. C. K. Jaffer Sharief, F. M. Khan and K. Mullana, all MPs, incurred the wrath of Mr Urs by their open canvassing against him and Mr Jayadevraj Urs, general secretary of the Congress (I) Legislature Party said that he would write to the Working Committee asking that the three MPs be disciplined. Through all this,

the main force in the dissident camp, Transport Minister Gundu Rao, shied away from making public statements so as not to invite dismissal for indiscipline.

On June 2, Mr F. M. Khan publicly called for the dismissal of Mr Urs. Mrs Gandhi was in Bangalore again between June 4 and 6, during which the conflict only sharpened. But for two brief 15-minute meetings with Mr Urs, there was no other contact. Fresh compromise moves were made on as late as June 7 by Mr C. M. Stephen and Mr Kamalanati Tripathi but nothing resulted. The Congress (I) Parliamentary Board on June 8 resolved that Mr Urs should quit the PCC presidency. Karnataka District Congress Committee chiefs met in Bangalore on June 10 and expressed themselves in favour of Mr Urs. This was a very effective show of strength on the part of Urs, driving home the significant fact that the Party was behind him. The Congress (I) High Command considered this an insult. There was a temporary lull, as on his return from Delhi, he fell ill with a very severe attack of herpes. Mr Basavalingappa, on his own, went on with his mediation efforts but no one had any heart in it. The Rubicon was crossed on June 15, when, after a four-hour discussion, the Working Committee dissolved, the Karnataka PCC and appointed Mr Bangarappa, the PWD Minister the new ad hoc PCC President. One of the most durable political partnerships had come to an end.

HOW could the dissidents' back have been broken so easily? Who were the main people Mrs Gandhi had been relying on? The new President of the ad hoc PCC, Bangarappa, is an elegant young man with an SSP background. In his pre-Ministerial days he used to take lepers to the Vidhana Soudha in processions to highlight their plight. His politics notwithstanding, he initially harboured dreams of becoming a film hero and even acted in a film which was never finished. With his back-

ward class origin, and fine rhetorical powers, he was a reasonably logical choice for Mrs Gandhi, whose main aim now is to drive Mr Urs into the arms of the upper castes. In fact, the selection of Mr Janardan Pujari and Mr Sankaranand confirms the aim to promote the backward classes and the Harijans. MPs Gundu Rao and F. M. Khan are both fairly young and have a Youth Congress background. During the Emergency they sent shivers down the spine of Urs when they initiated Sanjay-backed moves to destabilise the Government. Mr Urs promptly gave Mr Gundu Rao Cabinet rank. Mr Jaffer Sharief, another leading dissenter, also has a similar Youth Congress background and Sanjay Gandhi associations. But the veteran among the dissidents was the redoubtable Mr Basavalingappa who has a long history of opposition to Mr Urs. He only made peace with the Chief Minister in 1976 when he was taken back into the Cabinet after a lapse of three and a half years.

What unites the dissidents is their unflinching loyalty to Mrs Gandhi. They say that it is Mrs Gandhi who built up Urs, not the other way round. "Let him now go out and face the electorate and tell it that what has been done all these years in Mrs Gandhi's name and under her inspiration was actually his own work." According to them, the real differences started right after the Emergency. With time Mr Urs began to have delusions of grandeur and started to consider himself a leader of national stature.

What detracts from their ideological stance is the simple fact that most of the dissidents have been at the game before and have, at one time or other, been on Urs' side. Mr Urs came to power in March 1972 and his first Cabinet included Mr Basavalingappa, Mr K. H. Patil (who now heads the State Congress-S) and Mr Siddaveerappa. But the opposition to him began right after the Cabinet formation as no one seemed to be satisfied with what he had got. The banner of revolt was taken up by Mr

K. Hanumanthaiya. But he got no support from Delhi. The revolt ended; Mr Hanumanthaiya lost in the Lok Sabha poll and went out to form the meaningless Swarajya Party. The next challenge came in the form of MPs complaining against Mr Urs' lifestyle. But this time it was Mr Jaffer Sharief who defended him. Even as Mr Urs appointed his first PCC president, Mr Ranganath, there was a demand for an elected President. When the southern conference of the Congress (R) met in the Bangalore Glass House in 1973 it was Mr K. H. Patil's turn to defend Urs.

After this Mr Basavalingappa began criticising Urs. Five Ministers quit and with it ended the second challenge to Mr Urs' leadership. The Cabinet was reshuffled and expanded in October 1974, and Mr K. H. Patil, on being unanimously chosen the PCC chief, quit the Ministry. In this reshuffle Mr Mohammad Ali walked into the Urs camp to become Transport Minister, leaving the dissidents in the lurch. The other new entrants into the Cabinet were Mr Gundu Rao and Mrs Manorama Madhwaraj. It was only a matter of time before Mr K. H. Patil became the leader of the dissidents and started to voice protests against ministerial corruption and high-handedness towards the Party. At this time Mr F. M. Khan and Mr Gundu Rao represented the youth strength around Mr Urs. Mr Basavalingappa and Mr K. H. Patil joined hands against the Chief Minister. The declaration of the Emergency made Patil and Urs only temporary bedfellows. The advent of Uma Shankar Dixit on the scene as Governor strengthened Urs. He reshuffled the Cabinet once again in August 76. By a clever interchanging of portfolios he managed to clip the wings of the dissidents. The only footnote to be added is that Mr Basavalingappa's three and a half years' dissidence came to an end with his induction into the new Cabinet formed by Urs after his victory in 1978.

The only thing that is dour and austere about the CM's official residence is its name, Balabrooei. It is mostly plush carpets and costly artefacts. The curving driveway through the spacious lawn and the flowering plants is not quite left behind in the massive bedroom which opens out to a terrace from which filters in incessant birdsong that interferes with the tape-recording. Mr Urs is quite Churchillian in his habits—both at leisure and work. A massive four-poster dominates one side with built-in shelves behind the headrest. There is both a three-piece-suite and soft mattresses with bolsters. By the wall near the bed is a bookshelf. The man is revealed here. There is a well-thumbed edition of Shaw's *Everybody's Political What's What*, Ambedkar's *Annihilation of Caste*, *Brave New World* lies cheek by jowl with *Godfather*, the inevitable *Pipe Book* of Alfred Dunhill, and for those who see portents in every little bit of trivia, Harold Wilson's *A Prime Minister on Prime Ministers*.

Tirpude wants Sanjay thrown out

When the news of the Urs-Mrs Gandhi split became more or less official, one of the first reactions was from Maharashtra. And was that reaction strong! Nasikrao Tirpude, the leader of the Congress (I) Legislature Party and virtual boss of the State unit, criticised Sanjay Gandhi vehemently, and demanded that Mrs Gandhi's son be thrown out of Mrs Gandhi's Party. "Devraj is the latest victim of Sanjay," said Tirpude. OLGA TELLIS had met him and other Congress (I) leaders in Maharashtra to file this story.

"IT'S all Sanjay's doing. Mrs Gandhi is not acting on her own. He wants to destabilise the Congress(I) organisations everywhere so that he can then groom his own people for his own political future. He did that a couple of years ago with Mrs Nandini Satpathy, Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray and Mr H. N. Bahuguna, all Chief Ministers who would not kowtow to him. Now he's trying it with Mr Devraj Urs. Why was this rush to have him out of the KPCC(I) presidentship? This rule of one person, one post, came into operation more than one year ago and it was not enforced, so why the hurry to to enforce it now? Why couldn't they wait till the organisational elections were over?" The former Congress(I) Minister, now in Opposition along with his Party in Maharashtra, was obviously agitated as he said this, while the tussle was going on between the High Command and Urs during the middle of June. His sympathies were clearly with Urs, although he still did not feel confident enough to allow his name to be printed along with his views.

"We have had enough of Sanjay Gandhi in our own State," said another Congress(I) leader. "In 1978, Mr Nasikrao Tirpude had, at a public meeting in Pune, called Sharad Pawar Mr Y. B. Chavan's 'Sanjay'. This bruised Sanjay's ego and he went about trying to dislodge Mr Tirpude, who was then the Deputy Chief Minister in the Congress-Congress(I) coalition. Mr Tirpude was one of Mrs Gandhi's most trusted lieutenants. When everyone had ditched her after her defeat in March 1977, it was Tirpude alone who mopped up whatever was left of her forces in the State and fought and won a foothold for the Congress(I) in the Vidarbha region. He could stall the Janata wave there. But Sanjay wanted him out because he could not be dictated to, and Mrs Gandhi had no alternative but to play cool with Mr Tirpude from then on. Sanjay's onslaught began with the installation of Satish Chaturvedi as Youth Congress leader. Then his

followers trumped up the one-post-one-person rule to oust Tirpude from the presidentship of the MPCC(I). They succeeded and put a Maratha, Mrs Premilatai Chavan, as ad hoc President in his place.

"But matters didn't end there. Mr Jambhwantrao Dhote, the former Forward Bloc leader who joined the Congress(I), had ambitions of becoming the Congress(I) President. He tried his best to belittle Mr Tirpude. He got his chance to prove his undivided, unquestioned loyalty to Mrs Gandhi when a call was given in December 1978 to Congress(I) workers to protest against the arrest of Mrs Indira Gandhi for contempt of Parliament. Mr Dhote, a firebrand politician, took the lead in whipping up a protest, which was strongest in his areas in Vidarbha. The protest was accompanied by a lot of violence throughout the State, including in Bombay. Mr Tirpude issued an apology to the citizens for the violence and inconvenience caused. Mr Dhote condemned the apology and tried to dissociate a section of the Congress(I) workers from the apology. From then on, he tried to capture the organisation. The stumbling block was Mr Tirpude, whose control over the organisations is substantial. At the time of the PCC elections, Mr Dhote wanted to be President and he threatened to boycott the elections if he was not nominated to the post. He even tried to stop the elections at the last moment by trying to get Mrs Gandhi to intervene. He managed to get into the good books of Sanjay, but even then he could not succeed, and Mr Tirpude's nominee Mrs Prabha Rao was elected President by an overwhelming majority. Despite the clear majority, attempts were made to get her election invalidated by Mrs Gandhi. This also failed because Mrs Gandhi decided at the last minute not to rock the boat in Maharashtra where Mr Tirpude was still a force to contend with. Besides, Mrs Rao, at that time, was a faithful companion of Mrs Gandhi. In the recent Zila Parishad elections there was no unanimity and most of Mr Satish Chaturvedi's candidates were defeated, though Mr Dhote's candidates fared well."

In Maharashtra, the bulk of members are inclined to back Mr Urs. Mr Tirpude has said that democracy should prevail in elections to the Party posts, and nothing should be done to disturb the organisation in Karnataka and elsewhere. The High Command has ignored his advice. Efforts are still being made by Mr Dhote to capture the organisation, according to angry Congress(I) leaders, who blame Sanjay Gandhi for this.

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Relative problems

DEVARAJ URS, unlike Mrs Gandhi and Mr Morarji Desai, does not have a son, but he has a daughter and a brother to worry about. Actually he has three daughters, but public interest is centred around only one son-in-law, the second—Mr Nataraj, and of course around the elder brother, Mr Kemparaj Urs, Bangalore journalist I. K. Jagirdar sat down with several years of newspaper files and came out with the book *Arasu Adalitaranga: Chronicle of Karnataka political developments in the Seventies*. The contents of Jagirdar's book have largely gone unchallenged and the sections on Nataraj and Kemparaj find corroboration in the final report of the Grover commission.

First, Mr Kemparaj Urs. The two brothers were poles apart in taste, aptitude, ideological conviction, life-style and the professions they followed. And so it remained for over three decades. Kemparaj Urs, 'one-time star of the Kannada silver screen' as he is somewhat disparagingly referred to, was making it big in the Forties while brother Devaraj was an obscure politician in Mysore district. With several films scoring box office hits, Kemparaj adopted the opulent and extravagant lifestyle depicted in the sets of his films. Particularly successful was *Raja Vikrama*. The Tamil movie *Alagar Malai Kalan* which was produced in 1959 was his last. Between 1959 and 1973 Kemparaj hardly had any connection with the film world. He set up a steel fabrication plant and dabbled in real estate. When Devaraj Urs took over the State Congress (R) in 1969 and got down to the hard task of building up the Party, he decided to go down to Madras and ask his brother for a loan. "Why did you join politics?" asked Kemparaj and slammed the door in his brother's face.

Devaraj came to power in 1972; the fortunes of the two brothers had been completely reversed by now. Kemparaj did not have the courage to face his brother. But Kemparaj's wife Lalitha got a chance to once nurse ailing Devaraj to health and this led to a reconciliation. Kemparaj had his eyes on the State Film Development Corporation, which was then headed by K. K. Murthy, a former kerosene dealer of Bangalore who was a confidant of Nijalingappa, but had switched sides deftly and enjoyed equally great power during Urs. When a directorship fell vacant in the KFDC, the obvious choice was Kemparaj. It was only a matter of time before Murthy found the going difficult and quit. With him also resigned such Bombay luminaries as B. R. Chopra and Dilip Kumar. After Kemparaj took over the KFDC he set his eyes on making films again, this time using the subsidy provided by



Brothers Kemparaj and Devaraj Urs

the body. He spent altogether Rs 42 lakhs to produce four Kannada films, only two of which have so far been distributed. Both have flopped. He finally quit the KFDC over the issue of his daughter, a total newcomer, starring in two of the films.

Devaraj wanted to appoint his brother managing director of the KFDC but the then Information Minister, R. Gundu Rao, who now is one of the important dissidents, opposed the move. Kemparaj became managing director only after a Cabinet reshuffle brought B. Subbavva Shetty to the Information Ministry. Under Kemparaj the film subsidy was increased and the flow of funds picked up substantially. The Grover commission has found Kemparaj's husbanding of the KFDC improper. To the various accusations of interference in politics, Kemparaj's reply has been: "If MGR can become the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu what is wrong in my entering politics?"

M. D. Nataraj's marriage to Urs' daughter Nagaratna was actually his second and both Nataraj's marriages took place during his days as a medical student, which were long indeed as he finally passed only in 1971 on the fifth attempt. Devaraj Urs opposed this marriage, and finally acquiesced only when the marriage became a fait accompli. Nataraj's entry into politics is through the 'Young Turks' in the State. He soon donned a khaki bushshirt and white trousers in pseudo-police officer style and declared himself 'Southern Commander' of the Indira Brigade. The first time Nataraj's name was mentioned in the Vidhana Soudha (Legislative Assembly) was when a demonstration took place before Veerendra Patil's house in March 1976. During the demonstration, Sqn Ldr Gururani was crossing the road with his young niece, Hema Pathak, when a group of young men in a car teased the girl. Gururani and Nataraj exchanged

blows and landed up in a police station. There was a storm in the Assembly over this. Matter became worse when defence personnel prepared to teach Nataraj a lesson. The issue was finally closed when the two men made it up at a party hosted by Margaret Alva to bring about the amicable settlement. Devaraj Urs' role in encouraging his son-in-law is sought to be proved by his unsuccessful attempt to give Nataraj a Rajya Sabha ticket which the High Command turned down. Nataraj later went on to become a KPCC general secretary.

But the biggest blot on Devaraj Urs' career is the grant of a 20-acre plot to Nataraj near Nalamangala, ostensibly to grow medicinal plants. The income from the land for a year was then Rs 7,500. Nataraj spent Rs 23 lakhs to develop it. He contended that he borrowed it from his mother and brothers. The amount was not remitted through any bank, though there was a reference to it in the accounts maintained at the plot, and he declared it in his income tax returns. A 40-bed clinic has been built on the land. There is a 1,000-plant coconut grove and 150 papaya plants on the land. There is no reference to the growing of medicinal plants in the village register. When the Grover commission visited the plot it found a small area marked out for the growing of medicinal plants, and the plants were all very young. The commission concluded that the land was being used for commercial farming. Nataraj also did not complete his requisite period of housestaffship without which he cannot register as a doctor. When he applied for the loan, he had declared that his mother and grandfather were well versed in ayurvedic medicine, but of even this the Grover commission found little proof.

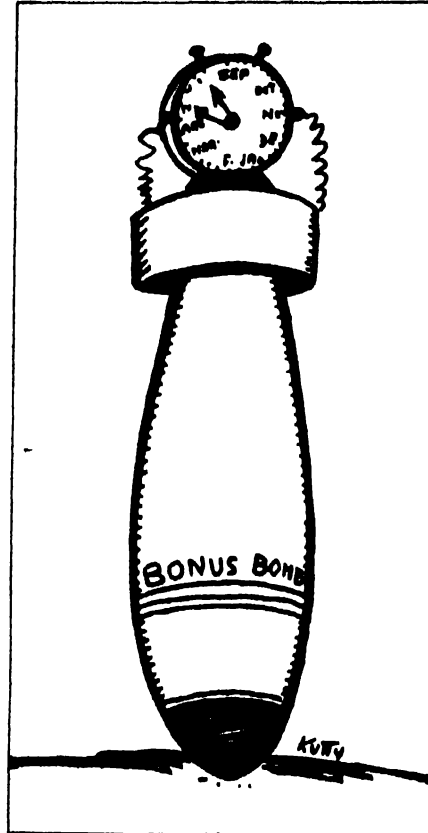
Nataraj is now trying to establish himself as a trade union leader under the banner of the INTUC. ■

THE BONUS BOMB

It's a time bomb whose time has come, reports SHUBHABRATA BHATTACHARYA

THE coming months are ominous for the Indian economy. If the Janata Government does not honour its election pledge to the railwaymen, to give them bonus, then the economy will be paralysed by a strike of a larger magnitude than the 1974 railway strike. If the railwaymen's demand is conceded, the employees of other Government organisations, both at the Centre and in the States, will agitate for their share of the cake. They will be joined in by the employees of local bodies like the municipalities. The period from September to November, generally known as the festive season, promises to become a season of disquiet. The festive season is always a nightmarish time for industrial managers in the private and public sector industries; this year the nightmare will haunt the Government too.

The railwaymen's bonus demand is, at the time of writing, awaiting a decision of the Union Cabinet. There are sharp divisions there, with the Deputy PM and Finance Minister, Chaudhury Charan Singh, taking a hostile attitude to the railwaymen's demand. The other Deputy PM, Mr Jagjivan Ram, who has before him a similar demand from the nearly two-lakh-strong workforce of the ordnance factories, is reportedly not opposed to the railwaymen's demand, but would not like the demand of the defence production employees to be ignored. The Communications Minister, Mr Brijlal Verma, too has taken a similar stand as he is being pressed by the seven lakh employees of the post and telegraphs department. Three members of the Cabinet, Mr George Fernandes, Mr Madhu Dandavate and Mr Purshottam Lal Kaushik, who had led the 1974 strike, have taken a strong stand in favour of the demand, and Mr Fernandes has made it clear that he would force a confrontation on the issue. But while the Cabinet is confining its discussions to the railway, ordnance factory and P & T employees, the other Central Government employees too are preparing for a showdown. Mr Charan Singh's argument is that any extra money in the hands of the railwaymen would add to the inflationary pressures. No serious calculations, however, seem to have been done regarding the possible burden to the exchequer. Mr Charan Singh says that it will be an additional Rs. 600 crores, but the workers' representatives put it at around Rs. 120



crores. (They say it would be around Rs. 160 crores if paid to all employees.) The workers and their sympathisers in the Cabinet argue that the inflationary situation would not be as badly affected by the payment of bonus to railwaymen as is sought to be made out by the opponents of the move.

Should bonus be paid by the Government? Apart from the moral commitment of the Janata Government (because all the constituents of the present ruling Party had wholeheartedly supported the railwaymen's demand in 1974 and incorporated it in the Janata election manifesto in 1977), the realities demand that the Government maintain a uniform policy with regard to bonus. Firms in the private sector, employing 20 or more employees on any one day of an accounting year, have a statutory obligation to pay 13 months' wages to their employees for 12 months' work (which works out to 8.33 per cent of the annual wages). This statutory obligation on the employer,

which extends to the public sector enterprises as well, is applicable irrespective of whether the unit makes a profit or loss. If the Government forces the employers to abide by this law, then it is imperative that the largest employer in the country, the Government itself, too should pay bonus to its employees. The accompanying table shows the disparity in wages among the employees of the Central Government and some selected public sector organisations. There is no uniform wage policy within the State sector itself! While the Central Government pays a minimum of Rs. 337 (inclusive of DA) to the class IV employees, the corresponding figures in the steel plants and coal mines is Rs. 505 and Rs. 512, respectively.

THE following statistics show the main cause for discontent among the Central Government employees:

The First Pay Commission (set up in 1948 and which presented its report in 1949) laid down a minimum wage of Rs. 55 and a maximum of Rs. 95 for the "Group D" (class IV) employees. The present money value of these minimum and maximum wages (with cost of living index 1949 = 100) is Rs. 275 and Rs. 475, respectively. As against this, the present pay of this group (based on the Third Pay Commission—set up in 1970 and which presented its report in 1973) ranges between Rs 337 and Rs. 468—an upward swing of 19 per cent at the bottom of the grade, but a marginal erosion of 1.5 per cent at the top. Therefore, for the senior employee, who has risen to the top of the scale in the past 30 years, there is an erosion of 1.5 per cent in the real wage. The statistics are glaring in the case of the white collar employees, classified as "Group C". The First Pay Commission gave them a grade of Rs. 90—Rs. 570. The present money value (when the cost of living index, if computed on the basis of 1949 prices, stands at 400) of this grade is Rs. 450—Rs. 2850. As per the Third Pay Commission's award, these employees are now getting a grade of Rs. 420—Rs. 1297, that is, there has been an erosion of 52 per cent in the real wage of the veteran employee who has been serving the Government during the past 30 years. According to Mr S. K. Vyas, Secretary-General of the Confederation of Central Government Employees

(which is the representative body of all Central Government employees including P & T, but excluding railway and ordnance factory workers), the average erosion in the real wage of Central Government employees in the past 30 years has been 30 per cent."

Mr T. N. Bajpai, Zonal Secretary (North) of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, described the wage policy of the Government as "wage anarchy", and said, "There is no system. The only system is that if any one wants to achieve the demands, he has to pressurise the employer. If the employer has the paying capacity, he can give as much as he wants. If the employees have the striking capacity, they can get as much as they can press for." The All-India Defence Employees' Federation President, and former MP, Mr S. M. Banerji, wondered as to how the Government could allow a "illogical distinction" between the employees of Government's departmental undertakings and the public sector units to continue. "If the worker in Hindustan Aeronautics (HAL), manufacturing aircraft gets bonus, then why should the worker who manufactures guns and tanks in the defence units and locomotives in the railways, be deprived?" Strangely, none of the Pay Commissions appointed by the Government have paid any serious attention to the question of wage parity, or "like pay for like work", as the trade unions put it.

THE railwaymen's leaders may be accused of being sectarian in their approach to the problem. To them, the main consideration today is the achievement of the railwaymen's demand for bonus alone. The representatives of the ordnance factory and P&T employees find themselves in an embarrassing situation. As per the recommendation of a Cabinet sub-committee, railways, ordnance factories, and P&T fall within the definition of "industry", and as such are entitled to bonus. But pressures within the Cabinet are predominantly in favour of the railwaymen alone. Therefore, ordnance factory and P&T employees' performance have to make common cause with the other Central Government employees and fight from the position of "have-nots", while being considered by the classification of "haves". Because of the attitude of the railwaymen's leaders, there is hardly any unity among the Central Government employees, on the lines of 1960 and 1962, when the Central Government employees had struck work.

The Central Government employees are bitter about the railwaymen's stand. Mr S. B. Vyas said: "Of late the railway leaders have convinced themselves that the entire delay (of the Cabinet decision on bonus) has come about only because the Government is unable to decide whether it should be given to railwaymen alone, or it should be given to all Central Government employees. They have been openly ad-

No bonus, no work

IF the Government does not give bonus before the festive season this year, will there be a railway strike on the lines of the 1974 one? Leaders of both the recognised federations of railwaymen—the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (which is dominated by the former Socialist Party, but includes some members of the CPI(M); Mr George Fernandes was its President before becoming a Minister) and the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen (owing allegiance to the Congress, at present dominated by Mrs Gandhi's Party) — when asked about this, said yes. The NFIR had not joined in the 1974 strike. Both the recognised federations have directed their members to be prepared for a "decisive" struggle. The NFIR has already conducted a strike ballot. The AIRF, which led the strike in 1974, is preparing to hold a strike ballot on August 31.

Will there be a *Bharat Bandh*? Yes, say both Mr A. P. Sharma, the NFIR President, and Mr T. N. Bajpai, Zonal Secretary (North) of the AIRF. While the strike move initiated by the NFIR may be attributed to political motives, the participation of the AIRF clearly shows that the railwaymen's faith in the present Government has been shaken. The AIRF General Council, in a resolution adopted in New Delhi on May 9 (after Mr George Fernandes had addressed a mammoth railwaymen's rally and assured the railwaymen that he was on their side) pointed out that "many of those who are in power today were very closely associated with the railwaymen's movement launched in the past". The resolution also said: "The General Council is, therefore, convinced that if the Government has to be awakened to take a decision, the railwaymen have no alternative but to resort to an action which they were trying to avoid in the interest of the nation as a whole and the rail users in particular". This resolution was adopted with the background of a resolution passed at the 53rd annual convention of the AIRF at Indore on December 2, 1978, in which the federation had declared that, "A total strike has become the perspective for us in the present situation".

The NFIR President, Mr A. P. Sharma, who is also the President of the Congress (I) faction of the INTUC (Indian National Trade Union Congress), said that, "The NFIR had decided that the chances of a negotiated settlement on the issue of bonus had come to an end, therefore, we conducted a



NFIR chief A. P. Sharma

strike ballot in all the zonal railways and as result of the strike ballot, we took the decision that we would serve a strike notice to the railway administration on May 1, 1979 and the strike would begin from May 31. But in view of an appeal made by the Railway Minister, Mr Madhu Dandavate, who said that he wanted some more time, we have postponed the date of serving strike notice till June 30, and the strike would begin from July 31." The AIRF leader, Mr Bajpai, said that not only the two recognised federations, but also the other (unrecognised) organisations of the railwaymen were going to conduct strike ballots separately, but the date of serving the strike notice would be the same, and the notice would be served jointly. He was confident that the strike would be a total success.

Though the Railway Board recognises only the two traditional federations, industrial peace in the railways can no longer be maintained by negotiating with these two federations alone. The 1974 strike had been preceded by industrial action by a section of the railwaymen, the loco running staff. There are associations of various trades in the railways—loco running staff, guards, station masters, assistant station masters, yard masters, signalling staff, so on, and so forth. And each of these groups of employees can bring about a stoppage in the functioning of the railways. The RSS-dominated Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) is also trying to gain a foothold in the railways, and the work-to-rule agitation in May was organised by this organisation. Even if the two recognised federations come to a settlement with the Government, any of the hundred-odd unions and associations can bring about at least a partial paralysis of the largest organisation in India, which directly employs over 17 lakh workers.

S. B.

TOTAL EMOLUMENTS (IN RUPEES) PER MONTH AT THE MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM OF SCALE IN SOME SELECTED ORGANISATIONS AS IN JUNE, 1977.

S. No.	Organisation	Peon		Driver		Clerk		Steno (Lowest Gr)	
		Min	Max	Min	Max	Min	Max	Min	Max
1.	Central Government	337	398	445	572	445	632	478	767
2.	L. I. C.	427	799	553	1006	496	1558	—	—
3.	Banks (Nationalised)	396	675	690	839	493	1546	—	—
4.	Bombay University	347	451	434	560	478	901	—	—
5.	B.H.E.L. (Bhopal)	408	498	—	—	468	625	592	682

(Based on Table 17 of Bhoothalingam Committee's report).

vocating that all the Central Government employees' organisations who were not in a position to fight the battle of 1974 have no moral right to join their demand of bonus with the railwaymen's. To a very great extent this attitude of the railwaymen has demoralised the other Central Government employees' organisations." Under these circumstances, it is clear that whatever be the Government's decision on the question of railwaymen's bonus demand, unrest in the Government offices will tend to paralyse the Government's functioning unless similar demands by all its employees are met.

One argument that is being advanced by the Government's economic affairs department (Ministry of Finance) is that the payment of bonus in cash will increase inflationary pressures. But the trade unionists, as well as the Ministers who favour the demand, argue that

a marginal wage rise will not affect the economy as adversely as the economists are making out. P&T employees' leader, Mr N. J. Iyer (Secretary of the staff side of the Joint Consultative Machinery in the P&T department), argued that the inflation alibi was baseless, as during the Emergency it had been proved that while the employees' wages went up, prices came down. He said that Mrs Gandhi's Government had denied the Central Government employees as many as five instalments of dearness allowance (DA) which had accumulated during the galloping inflation in 1974-75. After the Emergency was proclaimed, these five instalments were paid to the employees. In the meantime the prices fell to such an extent that the fifth instalment of DA had to be returned by the employees! Therefore, it is not denial of extra wages to workers but proper man-

agement of the economy which will help the Government to fight inflation, Mr Iyer pointed out. All the trade unionists who were contacted unanimously pointed out that it was black money which was playing havoc in the economy. "The extra wage that the workers get is visible, but it is the invisible black money that has to be checked," said Mr S. M. Banerji. He added: "Bonus is paid to the employees in the private and public sectors every year, no one raises the question of inflation then."

WOULD bonus mean a very substantial rise in wages for the employees? Mr S. K. Vyas pointed out that in view of an erosion of 52 per cent in the real wage of the middle class employees since 1949, the payment of 8.33 per cent bonus would only wipe out a part of the erosion. In monetary terms, bonus would mean a minimum of Rs 16 and a maximum of Rs 62 per month to the eligible employees. The burden on the economy may be enormous, but the economists would also have to work out the possible burden on the economy due to discontent among the employees. The 1973 railway strike cost the country Rs 30 crores every day.

The solutions being thought of by the Government may not be practical. For instance, there is reportedly a move to convert the railways into a public sector corporation, thus making it easier for the Government to pay bonus to the railwaymen alone. It should not be overlooked that this may give rise to similar demands from other departments as well, especially from P&T and ordnance factories, which also have board-type managements. Moreover, the recent police agitations evoked many State Governments to announce the payment of 13 months' wages for 12 months' work to policemen. The Central Government employees cite this example while talking of bonus.

The situation demands no quick, short-term solutions. The Government cannot delay the setting up of a panel to consider the question in its entirety. Even if the Government employees fail to organise themselves for a strike this year, discontent is simmering and the bonus bomb could explode any day. The shrapnel from this bomb may be more dangerous for the economy than the extra burden that will have to be borne by the exchequer for the payment of bonus.

More jobs coming

If the Government pays bonus, will it be in the form of cash? Indications are that the Government would propose a formula which will envisage part payment of bonus in cash, the rest being deposited in the employees' provident fund (PF) account, to minimise the release of cash into the economy. The two recognised federations of railwaymen are likely to agree to this.

The burden on the exchequer as a result of payments to the Central Government employees is going to be on the heavy side in the coming years. Many retiring employees will be cashing in accumulated benefits. After war demobilisation in the Army in 1946, there was a spurt in employment in the Government sector. The normal rate of retirement in the Government every year is one per cent of the total employees. As a result of the spurt in employment 33 years back, the rate of retirement this year is going to be three per cent and will remain at this level till 1981. Between 1982 to 1984, the rate is expected to be as high as between six to ten per cent. The silver

lining is that there will be a great number of vacancies. However, in the immediate future, the Government will have to pay out a huge sum as the provident fund and gratuity to the retiring employees. In addition, the employees are entitled to commute a third of their pension and take it in a bulk at one go. A class IV employee (if he retires at the top of his grade) is entitled to a gratuity of Rs 5,200; his provident fund accumulations (inclusive of interest) will be Rs 6,000; and if he commutes a third of his pension, he will get a sum of Rs 7,300. The corresponding figures for a lower division clerk (at the top of the scale) are Rs 8,300; Rs 10,500; and Rs 12,100, respectively.

If the bonus amount is deposited in the provident fund account, the real objective of paying bonus, as accepted by courts of law, to bridge the gap between the real wage and the living wage, may not be served. In effect, it would only help the employees who are about to retire, one young trade unionist pointed out.

S B



Together we attain what we cannot, alone

The 3-week old dolphin raised his bottle-nose and once again tried a deep dive. Then the unexpected happened. A huge mako shark came in from the rear. The youngster gave a frightened cry.

Within seconds his anxious mother arrived. His "nanny", mother's companion since pregnancy, came rushing, too. The elders "whistled" to summon help. Soon, four others joined them.

As the shark prepared to move in on his prey, the dolphin without warning went in for a torpedo-like attack, punching the intruder behind the gills and in the stomach. In less than five minutes the shark had collapsed, sinking to the bottom.

The encounter ended as suddenly as it had begun. "Together we attain," his mother whispered softly, "what we cannot, alone."

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Fernandes: We must give bonus

This interview with firebrand trade unionist and now Cabinet Minister, GEORGE FERNANDES, took place on June 9, that is, before the Government had officially decided on the railwaymen's bonus issue. The Industry Minister tells SHUBHA-BRATA BHATTACHARYA that he has no doubt about which side he will be on if a railwaymen's strike takes place.

Q: What is restraining the Government from giving the railwaymen bonus? Is the reason political, or economic?

A: The Government is still considering this issue, therefore, I cannot say that a decision has not been taken, or what are the issues that are currently being discussed. Since the matter is before the Cabinet, and since we are currently engaged in studying a number of papers that have come from different Ministries which are concerned with this question, I cannot say that the process of taking a decision has come to a stop. We are in the process of taking a decision, so, I will not be able to discuss this question in the manner in which you would like me to.

Q: We appreciate. Let us put it this way: Should bonus be paid to railwaymen alone or to other Government employees as well?

A: Well, the position as far as I am concerned is that the railwaymen fought in 1974 on the bonus question. And as the man who led that strike, I am committed to their demand. All the Parties that are today in the Government, supported that demand. Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, member of the Cabinet, made two speeches in Parliament, the first one on May 2, 1974 and the second one on May 9, 1974: The first one on an adjournment motion following my arrest in Lucknow in the early hours of May 2, and my subsequent detention in the Tihar Jail and the second on the commencement of the strike, on the morning of the eighth. There was a motion of no-confidence moved against Mrs Indira Gandhi's Government which was debated by the Lok Sabha on the ninth. And in both these debates, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee made speeches, very powerful speeches, supporting the railwaymen's demand. Mr H. M. Patel, the present Home Minister and the Finance Minister till the other day, also made two speeches, in both the debates, very vehemently supporting the strike and making out a very,



Mandira Pure

very good case why the railwaymen should be paid bonus. Shyam Nandan Mishra made a similar point, and the Socialists ... Madhu Dandavate spoke, and Madhu Limaye, if I am not mistaken, spoke, they also made similar points. In other words, all those streams of political opinion which then were in the Opposition and which are now part of the Janata Party and the Government, had supported this demand in Parliament.

We can't (behave like) Mrs Indira Gandhi. Mrs Indira Gandhi broke the strike. She jailed 50,000 railwaymen. She dismissed 50,000 railwaymen. She broke the service of one million railwaymen. She got one railwaymen's supporter killed by having a railway engine run over him. She got wives and daughters of railwaymen raped. She committed every conceivable crime that a human being can possibly commit against another. She was using the railwaymen as guinea pigs for a dress rehearsal for a fascist takeover. This is what that woman did. And today she believes that the railwaymen have a case for bonus. Now, we can't take such a position—that when we were in the Opposition, the railwaymen's bonus issue was justified, when we are in power, well, it is not justified. No man of conscience can take (such a position). Therefore, as far as I am concerned, to me the railwaymen's demand was justified then, I drafted their demand, fought on their demand, I campaigned on their demand, and I led that strike on their demand. So as far as I am concerned, it was a justifiable demand then, it is a justifiable demand today. Now, whether it should be extended to the rest of the (Government) employees, this is a matter which can always be debated.

Q: But the unions of P & T employees, defence employees and employees of other Central Government departments have clearly indica-

ted that they too are pressing for bonus. I am not putting this question to you as George Fernandes, the Minister, but to George Fernandes, the trade unionist, who must have taken a stand of solidarity with these unions in the past. How do you react to their demand?

A: (Pause) Since the Cabinet is considering this issue just now, I would not like to comment on it.

Q: In view of the present inflation and the subsequent erosion in the workers' real wage, what steps do you plan to take? Will payment of bonus to Government employees add to the inflation?

A: This is a point that is constantly being made, that a little extra wage payment adds to the inflation. There are a number of other factors which are adding to inflation. And there are a number of other reasons: the prices, for instance, have been going up. What has inflation or the wages of the railwaymen got to do with the blackmarketing of cement? What has inflation or the bonus to anybody got to do with the blackmarketing of steel? What has wages and so on and so forth got to do with the blackmarketing of soda ash, which the Tatas and the Birlas are producing. What has all this got to do with the blackmarketing of just about every item today which is in short supply, which is produced by the Big Houses, by big industry, and which is sold in the blackmarket, where the traders and the manufacturers are making crores of rupees of black money every day. Most of the black money today is contributing to this inflationary situation in the country. You are at a point where you plan on the money that you accept on paper, but industry and trade are operating on money that is not visible, which is black money. Therefore, there is a much bigger push on the price situation through the operation on black money than through the wages, etc., that you pay to the workers. So, personally, I do not accept this theory that some extra wage here is going to add to the inflationary pressures. But in any case, to the extent that some more money will go into the hands of the people, and since this money is perhaps going to chase goods that are not still around, there is bound to be certain inflationary situation. But this is a matter that can also be discussed with the workers and a solution can be found to that. Insofar as the bonus or the additional wages that you pay to the workers

are going to play a part in the total inflationary situation, you can find an answer to that by negotiating with the trade unions.

Q: The trade unions have been fighting for the workers in the organised sector only. What are the steps you think the trade unions should plan to improve the lot of the less fortunate workers—in the unorganised sector and the agricultural sector, for example.

A: It's very important that we do something. Some of us have been doing this over the years. In my own way I have been trying to talk to the trade unions in this regard. Not now, long before I got into the Government, when I was in the Opposition, when I was in a very bad situation in terms of my relations with just about everybody in the Governments of those days, I campaigned on these issues. When I demanded wage increase and bonus and what have you for the railwaymen, I wrote a letter to the then Prime Minister that without taking an additional paisa from the treasury we will generate the funds in the railways which could go back to the railwaymen. One has got to adopt a certain line where not only one is concerned about one's own self but one is also concerned about the consumer, one is also concerned about the less privileged. Unfortunately the total culture in the country is such

that the trade unions are also becoming victims of that. I don't think there is an awareness that you have a duty (towards) the less privileged; and so everyone is a part of the rat race.

Then how does one really go about it? My suggestion for a workers' parliament was partly aimed to make the working class get involved in the total scheme of things, in the total perspective of national development—relating the working class movement to rural development; relating the working class movement to the unemployed, to the jobless—these are issues which I want a workers' parliament to debate. After all the worker can either take the position that I don't care what happens to the country as long as I get my wage and bonus, which is what most people are doing today, or he can also say that I want to know what is going to happen to the country, along with me. And in that situation he has also to concern himself about the less privileged. But while concerning himself about the less privileged, he will also have his say about the more privileged. And this is what is worrying. I presume, a lot of people who are concerned about their own privileges.

Q: If the Government does not concede the railwaymen's demand for bonus before the festive season this year, what will be your course of

action? Will there be a strike on the lines of the 1974 railway strike? If so, what are the chances of its success?

A: Well, that's a question which I will have some difficulty in answering. Because I can't speak for railwaymen, I can't anticipate what they will do. From what I have known, from what I have discussed, from what I have seen, and from what I feel, they are very restive and, in my view, they are preparing for a showdown. That is why I would like the Government to discuss this question without any further delay. Not that we (the Cabinet) have not been discussing this, there have been discussions in the last two years in some form or the other. But I would now like the Government to discuss it in a manner where a settlement is brought about without any further delay. So, we may not reach that point of time where workers will have to take action, and the Government will have to react to their action. And people like me—I have said what I will do in the event of the railwaymen going on strike. (Addressing a railwaymen's rally in New Delhi's Boat Club lawns on May 7, 1979, Mr Fernandes had declared that in the event of railwaymen going on strike on the issue of bonus, his place will not be in the Udyog Bhavan, but among the striking railwaymen.) ■

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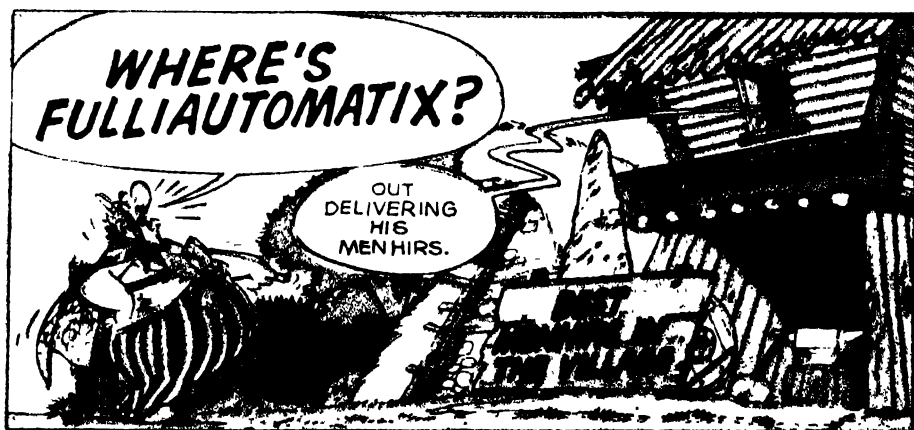
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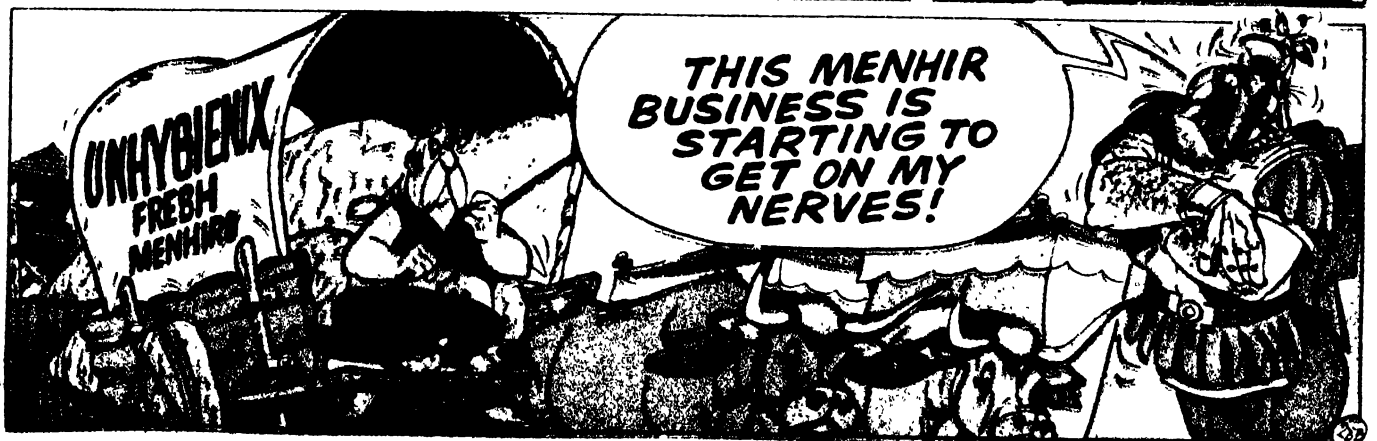
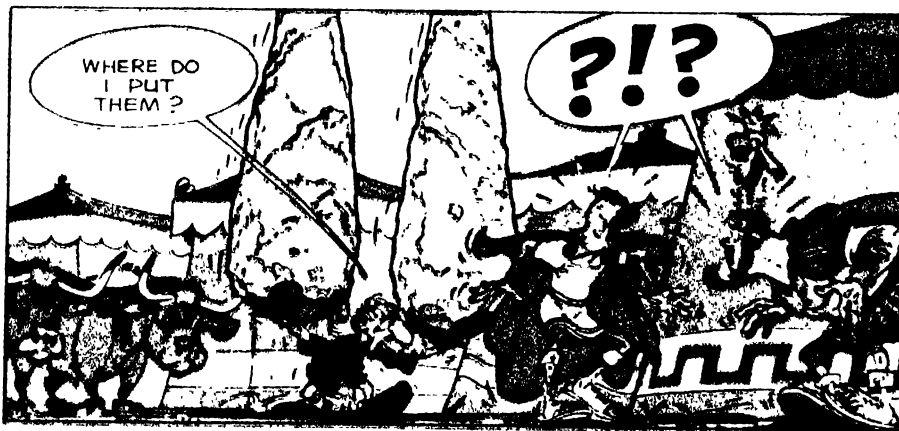
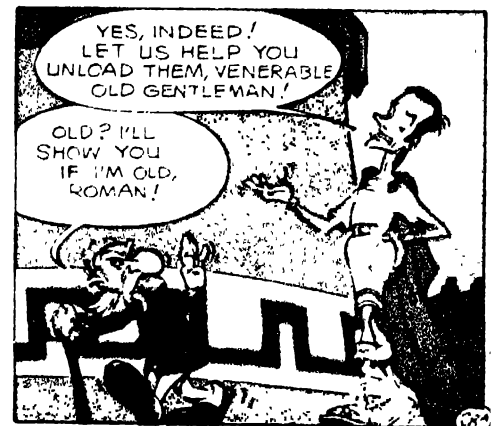
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Paying the price for the Emergency

Mrs Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi, R. K. Dhawan and others are now appearing before the Special Courts. However, A. G. NOORANI cautions that the Special Courts should not harm "the values of the rule of law for which the country suffered so much in the nineteen months of Emergency".



PATIALA House has been whitewashed to house Special Courts No. 1 and No. 2, set up under the Special Courts Act, 1979, to try offences against the law committed by any "person who held high public or political office in India." This sets at rest fears that the offences themselves were being whitewashed and that those who betrayed the public trust and violated their oaths of office would go scot free.

For all that, there will be a feeling of let-down. For the trials that will be taking place in these Courts are not quite the trials which the people have long been demanding. Not that the people are against these trials. Far from it. But what they have been demanding is that Indira Gandhi be made to answer and account under the processes of the law for her principal offence, the gravest any elected official can commit in a constitutional democracy, of being false to the oath of office by subverting the democratic Constitution and installing a dictatorship.

The lies that she so sedulously spread and the repression that she let loose were ancillary to the major crime. Their heinousness is not minimised on that score. They were indispensable for the success of the

plot. But it is for this prime offence, the dictatorship imposed on the people, that the people demanded her accountability under the law. They are not satisfied or silenced when lawyers tell them that such an offence is not known to Indian law.

How does a democracy bring to book one who subverted it to instal her personal rule? How would the German democracy have dealt with Hitler if by some stroke of luck he had been overthrown, in say 1938, before the worst happened? It is, surely, not for the first time in history that a people have had to face the problem. The British in the past either tried the usurper for treason or impeached him. The classic case is the impeachment of the Earl of Stratford. Perhaps the greatest parliamentary leader in history accused him of "this crime of subverting the laws and introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical Government."

Another prosecutor put it thus: "If it be treason to kill the Governor then sure 'tis treason to kill the Government." The judiciary over the years evolved a fundamental rule of law that an Act cannot be declared as an offence retrospectively.

This civilised principle finds place in our Consti-

tion as a fundamental right (Article 20) — "No person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence....." Incredible as it might seem, our criminal law does not make subversion of the Constitution a penal offence.

Pakistan, with a grimmer and longer experience of dictatorship, faced the same problem after the overthrow of General Yahya Khan. Article 6 of the 1972 Constitution, therefore, provided that "any person who abrogates or conspires to abrogate, subverts or attempts or conspires to subvert the Constitution by use of force or show of force or by other unconstitutional means shall be guilty of high treason". The High Treason Punishment Act was enacted in 1973 making the offence cognisable by courts and punishable with death or life imprisonment. But the Act did not apply retrospectively as, indeed, it could not. And it did not prevent Zia from usurping power and killing Bhutto. There is, alas, no valid legal method or procedure whereby Mrs. Indira Gandhi can be tried for subverting the Constitution and for trying to perpetuate dynastic Rule.

THIS hurdle cannot be overcome by setting up a special court or arranging "a trial on the Nuremberg model" as Charan Singh advocated on October 4, 1977. However, there is no legal impediment in our system to the trial of any holder of public office, no matter how high, for the violation of the law of the land.

It bears recalling that Mrs. Gandhi's sense of guilt drove her at one stage to seek protection against criminal responsibility altogether. The 41st Constitution Amendment Bill, passed by the Rajya Sabha, purported to confer on the Prime Minister lifelong immunity against all criminal proceedings for acts done before and during the tenure of office. The Bill was not proceeded with in the Lok Sabha.

Mrs. Gandhi and her minions can, therefore, be tried for committing any offences against the law in force at the time they held office. This is what the Special Courts are for.

The Act establishing them does not create any new offences. It only lays down a more expeditious procedure without the slightest abridgement of the rights of the accused. It has received the imprimatur of the Supreme Court's approval. The Bill to set up such courts was moved by Ram Jethmalani, MP and doggedly pursued by him against heavy odds. But the inspiration for the move came from Sanjay Gandhi. Were it not for his dilatory and other antics in and out of the courtroom in the *Kissa Kursi Ka* case, the idea of a special court might never have occurred to Jethmalani. Indira Gandhi owes more to her son than she realises.

Incidentally, a direct result of the coming into force of the Special Courts Act will be the straight transfer of the appeals of Mr. V. C. Shukla and Mr. Sanjay Gandhi in the *Kissa Kursi Ka* case from the Delhi High Court to the Supreme Court once the requisite formal declaration under the Act is made by the Government of India.

Two years after the Emergency was lifted, the progress in the investigation of charges of violation of the law during Indira Gandhi's dictatorship seems rather slow. It reflects the slow processes of our legal system and the slower ones of the Janata Party given as it is by dissent. The scoreboard at the moment reads: 19 First Information Reports, a preliminary to investigation, and 2 chargesheets, a culmination of the investigative process. It is these two cases which will be taken up first by the Special Courts consisting of Mr. Justice S. S. Chadha and Mr. Justice M. L. Jain, both of the Delhi High Court.

ONE case relates to alleged institution of criminal proceedings against four officers who were collecting information in connection with a question in Parliament relating to supply of imported machinery by Maruti Ltd. The three accused named in this case are Indira Gandhi, Mr. D. Sen, the former chief of the CBI and Mr. R. K. Dhawan, the former Additional Private Secretary to Indira Gandhi.

The second case concerns alleged misuse of Government machinery for preparation of designs of posters for election campaigns by the former Information and Broadcasting Minister V. C. Shukla. The two accused

named in this case are Shukla and the late Narendra Sethi, Director of Audio Visual Publicity. Investigation in four other cases is nearly complete. The CBI expects to file chargesheets in all the 19 cases by the end of July.

The first of the four cases relates to alleged wrongful detention under MISA of the late Mr Bhimsen Sachar and seven others. The three accused named in this FIR are Mrs Indira Gandhi, Mr R. K. Dhawan and Mr P. S. Bhinder, former DIG of Delhi. The second case relates to alleged illegal demolition in Kapas-Hera village on the Delhi-Gurgaon Road. The three accused named in this FIR are Mr Sanjay Gandhi, Mr Ranbir Singh and Mr Jagmohan, former Vice-Chairman of the DDA. The third concerns the detention of Prabir Purkayastha, a JNU student. The fourth case concerns alleged subversion of lawful processes, administrative procedures and practices, etc. following the promulgation of the Emergency on June 25, 1975. In this case, 67 persons, including prominent leaders, were arrested. The accused named in this case are Mrs Indira Gandhi, Mr R. K. Dhawan, Mr Bansi Lal, former Defence Minister, Mr Zail Singh, former Chief Minister of Punjab, Mr P. C. Sethi, former Cabinet Minister, Mr Hardeo Joshi, former Chief Minister of Rajasthan, and the late Mr Krishan Chand, a former Lt. Governor of Delhi and others.

It is the last case which comes the nearest to the trials for subversion of the Constitution for which the people have been clamouring. There are about 300 to 400 prosecution witnesses in this case as also in the Jeeps Case. In the other two the prosecution witnesses range from 50 to 70.

The Jeeps Case is one of the two for which Mrs Indira Gandhi was arrested on October 3, 1977, the other being the case concerning the contract between the ONGC and the Compagnie Francaise Der Petroles

Mrs Gandhi and her minions can, therefore, be tried for committing any offence against the law in force at the time they held office. This is what the Special Courts are for.

of Paris for obtaining the CFP's consultancy services for Phase III of the Bombay High offshore drilling operations at high cost resulting in a loss of Rs 11 crores and for allegedly "malafide considerations and ulterior motives." The other accused cited in the FIR were Mr K. D. Malaviya and Mr B. B. Vohra, then Secretary, Ministry of Petroleum.

THE chargesheet in the Jeeps Case was filed on July 22, 1978 in the Court of the Special Judge J. D. Jain against Indira Gandhi and five others: P. C. Sethi, R. K. Dhawan, N. D. Manchanda, former stenographer in the PM's Secretariat, and two businessmen, Suresh Vasudeva and Jit Paul. The charge is that the accused were party to a criminal conspiracy from around mid-January 1977 to the end of March 1977 to obtain jeeps for electioneering without payment of cost and hire charges. About 139 jeeps had been thus procured, 35 of which actually operated in the Rae Bareilly and Amethi constituencies during the elections and about 95 in Lucknow and other parts of Uttar Pradesh. The cost of the jeeps was estimated at Rs 70 lakhs by the CBI in the chargesheet. The charges were levelled under the Prevention of Corruption Act and Section 165 of the Penal Code which penalises the obtaining of goods without payment by public servants. This case did not figure before the Shah Commission since it was not an Emergency "excess". This case is also liable to be tried by a Special Court once the Government makes the requisite formal declaration that it should be so tried.

The 19 FIRs mentioned earlier are all based on the reports of the Shah Commission. As mentioned earlier chargesheets have been filed in respect of two of them and are expected in four others. The remaining 13 are in respect of these allegations: illegal demolitions in

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Gaffar Market, Karol Bagh, Turkman Gate area, Bhagat Singh Market, Arjun Nagar Colony and of Arya Samaj Temple, all in New Delhi; illegal detentions of Virendra Kapur, a journalist, Dr Karunesh Shukla, Ram Chand, a newspaper hawker and of textile/customs employees. Mrs Indira Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi, P. S. Bhinder, Jagmohan, Arjan Das and others figure as the accused in these FIRs while Dharendra Brahmachari, Dhawan and some others figure in an FIR alleging fraudulent importation of a Maule aircraft in violation of Import Trade Regulations and FERA.

All these FIRs were registered in implementation of the Shah Commission's reports. The Commission functioned as the grand inquest of the nation and its proceedings did much to enlighten the people about the enormity of the wrongs perpetrated by Indira Gandhi and her associates.

Soon after the Janata Government assumed power, Home Minister Charan Singh promised in the Lok Sabha on April 7, 1977 an inquiry into the excesses perpetrated during the Emergency. On May 19 the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Mr J. C. Shah, former Chief Justice of India, was announced. It was asked "To inquire into the facts and circumstances relating to specific instances of subversion of lawful processes and well-established administrative procedures and practices, misuse of authority, excesses and/or malpractices committed during the period when the Proclamation of Emergency made on June 25, 1975 under Article 352 of the Constitution was in force or in the days immediately preceding the said pre-proclamation: misuse of powers of arrest... instances of maltreatment of and/or atrocities on persons arrested ... instances of compulsion and use of force in the implementation of the family planning programme during the Emergency... indiscriminate high-handed or unauthorised demolition of houses, huts, shops, buildings, structures and destruction of property in the name of slum clearance or enforcement of Town Planning or land use scheme", during the Emergency.

A formal notification followed on May 28, 1977. The Commission received about 48,500 complaints. It worked with remarkable despatch and submitted three reports on March 11, 1978, April 26, 1978 and on August 6, 1978. The Commission began with a bang. At the very first hearing on September 29, 1977 three former colleagues of the fallen dictator, H. R. Gokhale, T. A. Pai and D. P. Chattopadhyaya, testified against her. Mr C. Subramaniam, former Finance Minister, followed them on October 1. The momentum was broken by the inept manner of Indira Gandhi's arrest two days later and Justice J. C. Shah's impetuous act in adjourning the proceedings indefinitely in a huff. The proceedings were soon resumed, fortunately. Someday, one hopes an objective and thorough analysis of the Commission's procedure and its reports will be attempted. It has been either denigrated or treated with adulation. Justice Shah himself contributed despatch and dignity to the proceedings and little else. His reports read badly and are devoid of analysis or insights. They are of immense value for the material which came Shah's way and which he reproduced in the reports. On the question of some of his procedural irregularities, more some day.

The Shah Commission covered a wide range of topics—the arrests, the demolitions, the appointments to posts, misuse of media and, most important of all, the circumstances leading to the imposition of the Emergency on June 25, 1975.

SECOND only to the Shah Commission in importance was the Commission of Inquiry consisting of P. Jaganmohan Reddy, a former Judge of the Supreme Court, to inquire into the doings of Indira Gandhi's gauleiter in Haryana, the abominable Bansi Lal. Appointed on June 14, 1977, the Reddy Commission was asked to probe into his conduct, both as Chief Minister of Haryana and as Defence Minister.

It exposes a sordid record of acquisition, of unlawful gain for daughters, favouritism, oppressive conduct, and sheer abuse of power. It was personal rule at its worst. As the Judge remarked, "the way in which Mr Bansi Lal acted as Chief Minister leads one to examine how the whole elaborate machinery of administra-

Incredible as it may seem, our criminal law does not make subversion of the Constitution a penal offence.

Sinha



Sanjay Gandhi arriving at Tis Hazari

tion can be subverted to suit the personal whims and objectives of a single person who is the head of the whole administration, viz. the Chief Minister. It is a well-known and well-accepted principle of administration that the civil servant is non-political in the sense that it is not up to his political beliefs into the discharge and conduct of his duties. Nor is he entitled or expected to act beyond the rules and regulations as well as the laws under which they are made, in the discharge of his duties. Nevertheless, these circumscribing limits are the very strength of his role; whereas on the one hand, he cannot go beyond them, on the other hand, he must not be made to undermine them. And this is what seems to have precisely happened. The civil servant became merely a tool and instrument of the personal whims and desires of the top person in the administration rather than an instrument for executing the policies and programmes framed according to the aims of the political Party and to execute them within the limits of the well-known and well-defined criteria and rules and regulations."

Mr Jaganmohan Reddy was also asked to inquire into the famous Nagarwala case regarding the withdrawal of Rs 60 lakhs from the State Bank of India on May 24, 1971 as far back as June 9, 1977. He laboured under considerable handicaps and reported on October 23, 1978. "There are certain aspects of the Nagarwala story which if properly investigated at the time of the incident would have given some answers but without that we are unable to find the answers."

He found the versions put forward by Nagarwala as well as by the authorities to be unworthy of credence. He observed "The fact that the Prime Minister did not

have either in her personal account or any other account, which she was jointly operating with others, any amount which would remotely approximate to the money which Malhotra withdrew from the Bank and handed over to Nagarwala, makes the statement of Malhotra that he expected a cheque/receipt/voucher from Mrs Gandhi for this amount incredible. For a hardened cashier to say that the Prime Minister of a country could issue a cheque on Government account without knowing on what account that would be given is to merely hazard a defence of a position which he could not defend. While rejecting his plea that he did all this under a spell, one can only say that he is not telling the truth.

"Though these findings may also raise some presumptions that inasmuch as the money that was taken out was not entered in the registers as required to be done if the money was drawn from the currency chest; that it was possible to keep other people's money in unaccounted boxes or that monies may be paid out without any protest or report to the higher officers, by the manner in which the three who were directly connected with the drawing of cash and paying out, viz., Khanna, Batra and Rawail Singh, and kept quiet when such a large amount as Rs 60 lakhs was taken out, in my view, may not be sufficient to hold without further evidence. It is also to be noted that the story as generally believed that the money belonged to the former Prime Minister and that the same was paid at her instance or believed by Malhotra to be at her instance is established." The mystery persists.

TWO other Commissions of Inquiry probed into the charges against Devraj Urs, Chief Minister of Karnataka, and J. Vengal Rao, the one-time Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Mr J. R. Vimadalal, a former Judge of the Bombay and Andhra Pradesh High Courts, was appointed head of a Commission of Inquiry on May 19, 1977 to inquire into a memorandum of charges presented by 22 persons to the Government of India against Vengal Rao. The first report submitted on May 31, 1978 upheld the charges relating to Sanjay Gandhi's visit to

the State whereupon Vengal Rao resigned his membership of the Assembly. Vengal Rao was found guilty of extending a "royal welcome" to Sanjay Gandhi, and therefore, of "breach of propriety" as Chief Minister. Government machinery was also misused to extend the welcome. In regard to the other charges, Vengal Rao and his colleagues were exonerated completely in the final report dated October 26, 1978.

Mr A. N. Grover, a former Judge of the Supreme Court, was appointed at the head of a Commission of Inquiry on May 23, 1977 to inquire into the charges levelled against Mr Devraj Urs in a memorandum to the Prime Minister by some State MLAs. The Commission submitted a first report on January 10, 1978 and the final report early this year. It was published on May 9, 1979. The first report said: "It stands conclusively established that the nomination of Kemparaj as a Director of the KSFIDC by an order of the Chief Minister on 24-12-1973 was an act of impropriety, favouritism and nepotism on the part of the Chief Minister and further that the Chief Minister was deeply interested in favouring his own brother and advancing his cause and he did not observe the norms of propriety becoming the conduct of a Chief Minister".

Further, "it stands established that 20 acres of Government land reserved for grazing of cattle in Bamanahalli village, Nelamangala Taluk, Bangalore District, was granted to Mr N. D. Nataraj, in violation of the provisions of the Karnataka Land Revenue Act, 1964, and the Rules made thereunder. It is proved that the Chief Minister, Mr Devaraj Urs, who is the father-in-law of Mr N. D. Nataraj, had exercised undue influence in the matter of the aforesaid grant and had thus committed acts of nepotism and favouritism which would undermine confidence in public administration. The Ministers of Mr Devaraj Urs's Cabinet viz., Mr N. Rachaiah and Mr N. Nutchchamasthy Gowda, the former in all probability and the latter positively, allowed themselves to be influenced by the Chief Minister; but it is not possible to say that they exercised acts of nepotism or favouritism in the matter of grant of land in question."

Vidya Charan Shukla with a Hungarian film actress and other delegates at the 1977 film festival



Central Newsphoto Service

IN the final report Devaraj Urs as well as some of his colleagues have been found guilty of acts of favouritism and misuse of power. To cite one case, the Commission held "it has been conclusively proved that the Chief Minister went out of his way and misused his powers and authority in superseding the orders of the Ministers in charge by making his own orders with the intention of benefiting the firm"—Messrs. Nirmala Engineering Construction Co. Government funds were released to the firm although the Minister concerned had recommended its prosecution. Four similar charges against Urs were upheld by the Grover Commission.

To complete the survey of Commissions of Inquiry, a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court, Mr Justice A. C. Gupta, was appointed as Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the affairs of Sanjay Gandhi's Maruti concerns: Maruti Ltd., Maruti Heavy Vehicles (Pvt) Ltd., and Maruti Technical Services (Pvt.) Ltd. Its report was submitted only towards the end of last month and is yet to be published.

Credible Press reports have it that Indira Gandhi, Bansi Lal and her nominated Chief Minister Harideo Joshi (Rajasthan), N. D. Tiwari (UP) and S. C. Shukla (MP) have been found guilty of misusing their offices to favour these concerns. Sanjay Gandhi is reported to have been found guilty of using "fraudulent means" to promote the interests of his concerns (*The Hindustan Times*, June 1, 1979). In the two years since the end of the Emergency only two proceedings for the punishment of public wrongs have been concluded. One is the prosecution of V. C. Shukla and Sanjay Gandhi in the *Kissa Kursi Ka* case. On February 26, 1979 the Sessions Judge, Delhi convicted them on charges of criminal conspiracy to commit criminal breach of trust in respect of the negatives, prints and other material of the film *Kissa Kursi Ka*, produced by Amrit Nahata, by destroying them and of other related offences. He sentenced them to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment and to a total fine of Rs 25,000.

Nahata had filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court against the Government's order of forfeiture of the film, dated July 14, 1975. The Judges ordered its screening for themselves in order to appreciate the arguments in the case. This was to take place on November 17, 1975. It was effectively foiled. The positive print lying in the Films Division Auditorium in New Delhi was taken by Shukla into his personal custody on November 6, 1975 and the negative and other materials were called from Bombay to Delhi secretly, sent to Maruti in tempos belonging to Maruti, and subsequently burnt and destroyed on its premises in mid-November. It was a rare political film full of scathing criticism of the functioning of Government, its style of democracy and a lot of sarcasm poured on the "small car project"

IT might be mentioned here that among the cases in which Sanjay Gandhi is facing prosecution is the Polymix case. He is charged as Managing Director of Maruti Technical Services, with entering into a conspiracy with accused Professor R. C. Singh of the IIT, Delhi and B. R. Tamta, former Municipal Commissioner of Delhi, who has turned approver and been granted pardon, to sell Polymix, a water-treating chemical, for use in Delhi's water and sewage services at exorbitant rates. In his confessional statement, Tamta said he had violated rules under threats from Sanjay and had been forced to buy the chemical.

The other case which has been heard and disposed of is the breach of privilege and contempt of the Lok Sabha committed by Indira Gandhi for obstructing, harassing and instituting false cases against four officers of the Ministry of Heavy Industry, DG of Technical Development and Projects and Equipment Corporation who were collecting information on behalf of the Minister of Heavy Industry, T. A. Pai, on import of machinery by Maruti P. Ltd. in order to prepare a reply for a question tabled during the last Lok Sabha. R. K. Dhawan and D. Sen were also accused of the same offence.

Accepting the report of the Privileges Committee last year, the Lok Sabha ordered Indira Gandhi's expulsion from the House and her imprisonment for a week. It

Two years after the Emergency was lifted, the progress in the investigation of charges of violation of the law during Indira Gandhi's dictatorship seems slow.



Shabana Azmi in "*Kissa Kursi Ka*"

was a sound decision. In retrospect, the doubts expressed by sceptics seem misplaced. That they were voiced by sympathisers of the Janata Party and opponents of Indira Gandhi testify to the genuine concern for fair play in the country. In contrast, there is a section in the Janata Party, including some Ministers, who would rather not prosecute Indira Gandhi, at all. They have made little secret of their lack of interest in, if not antipathy towards, the whole business of bringing her and her accomplices to book. Fortunately, their opinion has not prevailed.

On the other hand, there is little question but that the rifts in the Janata Party, its leaders' inept handling of civil servants and their clumsy, antiquated style of Government, generally, has retarded the process of accountability and helped Indira Gandhi considerably.

It is a tardy, even messy, process. But it is civilised and fair. It can be speeded up, but it should never be distorted to the detriment of the values of the rule of law for which the country suffered so much in the 19 months of the Emergency.

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Disorder in the Order

Nuns and priests are leaving the Church



Will the Pope allow marriage?

"I wish your Pope stands here and watches your misery," the lady doctor said while cautioning Alphonsa Theresa against having more children. "You are already very weak, you've had five children. Next time, I won't even touch you..." Alphonsa went ahead and had two more children: the old-world-Catholic that she was, she had not even heard of natural birth-control. Two months ago, she died in labour. She was hardly 35.

Her death was interpreted as the effect of a terrible curse on the family which lives in Tuticorin, Kerala. And the curse had been 'divinely' invoked because Alphonsa's younger brother, Tony, a Catholic priest, had quit the religious order and decided to get married. Tony was not only ostracised by his family, he was not even informed of his sister's death. When Tony married a young widow recently, his family boycotted the simple wedding ceremony.

Near Allepey in Kerala, Sister Maria Theodore, 30, suddenly found the convent life too monotonous and meaningless, and despite the vow of chastity, decided to quit the convent. "It was not an easy thing to do. For weeks together I debated within myself. Suddenly all my previous convictions meant nothing to me. I had a long talk with my Mother Superior and after great deliberation, she let me go". Maria was not welcome in her parents' home: her father swore that she was not his daughter any more. Fortunately Maria, a double-graduate found a teaching job and now plans to get married soon.

"Marriage was not the reason for

my quitting the Order," she says emphatically. At least in her case, the transition was not very unpleasant. When Vilma Thankamma decided to quit the convent, her father went to the extent of starving her in a closed room for nearly a week and trying all kinds of emotional blackmail to persuade her to go back to the convent. Recalls Vilma, an attractive 32-year-old sales-assistant in a Madras bookshop: "It was the greatest disgrace to my mother that I should have quit the nunnery. I couldn't have cared less. I was fed up with all those terrible pious cats. Anyway, I shouldn't have gone home. But there was no alternative. I had no ready job, and you know in convents we do not keep any personal savings..."

In recent years, the numbers of Catholic priests and nuns who throw away their cassocks and habits and walk out of their chosen vocation, are steadily increasing. In India, this is still a small problem compared to Europe and the USA where more than 60% of priests have said goodbye to celibacy and community living.

"This is an era of open hearts," says Albert Pinto, who quit the Society of Jesus, after being a priest for more than 15 years. "And yet our parents and relatives refuse to understand us. In the olden times, many priests and nuns used to have crises of faith: many of them did indulge in occasional carnal temptations. Some priests had long, fruitful affairs particularly those who were working in villages, where loneliness seemed to justify their lapses. But now we do not want to harbour illusions. Most of us did join religious orders in good faith, but at some time if we realise that this kind of life does not hold any meaning for us any more, should we continue and play hypocrites?"

Ten years ago a Spanish priest, Vincent Ferrar, the controversial organiser of cooperative farming, was asked to leave Maharashtra by the State Government. The expulsion order for Ferrar, known popularly as "The Saint of Manmad", was opposed vehemently by the Christian community and hundreds of them went on a relay fast to protest against the Naik regime's decision to expel the priest. Eventually, Andhra Pradesh, under the direction of Brahmanand Reddy, himself a half-Catholic, welcomed Ferrar. Four months later, the priest married his English secretary who was a couple

of months pregnant. The Christian community, particularly the Catholic element, was scandalised. Overnight Ferrar became the villain. It was not expected of a priest to impregnate any woman, let alone his secretary. And while condemning him, the Catholic community not only acted as if it expected all Catholic priests (not to forget nuns) to be paragons of virtue; it also forgot that it had hailed Ferrar not because he was a celibate priest but for his humanitarian work. Agreed, he had 'sinned' against his vocation but couldn't the Catholics have waited to see if he continued to serve the community with the same zest after his marriage?

The place of celibacy in the Christian Church has been a topic of heated controversy. Its advocates claim that celibacy is divinely ordained, an assertion now held untenable. Some regard celibacy an apostolic institution, but historical evidence points to the contrary. Some of Christ's disciples, apostle Peter, for instance, are known to have been married. But as the Christian Church suffered persecution at the hands of the Roman emperors, the Church leaders thought that it was better for their priests to remain celibate for the success of their faith. St. Jerome called on all priests, "to cut down with the axe of virginity the wood of marriage". Though the Eastern Orthodox Church never introduced celibacy formally, the Christian Church based in Rome considered celibacy a 'superior state'.

But more often than not, celibacy was not strictly observed. Pope Leo III died while committing adultery. Pope Alexander VIII was not only a womaniser but also had a dozen bastard children to his credit. When Martin Luther, the German monk rebelled against the Christian Church in the 16th century, he said, "It is better to marry than to burn" and he quoted apostle Paul. Thereafter the dissident Churches, broadly known as Protestant or Anglican churches, allowed their clergy to marry. But the Catholic Church, situated in Rome, refused to withdraw its fiat on celibacy.

Even today the Catholic hierarchy refuses to allow married priests and nuns, insisting that celibacy is a vital spiritual exercise. "Some priests quit the order either because they have been reading too much of Bertrand Russell and Henry Miller," says George Kurien who is about to quit his five-year-old ministry. "Some quit because they are fed up with the working of the Church. A few would like to stay and continue religious life if they are allowed to marry," he observes.

Not everybody waits to get the permission to quit. Says Kurien: "As soon as one asks for the permission, naturally our superiors try to brainwash us. So some of the younger priests do not wait for the dispensation business. Of course, they can be excommunicated from Church functions, if the superiors wish to do so". Many do not wait till their training period is completed: it takes nearly ten years to train a Catholic priest and three years to complete a nun's training. In the course of this religious training, the person concerned is expected to complete a formal secular education, with the idea of utilising his or her service in an educational institution or in a mission hospital. "It is sad that there are some people who join a religious order, just to secure a good, free of cost degree. And then they quit," says father William de Souza. "Naturally, many Catholics dislike such people who indulge in open opportunism".

The ex-editor of *New Leader*, a Catholic weekly, which used to be published from Madras, wrote sometime back to the Archbishop in Madras asking for some financial assistance. He had worked for the weekly without any remuneration for some five years and now that he had a family and the salary he got was not adequate, would the Right Reverend Archbishop pay him something for his five-year long contribution? The Archbishop curtly told him that

he was not eligible for any compensation as the Church had sent him to USA for a two-year training course in journalism. "Such an attitude breeds more bitterness," complains ex-nun Mary Joseph. "Those of us who still want to maintain cordial relationship with the Church are discouraged by the attitude of those who still remain in".

But you never know who's going to quit. Apart from Vincent Ferrar, hundreds of priest-luminaries have suddenly turned secular. John McLaughlin, a Jesuit priest who was American President Nixon's aide, gave up his priesthood when he was fifty! Once an editor on *America* magazine, he was a popular lecturer on sex ("Intimacy before marriage", "Intimacy outside marriage"), advocating conservative sexual standards, till he suddenly discovered the inadequacy of his ardent preaching.

Not every ex-priest and nun finds it easy to marry, though. Recalls Arulappa Britto, a flourishing management-consultant in Bangalore: "I couldn't get a bride for two years after I quit the Jesuits. There was this attractive woman who is working in a bank. She was quite willing but when she learnt that I was an ex-priest, she backed out. How could I tell my children that their father was an ex-priest, she worried..."

The ideal thing to do in such cases is to marry an ex-nun. As an Anglo-Indian priest from a Catholic school in Madras did. He married a nun

who had nursed him when he was hospitalised. That was fine. But the man, who was also a bursar of the school, also disappeared with the money that was being collected to buy a school bus.

"Such people give up a terrible name," complains ex-nun Thara, now working for a relief organisation. "Many non-Christians refuse to believe that Catholic priests and nuns lead a celibate life. The popular belief is that priests are homosexuals and nuns lesbians. And yet despite some erring clergy members, most of us struggle to and manage to lead celibate lives. Then comes the crisis of vocation, soul-searching starts and the courageous ones decide to take spiritual risks. The kind of guilt feelings Catholics go through, you just cannot understand. Do you know that many priests still consider masturbation a mortal sin, that would lead you straight into hell, if you have not had time to confess your guilt to a priest before you die?" Thara says her life now is much more fruitful. "My conscience is not troubled. I can serve God as before through social work. And I am happily free from sexual repression". But she fears many ex-clergymen are boiling in volcanoes of guilt. "Some of them want to go back. And some, like the ex-priest character in Graham Green's novel *The Honorary Consul* continue offering the mass..."

J. M. MENEZES, Madras

End of a reign of terror

Seventy murders in three years

THIRTY-FIVE-YEAR-OLD Shankariya did not look like a murderer. But Kanpatimar, as he was generally known, with 70 victims, was regarded with terror in most districts of Rajasthan and Punjab. He operated in Ganganagar and Bikaner districts in Rajasthan, Sangrur and Bhatinda districts in Punjab and even in Hisar in Haryana. His was a reign of terror that spanned three years from 1972 to 1974.

Kanpatimar was no ordinary murderer, for his modus operandi was unlike that of others. He preferred to attack his victims while they slept and hit them with a hammer or any heavy instrument on the temple, thus killing them before they had a chance to cry out. His nickname derives from the fact that his gruesome method of murder did not involve the shedding of blood. His first victim was one Karan Singh, whom he killed in Ganganagar in the summer of 1972. This incident seemed to whet his appetite for violence and the victims that followed were all brutally despatched in the same fashion.

The police in all three States — Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana — were foiled in all their attempts to



Shankariya in chains

bring him to book. The myth of the mystery murderer acquired such massive proportions that people used to shut themselves into their houses even before nightfall and the markets and streets were deserted in the late afternoons. When the terror-stricken residents brought pressure

on the administration and police in Rajasthan, a campaign almost on war footing was brought to bear on Kanpatimar.

On June 3 1974, the trap was sprung, when the DSP, Ganganagar, Mr Shyam Pratap Singh Rathore, arrested the criminal, who had assumed the name "Ratanlal", in Bhatinda. There was a crowd of 20,000 enthusiastic people who gathered to see Kanpatimar when he was brought to Ganganagar.

The Sessions Judge of Ganganagar convicted him under section 302 of IPC for the murders and sentenced him to death. Kanpatimar appealed to the High Court, but his appeal was dismissed and the conviction and the sentence of death were confirmed. The case then went to the Supreme Court, where his appeal was once again rejected in May 1978. The judgement said. "The crimes were committed in a most brutal and dastardly fashion. The victims were taken unawares when they were asleep. Two of them were blind persons. His Neronian conduct even after the occurrence in languishing in the stricken premises, looking for something to eat in the kitchen, drinking water, smoking bidis, bringing water and bathing himself, mindless of the spectre of the slain and the groans and gasps of the dying, betrays an extreme depravity of character. The grisly and gruesome nature of the murders, the hapless state of the victims, the fiendish modus operandi of the appellant to

first kill and then steal all, steel the heart of law to call for its extreme penalty".

The President of India had rejected his consequent mercy appeal early in the month of May. True to character the hardened criminal, who never had a word of regret about the murders he committed, said on his way to the gallows on May 15, "Maine insan kodion ke bhav maare. Merre aisa koi na bane. Bhagwan jo karta hai achha hi karta hai" (I have killed people in vain. Nobody should become another Shankariya. Whatever God has done, it is for good). As he left his cell he shouted, "Shankar Bhagwan ki jai". He was perfectly normal till he met his end.

During his last days, Shankariya had expressed a desire to meet Mr S. P. Rathore, who had arrested him

at Bhatinda. The latter went to the jail on May 11 to meet Kanpatimar who expressed regret for what he had done. Mr Rathore retorted, "Express your regrets to God. I have done only my duty. You will have to reap the consequences of your action."

Kanpatimar's had been a life without love, despite the fact that he had eight brothers and sisters. He was illiterate and embarked on a life of crime by indulging in petty thefts, for which he went to jail several times before he embarked on his reign of terror. The police said he had no motive for murdering his victims but confessed he enjoyed the murders.

RAJENDRA CHHABRA,
Jaipur

Insuring unhappiness

LIC has no time for the poor

RAMWATI—a tall, slim, graceful woman with big, beautiful, sad eyes, was a temporary employee of the DDA and then the Corporation, as a Safai Karamchari in the colony. She had worked on daily wages for some years. In December 1977, her 28-year-old husband had died of TB. She told us he had been a "sarkari naukari" at the Super Bazaar, Connaught Place, for over 10 years, and had had an insurance policy and a Provident Fund. All through her husband's illness, Ramwati had borne all the expenses and looked after her family of four bright-eyed, eager little children. Then came the hospitalisation and eventual death. She had lost not only her husband, but the only security she and her children had.

Her neighbours had advised her to get her dues from his LIC policy and Provident Fund, and that this would amount to almost a couple of thousand rupees. Poor woman, she had no idea how to go about it. For over four months she had tried — she had visited the Super Bazaar several times, but no one there had taken any interest at all, in fact she was never allowed to speak to anyone in authority! By the time we, the members of the Mahila Dakshata Samiti, met her she was desperate. Not only did she lose her day's wages on these long, fruitless trips to the Super Bazaar she had to spend on bus-fares, leave her children at home for long hours, suffer the peremptory rudeness of the Super Bazaar peons and officers, and finally return home with a broken spirit and nothing accomplished. She had come to the painful realisation that, on her own, she could never hope to achieve anything. With tears in her eyes, she begged us, to help her! She had dozens of scraps of paper, receipts etc, which of course she could neither read nor understand.

Neither could we! We would have to take them home to study and sort out, and only then would we be in a position to try and help. She accepted gratefully.

After much effort we finally got everything sorted out. We would have to visit the Super Bazaar first, the LIC head office and the Office of the Provident Fund Commissioner. The main LIC office on Curzon Road is a huge imposing building, with many floors, and hundreds of busy officers, who had no time, and no concern for the likes of Ramwati! The forms in English and Hindi, and the involved procedures were enough to baffle well-educated women. Ramwati was completely nonplussed and frightened.

The 10th floor houses the Death Claims Department. The receptionist gave us a puzzled look, and the name of the officer whom we were to see. We waited till he was free, and then told him Ramwati's problem. He politely explained the procedure. "No, her husband's death certificate from the hospital, even though it is the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, is not good enough. She will have to go to the NDMC on Parliament Street, have a proper death certificate made out, on the basis of which the LIC will be able to issue a claim form." We told him: "She has taken a day off without pay, she is poor and has four growing children to feed, and cannot make these trips day after day." After some persuasion, he agreed to give us a claim form before we had got the proper death certificate, but advised that the NDMC death certificate was a must before the claim could be paid. He told us frankly that since we had decided to help this woman, she would eventually get her dues. But he knew that thousands of policies like that of Ramwati lay unclaimed,

merely because the LIC rules and procedures were far too involved and complicated for these simple people!

A few men were loitering at the NDMC office under the sign "Death Certificates Issued Here". We produced the hospital certificate and naively asked for the NDMC certificate to be made out. Imagine our surprise, when we were told very casually that the form and stamp would first have to be got from the court! Why they did not stock these stamped forms, he could not explain. The court had recently been moved from next door on Parliament Street to Patiala House on Curzon Road! We drove to Patiala House. Chaos and confusion reigned supreme. Nothing had been arranged. Papers, forms, boxes lay around in a mess; notaries, vendors and the public looked helplessly at each other. Of course, no work could be done. The form was available, but the stamp-vendor was not. He had not yet shifted from Parliament Street to Patiala House, and so we would have to go to Parliament Street again.

Two trips were made to collect the stamp for the form for the NDMC death certificate, one to deliver the completed form to the NDMC office and, several more, to collect the stamped NDMC certificate which never was ready on the due date. This not only entailed effort, petrol and time, but also, much delay.

Once the NDMC certificate and the LIC form was duly filled in and signed, we felt sure one more trip and the money would be Ramwati's. So she took another day off without pay, and we went to see the officer on the 10th floor of the LIC office, only to be informed that the form would have to be processed by them. That would take at least another 10 days. Would there be no end to this long drawn out business, we wondered? It was ready only after two weeks. This time we went on our own. Ramwati was grateful. The form was not where we had deposited it, there was yet another floor to go to, yet another officer to see. And when we got to him, he said no such form had come to him! We rushed down to the 10th floor. Yes, there had been some mistake, the form had not reached its destination. "Don't worry, we'll get it done just now"—and so we waited another hour, while they read, consulted, checked, and signed the form.

Finally, we were told to get the claim cheque from the 11th floor. The office was beginning to shut down for the weekend. We hurried to the officer, gave him the form and asked for the cheque. First he studied it, then called two others to look at it. He then asked how he could be sure that the signature was really the widow's signature. We explained everything to him, and also that the signature had so far been accepted by all the departments at all the different stages of processing the application. He was not satisfied. Suddenly he said: "You may be pulling me." We

looked at each other, and then at him. He repeated: "How do I know that you are not pulling me?" Clearly this was a language difficulty, but we were too angry to laugh. "What is your name, and what is the name of your superior officer," we asked. Somehow, that worked. At least we had the cheque. This enormous effort had yielded only the LIC money. The collection of her dues and the Provident Fund from the Super Bazaar, and the har-

assment from the State Bank remained, and still had to be dealt with!

The Super Bazaar and the LIC are both Government institutions, with ostensibly the people's welfare at heart. But once again the people have been forgotten, for the complicated bureaucratic procedures, and the callous official attitudes.

INDEERA CHAND,
New Delhi

DMK comes a cropper

Byelection results please MGR

THE DMK morale was at its zenith on June 17: the excellent turnout for the meetings addressed by M Karunanidhi and the DMK candidate Anbil Dharmalingam; the enthusiastic support extended by the CPI and the CPM, had convinced the Party leaders that the AIADMK-backed Congress (I) candidate, S. Singaravivelu, a not so well-known lawyer-politician, would be defeated. Two days later stunned DMK Party workers heard the news that Anbil Dharmalingam, one of the brightest DMK leaders, was decisively defeated by the Congress (I) candidate by an impressive margin of 92,848 votes, although the CPI retained the Nagapattinam Parliamentary seat, voting for which was also held on June 17. For K. Murugayyan who defeated his AIADMK rival, Mahalingam, by a narrow margin of 15,941 votes, it wasn't much of a consolation.

What hurt the DMK pride particularly was that Singaravivelu managed to score an impressive lead over Anbil Dharmalingam in all the six Assembly constituencies, four of which had returned DMK candidates in the '76 elections. The Congress (I) workers attributed this big margin to the vigorous campaign undertaken by both MGR and Mrs. Gandhi. "She made a terrible mistake. She shouldn't have backed out from Thanjavur. She would've won with a bigger margin," some of the Congress (I) workers were heard saying. Interestingly, the Congress (I) in Tamil Nadu has been trying to find scapegoats for bungling Mrs. Gandhi's candidacy in Thanjavur. "And now she can't even go to Chikmagalur," said a young Party worker. Some went further "Can't we persuade Singaravivelu to resign and let her contest again."

If the DMK campaign in Thanjavur was limited to the misdeeds of the two-year-old AIADMK Government and Indira Gandhi's Emergency, MGR hit right, left and centre at both the DMK and Janata. George Fernandes had no business to canvass for votes on behalf of Anbil who stands indicted by CBI reports, MGR asserted. He catalogued the corruption charges against

Karunanidhi and how the Sarkaria Commission had held Karunanidhi and his colleagues guilty of graft. What he didn't say, of course, was that some of the DMK men damned by the Sarkaria Commission are today the pillars of the AIADMK. What right had Karunanidhi to give asylum to George Fernandes during the Emergency, MGR asked. If the Centre wants some fugitives to be detained in Tamil Nadu, should he (MGR) keep quiet?

The DMK campaign also highlighted the problems of the farmers since Thanjavur is in the rice growing belt of Tamil Nadu. Four days before the poll, MGR dramatically announced that the State Government would pay at least Rs 20 more per quintal of rice than the price fixed by the Union Government. This announcement was cheerfully received. When Karunanidhi indicted MGR for indulging in dramatic poll-promises the AIADMK chief retorted: "He (Karunanidhi) accuses us of not doing enough for the farmers. And when we do something, he speaks of ulterior motives".

Thanjavur is returning a Congress candidate to the Lok Sabha after nearly two decades. D. Somasundaram now Revenue Minister of Tamil Nadu represented the constituency from 1967. In '77 he contested from Thanjavur backed by the Congress and CPI. But this time the AIADMK and CPI honeymoon was over.

In Nagapattinam too, the AIADMK had reasons to rejoice. The so called CPI fortress did not seem impregnable. MGR was glad that K. Murugayyan won by a narrow margin. In '77, the CPI candidate S. G. Murugayyan (who was murdered recently) had won by 40,319 votes with AIADMK support, defeating a DMK candidate. Nagapattinam has been a communist stronghold since 1952 but now the AIADMK has made a dent in it despite the adverse propaganda that it was anti-labour, anti-peasant and anti-working class", MGR said.

J. M. MENEZES, Madras

Is Sunday the Sabbath?

We received this letter from Mr Robert Hayward of 65, Plantaganet Street, Riverside, Cardiff. Below, we also publish, the notice that accompanied the letter.

£2,000 REWARD

It is claimed that Sunday is the Sabbath or Lord's Day.

A reward of £2,000 cash will be given for a text of Scripture proving this Statement.

ROBERT HAYWARD
65 PLANTAGANET STREET
RIVERSIDE
CARDIFF

Dear Editor

For months now I have been distributing thousands of handbills throughout my homeland.

I am doing this in the hope that someone can prove to me, from the Bible, that Christians are obliged to keep Sunday (the first day of the week) as the Sabbath.

In other words, where is the commandment to keep Sunday? Does it exist? No? Then why do Sunday Laws exist?

Where is the evidence in the Scriptures that the fourth commandment has been abolished? Where does it say that the Sabbath has been changed? Has the blessing which first hallowed the seventh day ever been removed?

According to the Bible (which all Christians claim to adhere to), the seventh day or Saturday is the Sabbath and should be kept. (See Exodus 20:8-11; Genesis 2:2-3; Ezekiel 20:12,20; Isaiah 56:6, 58:13; Matthew 24:20; Mark 2:27,28; Luke 4:16; etc.)

It amazes me that not one solitary person has yet come forward to pick up the reward of £2,000 that I am offering.

Perhaps you know of a churchman or theologian who would like to stake a claim for money?

Yours sincerely,
Robert Hayward

TO THE 84-YEAR-OLD PM'S HEALTH



Prime Minister Morarji Desai's recent visit to West Bengal was not complete without a holy dip. He heli-hopped to Gangasagar on Monday May 28. On that auspicious Shukla Dwitiya day at 8.05 in the morning, clad only in black swimming trunks, Mr Desai spent fifteen minutes in the holy waters. Rarely does one see him bare-bodied and this time when he showed it off, it was indeed a pleasure to behold. Displaying an acme of fitness, without a faint trace of fat anywhere it was evident that Mr Desai has preserved his 84-year-old self.

Photographs by Aloke Mitra

More than meets the eye

THERE must be something special about a case if it provokes such unlikely bedfellows as Mr. Yashpal Kapoor and Mr C. R. Irani to make common cause against the Government. No trifling matter would have induced Mrs Gandhi's wheeler-dealer manager to seek help from the knight-errant of Press liberty and free enterprise. What has united them is a monstrous piece of injustice titled the Industries (Development and Regulation) Amendment Act whose application to Associated Journals Limited (which publishes the *National Herald* in Lucknow and New Delhi) has provoked fears that the Janata Government is trying to acquire through the backdoor far more extensive control over newspapers than was ever contemplated during the Emergency.

While the plight of the *Herald*, the only Opposition daily in the capital, is *sub judice*, there can be no impropriety in briefly describing how this omnibus legislation appeared in the statute book. The original Act was passed in 1951 to enforce the 1948 statement of industrial policy. It was amended two years later so that pricing and distribution were added to industrial development and regulation as the Government's objectives. Then in February, Mr George Fernandes moved an amendment to add eight new kinds of manufacturing to the attached schedule so that "small scale and cottage industries on a decentralised basis" could be covered in terms of the Janata Party's industrial policy resolution of December, 1978.

None of this may seem even remotely to affect the Fourth Estate. Neither was there any reason to suspect dark doings when the Congress(I) MP, Mr Vasant Sathe, quite casually suggested an addition to the schedule's miscellaneous section. It had initially listed zip fasteners (metallic and non-metallic) and oil stoves; the present Industries Minister was enriching it with linoleum, whether felt based or jute based, and cigarettes; and Mr Sathe thought it should also include "printing including litho printing industry".

Mr Fernandes accepted the amendment with alacrity. The Bill was rushed through and, though it did not receive the President's assent until the end



of March, it was given retrospective effect from December 30, 1978.

The bomb did not burst until one fine morning when Mr Kapoor, managing director of the troubled Associated Journals, was told that the Government had appointed an investigating committee for his company under Section 15(b) of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Amendment Act which permits official intervention if "any industrial undertaking is being managed in a manner highly detrimental to the scheduled industry concerned or to public interest". Not until the puzzled Mr Kapoor submitted a writ petition in the Delhi High Court questioning the legality of the move did the Centre explain in an affidavit that "printing including litho printing industry" covers all newspaper functions.

Which is where Mr Irani came gallantly to the rescue, brushing aside old differences with Mr Kapoor and his clique. At his initiative, the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society has submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister saying: "The Society is very strongly of the view that it is inappropriate to include newspapers within the mischief of this legislation. We say this in the light of the powers in the Government's hands to deal with industries listed in the first schedule, which are thoroughly inconsistent with the Government's professions of commitment to a free Press".

The dishonesty of the manoeuvre lies in the fact that censorship is nowhere the avowed objective. But, in fact, the Act achieves far more than just control of the written word. It brings within the Government's purview all aspects of a newspaper's right to print, publish, manage and

circulate freely. The final defence of Press freedom rests in the strength of the balance sheet which, in turn, reflects managerial viability. Under the new dispensation, however, newspaper managements will constantly have hanging over their heads the Damocles' sword of ministerial interference.

The blanket provision of Section 15(b) has already been mentioned. Section 15(a) can also be invoked if there is a fall in output, deterioration in quality, rise in price or shortage of scarce resources. Whether any of these conditions justifying intervention do, in fact, obtain will be decided in the Government's exclusive discretion. A further clause makes clear that "no order made in exercise of any power" conferred by the Act "can be called in question in any court". Control is absolute. Moreover, legislation that might make some sense for manufacturing industries has been stretched and subverted to establish over the Press a stranglehold that is certainly not justified either by the Act's own statement of objects or by the context in which it was adopted.

This fraud on the public would not have been possible but for the obliging Mr Sathe. It is tempting to believe that his amendment was innocently inspired and that the Industries Minister has since exploited the scope it unwittingly offered. But if this were so, the Congress (I) should vehemently have protested against Janata misuse of Mr Sathe's amendment. They have done nothing of the kind. On the contrary, some of them seem even to welcome this perversion of the law.

Employees of the *National Herald* have gratefully assembled outside Mr Fernandes's house. They have demanded that the Government take over the paper and thanked the Industries Minister for his efforts. They have also noisily protested outside the New Delhi office of Mr Irani's *Statesman* for editorially criticizing the manner in which the Act has been misinterpreted and misapplied.

All of which leads one sadly to suppose that in the mysterious alleyways of political self-interest, Mr Vasant Sathe and Mr George Fernandes are better friends than would publicly appear.

The Sad Revolt of the Lepers

Nature's victims have also become the victims of human neglect

Report and pictures by MANDIRA PURIE



THE outcasts have raised their banner. Lepers, considered for many years the voiceless ones, have gone on strike, perhaps for the first time in history. The patients of Anand Gram, Shahdara have turned against the office bearers of the Home, who for the past 18 years had taken it upon themselves to be the spokesmen of the lepers.

Crinkled skin, shorn nose, glazed eyes he lay supine in his own excreta. Sixty years ago he had been driven away from his village Santhipuram, Tamil Nadu. He was regarded as the sinner and recipient of God's curse, or so the villagers had decided. Muthiyandi, 90, sat neglected ironically, under a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi in Anand Gram. He died on June 3, 1979. He epitomised the agony of the 4,000,000 people afflicted with leprosy in India. The most visible evidence of their deprivation is in the capital. Anand Gram, run by the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh, a voluntary all-India body, is "wedded to the cause of leprosy" with the supposed intention of "maintaining and rehabilitating of handicapped lepers".

The 182 patients currently living in Anand Gram obviously do not believe they have been adequately treated. They have been on strike since January 26, 1979. Their demands include Rs. 125 per person, an increase in rations, the quantity of clothing, beddings, blankets, shoes; refunctioning of the handloom unit; return of the Hindu mandir money and finally an immediate halt to the temporary stoppage of facilities as part of the punishment enforced by the Nivaran Sangh. Most important of all they want to be a self-supporting unit that has some claims to the hutments they live in.

A 24-hour dharna outside the Lieutenant Governor D. R. Kohli's office and a letter to the Prime Minister Morarji Desai to intervene have gone by totally unnoticed. "Even beggars can be choosers" ran

the surprised headline in a Delhi daily above a minor news item, tucked away on page four. This reaction is a morbid reflection of the general attitude towards lepers in this country.

These lepers originally lived in Jamuna bustee, but as a result of the enforcement of the Bombay Prevention of Begging Act in Delhi in 1959, 400 of them were "rounded up" and accommodated in Anand Gram because "they preferred to leave begging voluntarily and lead an honourable life". In 1961, they were given Rs. 50 each to build hutments in the 4.9 acres of land in Tahirpur, and Rs. 25 per head for food. In 1975, the allowance for food was raised to Rs. 45.

Currently the patients are squeezed sardine-like in 118 dingy dilapidated rooms with no electricity and an open drain outside their door. Moaned Mohammad Sham Suddin: "With our resistance so low as it is, we catch any passing infection. You should see this place during the monsoon, the water is knee-deep and the children could almost drown." They have a total of 12 bathrooms "whose taps are dry more often than not" quipped an old patient. The women have been presented with a five-yard thin gauze sarce that would tear at the first wash, and in any case does not even adequately cover a medium-sized person" said a five-foot-five patient mockingly.

In winter, due to the shortage of blankets, a family of four are usually forced into sharing a single blanket. Pointing to the bleeding ulcers on his feet, Ram Prakash asks: "Where are the shoes Bata Company donated for us? Every step I take is like walking on thorns." The handloom weaving units are closed down as the office bearers claim it was running at a tremendous loss. Complained Sant Ram: "They used to pay us 20 paise per metre and then sell it at triple the price. Where was the incentive to work?" The lentils they were receiving were of extremely poor quality and "the wood so wet that we would end up eating raw food to quieten the rumblings in our stomachs", declared Jai Prakash.

For the past six months, the patients have refused the Nivaran Sangh's rations and utilised their own resources to feed themselves. Wailed Baliyar: "There is so much politics in the Nivaran Sangh. They are making money off us while we starve. We are the poor victims who have to fight just to stay alive. If we complain they threaten to have us thrown out." After registering their own samiti—Anand Gram Kushtrogi Kalyan in April, the patients requested the Lieutenant Governor to permit them to purchase and distribute their own rations in the presence of one of his own officials. The request was turned down.

The Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh's secretary and general secretary, speaking alternately and sounding



Above, the entrance to Anand Gram and below, Muthiyandi, a leper on the day of his death: no protests



like alter-egos said: "Rs 45 is such a small amount to feed one person. We can only provide blankets and clothes when they are available in donations. These beggars have really suddenly become very choosy". P. C. Agarwal, chief reporter of the Metropolitan Council and D. C. Agarwal, probation officer in Criminology accused the ex-vice chairman of Nivaran Sangh, J. R. Jindal of various charges including defalcation of public funds to the tune of Rs. 6,500, when he engaged labour to repair huts in Anand Gram. They also rather venomously held him responsible for the sudden dissatisfaction that the lepers were now expressing.

IT SEEMS apparent that the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh is a politically well-connected body and probably has a godfather in the Jana Sangh. Most outside workers in Anand Gram are afraid to comment on their performance and efficacy. Though Dr Nelson, who has been working in the area for the past 20 years, admits she has never once met any of the Sangh officials "something peculiar in their attitude has made it almost impossible to secure donations from other organisations". She also added that the maintenance of the colony had deteriorated and the poli-



Disgusted patient: crippled hope

tics had gone up. Father Rajamani of the Brotherhood Society, who has been taking service in Anand Gram for the past ten years cautiously stated: "I do not want to interfere, but the patients are more than capable of running their own affairs so why shouldn't they?"

Even though the Agarwals had visited Anand Gram only once in six months, if at all, as they did not want to "interfere with the patients' method of administering themselves", they seemed to exhibit a firm determination not to let "this baby out of their hands". At the mere suggestion P. C. Agarwal retorted angrily: "Why should we give up control of Anand Gram? In fact, we have been requesting the Government to put all three institutions under one umbrella so that they can be run more effectively". To quote from the Committee's report which was submitted on January 1, 1974: "The Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh having done yeoman's service for the welfare of the leprosy-affected patients it has been unanimously decided that unified control may vest with the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh". Fortunately, the file is still pending.

Things are much brighter in the Leprosy Home and Home for leprosy and T.B.-affected patients so far. It is quite worrisome to think that an organisation not capable of



A couple protesting about the condition of their room: no room for choice



satisfying the needs of 182 patients would want to take on more responsibility. The yellow buildings spread out over 50 acres resemble a well-kept army cantonment. The 150 patients in the Leprosy Home are housed in six barracks with 25 patients in each barrack. Recently, because of congestion the 17 bathrooms have also been converted into living quarters. The patients are now resorting to the fields to relieve their "natural urges" says the first leperologist of the Home, Dr Siddiqui.

The Municipal Corporation which runs the place spends Rs. 135 per patient and only admits patients if they are disabled and infectious. Now, after receiving treatment only 50 per cent of the patients are infectious, but 90 per cent are still disabled. Jamuna Das, secretary of the Patients' sangh said: "On the whole we are content with the rations and clothing, but I wish the Government would give us some funds to start our own businesses so that we could live elsewhere".

The 125 inmates of the Home for Leprosy and T.B.-affected patients were arrested when the Bombay Prevention of Begging Act was enforced in Delhi in 1959. The one-acre custodial home has two colourfully painted barracks which house 40 people in each. The inmates keep themselves occupied with poultry work or touching up the Durga they have painted astride a lion, in the process of destroying a Rakshasa.

The 150 inhabitants of the Gandhi Leprosy Ashram Samiti have been living on unfulfilled promises so far. The Government has not provided them with any aid so far. They sweat in their thatched roofs with the risk of catching fire every time they cook a meal. Said Durga Prasad: "We were better off in the small piece of land Sanjay Gandhi gave us due to nasbandi (sterilisation)".

Apart from the Gandhi Samiti which has been totally ignored, there seems to be great discrimination in the treatment meted out to the lepers. Anand Gram does stand out like an adopted child. There seems to be no rationale in the way the bureaucracy allots the funds. The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimates suggest between 11 and 12 million cases, most of whom live in the tropical and sub-tropical regions of Asia and Africa. Dr. R. K. Sengupta, Assistant Director General, National Leprosy Control Programme said that 2.54 million cases had been detected and registered in India. He also claimed that the majority of cases in India were of the non-infective type and a mere 25 per cent were infective and suffered from gross disfigurement. Curiously, he added, it was predominantly a male disease and 25 per cent of the patients were children.

Approximate expenditure on leprosy

Anand Gram	
1975-76	Rs 97,660.
1976-77	Rs 1,34,460
1977-78	Rs 1,20,300
1978-79	Rs 1,09,740

Estimated population affected by leprosy in hyper-endemic States

Andhra Pradesh	6,00,000
Tamil Nadu	7,00,000
Maharashtra	3,00,000
Karnataka	2,00,000
Bihar	3,00,000
Kerala	8,00,000
Madhya Pradesh	1,00,000
Uttar Pradesh	2,00,000
Assam and Meghalaya	5,00,000
Orissa	2,00,000
West Bengal	2,00,000

The North-Eastern States are non-endemic zones

The Control Programme first launched in 1955, now covers 25 States and Union Territories. The Programme includes control units which cover 3.4 lakh population in hyper-endemic regions and Survey and Education Treatment centres (SET) which are located in moderately endemic areas (less than 10 per 1,000) and cover 25,000 villagers.



NE of the few effective bodies tackling the problem in India is the Leprosy Mission, with 27 centres all over India. Said Dr Thanraj, secretary for southern Asia: "The centres train 1,361 para medical workers to cover 25,000 villagers. Our hospitals treat 1,78,000 patients at a mere cost of Rs. 5-8 per year, for those who can afford to pay. The patients' contribution, however, does add up to Rs. 1,30,000".

Leprosy, a chronic ailment caused by the bacillus mycobacterium leprae triggers off lesions in the skin tissues and the peripheral nerves; and if untreated 40 per cent of the victims show some sign of disfigurement. The irony of it is that the non-infectious type are usually deformed and the able-bodied are the ones carrying the infectious bacilli.

Since medical scientists so far have been unable to develop a vaccine for the disease, the only way of combating it is to detect it at an early stage and control the infection. What is more important is educating society to ensure that it did not continue to treat the afflicted patient as a social outcast.

In India, a leper is not an individual; he is a diseased organism. Stamped an outcast, stripped of his individuality, herded into bureaucratic camps, all that he retains of himself is his mutilated body. Society adds to the trauma, transforming a physical disease into social banishment. The leper symbolizes the epitome of all traumas.

WHEREAS once the very word 'marriage' was taboo for an actor (because of 'image' reasons), today all the gay bachelors in the industry are eagerly looking towards the altar and drawing up marriage plans. The reason for this change of opinion is the belief that marriage brings luck to an actor. This belief has been strengthened by the fact that after his marriage, Vinod Mehra has the maximum number of films on hand, and is also one of the richest stars in the industry. And, the important thing to note is that he signed most of the important films he has on hand after his marriage. And they're not just small, insignificant roles, but genuine 'parallel' roles like the ones he portrayed in *Jurmana* and *Amardeep*. Even in a film like *Jaani Dushman*, Vinod has been given a prominent role, which is more substantial than even Sanjeev Kumar's role in the film. Vinod himself confesses: "I've never had it so good. Imagine, in Bombay, nearly eight films of mine have been released." And adds: "touch wood."

Umesh Vas



Dimple : lots in a name

FOR a short while, because she'd been so widely advertised as *Dimple Kapadia* and because the film *Bobby* had been so successful, Dimple had brought surnames back into vogue within the film industry. All the artistes started adding their surnames to their names on banners, so much so that even *Rekha* was thinking of changing her name to *Rekha Ganesan* (because her father is Gemini Ganesan, the popular actor in the South). Now, all over again, surnames are being dropped like rotten potatoes. When I met Vijayandra Ghatge recently, he requested me to kindly, in future, refer to him as simply 'Vijayandra'. And to omit the 'Ghatge'. When I asked him the reason for change, he said: "You know how communal-minded the audiences can be sometimes. Because I used my surname earlier, many of my fans wrote to me saying, 'Are you a Maharashtrian? We hope not.' You see, an actor is not expected to have any personal religion or community as long as he is in the industry. He is only

allowed to follow the religion of the character whose role he is portraying on screen." Another artiste who has gone in for a change of name, because of superstitious reasons is *Gita (Garam Hawa) Kak*. She has removed 'Kak' and added Sidarth (her husband's name) to her name. Let's see if the gamble pays off.

I happened to be with *Moushumi* the other day when a local paper, bearing an advertisement of one of her films, was delivered to her. The film *Manzil*—had in bold, elephant-sized letters the call "Come and see Amitabh Bachchan in *Manzil*." Moushumi threw quite a fit when she saw it. "I am the heroine of the film. Surely, they could have included my name in the ad. How hero-oriented can our industry get?" she has got a point there, but being a heroine, she has every right to make a *nakhra* about her emotion. Look at the tantrums actresses like Hema Malini and Zeenat Aman create if such things are done to them. No wonder they always get their dues: on demand.

ALL the actresses are jealous of Hema Malini after seeing *Meera*. Not only is the film a totally heroine-oriented one, but, like Shabana Azmi puts it: "The role itself is such a beautiful one. The innate goodness of Hema Malini comes through in every frame, every scene. I'm sure after seeing it nobody will believe that Hema could be emotionally and romantically involved with anybody, leave alone a married man." In fact, Dharmendra himself is wondering whether the acting of the entire role has had an impact on Hema's senses and will also lead to a change of mind.

AND yet nothing or nobody can change Dharmendra's mind about Hema Malini and it hasn't been for want of effort on the part of mischief-makers. There have been umpteen people who've gone and whispered to Dharam: "Arrey yaar, see how badly your popularity has gone down because you have been involved with only one woman for such a long time now. Don't you realise it has a bad effect on your

he-man image? It's high time you broke off with Hemaji unless you want to slip even lower than you've already gone." But Dharam has remained firm, and refused to terminate connections with his loved lady. It's as if his career has taken a second place in his life. Why, recently, he even left quite a few producers in the lurch because he insisted on accompanying Hema and her troupe on a dancing tour abroad to the Royal Academy of Arts in London and other places. When one disgruntled producer said, "Why do you have to go? Are you going to do the Bharatnatyam there or what?" And Dharam replied sportingly, "No, I'm not going to do the Bharatnatyam. I am only going to dance to Hema's tune. She wants me to present her show and I consider it an honour to accede to her wishes."

WHEREAS most of the filmmakers who previously used *Shanker-Jaikishen* for their musical scores, dropped them after Jaikishen died, one producer who has stuck staunchly to the SJ music is *Sohanlal Kanwar*. Even in his latest film, *Atmaram*, the music is by SJ. When I asked him how he had had the guts to persist when all others had fled from this camp, he said: "I have always got satisfactory work for my films from this musical banner. So I don't see why I should change. The other producers believe in a *bhed-chal* spirit. When R. D. Burman became popular, they signed him on, then, after *Bobby* they all rushed to Laxmikant Pyarelal. But for me it has always been *Shanker-Jaikishen*. Have you heard the songs of *Sanyasi*? They are popular even today."

ANOTHER producer with guts is *Premjee*. When he'd started *Meera*, everyone tried to coax him to drop the project saying: "It's a jinxed project. Many have tried to make *Meera* and failed". But Premjee stood by the film, and by Gulzar, and he says that one of the happiest days in his life was when *Meera* was released recently, in Delhi.

SHIRJEE

SEX bomb ditches husband: screamed front page headlines as *Jayabharathy*, the most popular Malayalam actress married an undistinguished, struggling actor, *Sattar*. Reports also mentioned that the jilted husband *Harry Pothan*, who has a dozen hits to his credit, is suing her as she hasn't divorced him. In reality Pothan and Jayabharathy lived in "sin" for more than a decade. Naturally the litigation story is pure trash. Well, they went through some vague religious ceremonies like exchanging garlands, says an insider. But that is not the same as a proper marriage. Pothan's wife lives in Kerala. And as a Catholic, he could not have divorced her. Pothan's friends insist that the

shrewd producer was aware of "wife" Jayabharathy's interest in other men; her name was linked with Vincent, a small-time Malayalam hero and with his brother, Kerala's most popular leading man. But Pothan just couldn't help being cuckolded: Jayabharathy was too much for him, they say.

Gullible fans of the star are told that Pothan bled her white; he lived off her earnings in 150 films during the last ten years and now the actress has decided to enjoy the fruits of her own labour. Pothan states, and justifiably that it was he who gave her the best breaks in her career—in his own films like *Nellu*, and *Rathi Nivedham*, made more notorious by its English title, *Sexy Dreams*

and *Vaadakaiku Oru Hirudhayam*, popularly advertised as *Heart for Hire*. And it wasn't as if she was appearing for *gratis* in Harry Pothan's movies. As for the charge that he bared her flesh in some of his own films, Pothan says he is not a porno-filmmaker. He has made films without any "sex in them" and if some of his films had a "bit of sex in them", it was "because the story demanded it". Jayabharathy was the heroine of the latest Pothan hit, *Alladdin and the Wonderful Lamp* which is keeping the box-office busy outside Kerala too. Like so many of her other films. Jayabharathy was to star in Pothan's next two ventures, one in Malayalam and the other in Hindi, a remake of *Sexy Dreams*. He had got Asha Chandra to coach Jayabharathy to speak Hindi but now it looks as if the venture is shelved for good. Sattar's career is yet to get going: it has to be seen if Jayabharathy will god-mother him to modest success.

WHAT's bugging Srikanth?

He's extremely restive these days and "shy" of meeting the Press. His house is the least guarded among the Madras star-homes and yet you seldom find him there: his wife doles out appointments which are seldom kept. The failure of some of his recent films like *Jaya Nee Jaichutle* which just refused to go into the third week must be bugging him. And whenever a number of his films flop, Srikanth goes around proclaiming his faith in leftist politics. Hopefully, this should get him an invitation from Moscow one of these days.

TELUGU super star *Jayasudha* got married to a businessman from her home state. And all the rumours of her impending wedding with *Kishore Kumar*, who seems to have had a terrific crush on *Jayasudha* during the production of *Shabash Daddy* died a quick death. At the moment, she is busy with two dozen films, and says she won't quit movies immediately.

NEWS: Lakshmi to direct a Tamil film. Inside information: She won't be in it. Nor would husband *Mohan* act in it. The untitled film is designed as a comedy and will revolve around half a dozen children. Kannada's matinee idol *Vishnuvardhan* and *Sridevya* will enact the adult roles. Lakshmi's father himself was a well-known director. Says Lakshmi: "I want to make a neat, entertaining film. I do not want to prove anything new..." Some unfair critics have tried to bracket Lakshmi with *Savitri* and *Bhanumati*, two actresses who failed but later turned to direction. Lakshmi has 15 films on hand, most of them in Kannada. She did a fine job in a light Tamil venture, *Dhairiya Lakshmi* recently. And suddenly people have started wondering why she wasn't given such light roles earlier. Among the films she has on hand, her leading men are *Swaji Ganesan* and *Jai Shankar* in Tamil, *Rajkumar*, *Srinath* and *Vishnuvardhan* in Kannada and there is one Malayalam film in which she's teamed with husband *Mohan*. Lakshmi has reasons not to direct a movie in which she is acting. "I do not want to make a mess of my first directorial project...besides, directing a sensitive actress like *Sridevya* would be good fun..."

SOME interested people are spreading the rumour that actress *Saradha* has decided to make up with her ex-husband *Chalam*. Their short married life was a disaster: it is believed that *Chalam* sought to dictate too many terms to *Saradha*, and the self-made actress that she is, resented it. People close to the introvert actress say that she's least interested in romance and marriage at the moment. What matters most to her now is her career in Hindi films. She wants to shine in *Zabardast* in which she is cast opposite *Dilip Kumar*. *Saradha* has two disastrous Hindi flops to her credit and *Zabardast*, though it is a multi-starrer, ought to make up for those two flops, she feels.

PIOUSJI

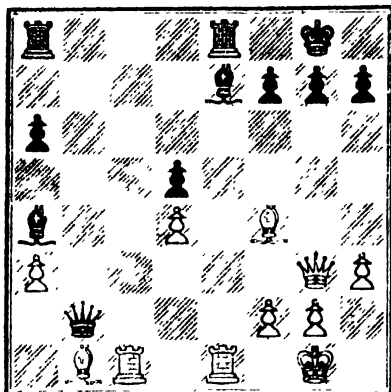
Lakshmi: nothing new to prove



chess

After the World Cup . . .

Spassky (Black)



Miles (White) to move

Position after Black's 22nd move

The 1978 Olympiad held last November in Buenos Aires produced many upsets and surprises, starting with the kidnapping of the chief organiser two weeks before the start of the event, and culminating with the dethroning of the mighty Soviet team. The jubilant Hungarians trounced Yugoslavia 3½-1 in the last round to wrest the Olympic Title from the USSR, a title the Russians have never failed to win since starting to compete in Olympiads. True the Soviet team lacked the services of Karpov, exhausted after his World Championship defence, but the excuse for his absence was made to look pretty thin by Korchnoi, who turned out on board one for Switzerland, trounced nearly everyone in sight, and walked off with a score of 9/11 and the top board prize.

The English result was a disappointing 12th place. Having led the field for the first five rounds we naturally aspired to a higher placing. On the other hand our performance was somewhat better than might appear at first sight. As a result of the Swiss system and the fact that we were very prominent in the early stages, we met nearly all the leading teams. Consequently we had, taken overall, much stronger opposition than did some of the teams finishing narrowly ahead of us.

Our best individual results came from Bill Hartston, who made a grandmaster norm on board 4 with a score of 6/9, and John Nunn, who scored no less than seven wins on bottom board. The best team result was undoubtedly the 2-2 draw with the Soviet Union. This was made possible by Tony Miles's splendid win over Spassky, his second successive victory over the ex-World Champion.

White: A. J. Miles (England) Black: B. Spassky (USSR) Olympiad Buenos Aires 1978

Queen's Indian Defence

1. P-Q4, N-KB3; 2. N-KB3, P-QN3; 3. P-QB4, P-K3; 4. B-B4. Miles' pet system with which he has had a lot of success recently. In particular it had brought him a crushing victory over the same opponent some three months earlier.

4. . . . B-N2; 5. P-K3, B-K2; 6. P-KR3, O-O; 7. N-B3, P-Q4; 8. P x P, P x P; 9. B-Q3, P-B4; 10. O-O, N-B3; 11. N-K5, P-QR3; 12. Q-B3, R-K1; 13. QR-Q1, P x P; 14. N x N, B x N; 15. P x P, P-QN4; 16. P-R3, N-K5. Black seems close to equality (if 17. N x N, P x N, 18. B x P, B x P;

19. Q x B, then 19. . . . B x P) but as Miles demonstrates, the white bishops are more active than their counterparts.

17. B-N1, Q-N3; 18. KR-K1, N x N; 19. Q x N, P-N5; 20. Q-KN3, P x P; 21. P x P, B-QR5; 22. R-QB1, Q-N7 (Diagram) Walking into trouble, but his position is already difficult in any case.

23. B x P+1 K x B; 24. R x B1 R x R; 25. Q-R4+, K-N1; 26. Q x R, Q x QP; 27. B-KB1. The real point of the combination.

27. . . . Q-N3; 28. Q-N5, Q-R3. Forced. On 28. . . . P-B3 comes 29. B x P, Q x B, 30. Q x P+.

29. Q x Q, P x Q; 30. R-B3, K-B1; 31. R-B5, R-Q1; 32. B-B6, R-Q3; 33. R-B6+, B-K1; 34. B-Q4, R-K3; 35. R-Q8, K-N1; 36. R x P, R-KB+; 37. K-R2, R-Q8; 38. R-Q8, K-R2; 39. P-N4, R-Q8; 40. P-B4, P-QR4; 40. P-B5 (sealed). The game was adjourned at this point and Spassky resigned immediately on seeing the sealed move.

White need only march his king to K2 to break the pin and Black is forced to shed material.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge



THIS deal was played at four tables in the semi-final of the new world team championship, between France and Poland, US and Brazil:

Dealer, East Game all

♠ A
♥ J 4 3
♦ A J 10 7
♣ A Q 8 7 4

♠ 10 8 4 3 N ♠ 9 7 5 2
♥ K 9 7 6 2 W ♥ 10 8 5
♦ Q 9 4 E ♦ 8 5 2
♣ 5 S ♣ 10 9 6

♠ K Q J 6
♥ A Q
♦ K 8 3
♣ K J 3 2

The French stopped in 6NT, which was lay-down; the other three pairs reached Seven Clubs. The shortest and most comprehensible auction was that of the Americans, who bid:

SOUTH	NORTH
1♠	3♠
3♠	4♠
4NT	5♠
6♥	7♠
No	

Six Hearts, I imagine, was to show that South could play in 6NT or in Seven Clubs.

Frenkiel, for Poland, received a spade lead. After two rounds of trumps he led ♥ J from dummy—a clever play. When East played low, declarer went up with ♥ A and at the finish had to guess the diamond Queen. He guessed wrong.

Cintra, for Brazil, against the same lead, adopted the technical line of cashing the top diamonds, in an attempt to drop the Queen, and finessing ♥ Q; also one down.

Russell, for the US, after ♦ A K had failed to drop the Queen, played off all the black winners, reducing dummy to ♥ J and ♦ J. West had to come down to ♥ K alone and ♦ Q. The squeeze had succeeded, if South had known, but he finessed ♥ Q and lost the last two tricks.

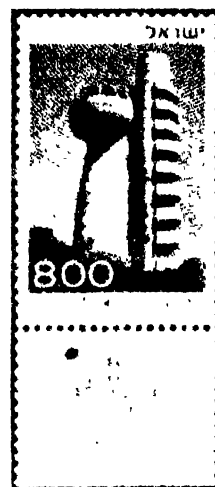
One can always find reasons afterwards for the right play, but I do think here that inferences were missed at all three tables.

A lead from ♦ 10 x x x is not ideal against a grand slam, and Frenkiel, having found West with the King of hearts, should perhaps have reflected that the spade was chosen because West also held the Queen of diamonds.

When the American declarer reached the last two cards he was playing East for the guarded ♥ K and therefore West for an original ♥ 9 7 8 2 and ♦ Q 9 6 4. Here, again, the heart lead from four to the 9 would be more natural against a grand slam than a spade from four to the 10.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



The twin towers of the Koffler Accelerator at the Weizmann Institute of Science provide the design of a new Israeli stamp which marks the inauguration of the accelerator after almost 10 years of planning by Israeli and Canadian scientists. The tower at the right houses the pelletron, a sophisticated research instrument for studying the nucleus of the atom. The dome-headed tower contains a laboratory, and the staircases and lifts for servicing the accelerator. Like other stamps in the bottom row of the sheet, the example shown here has a se tenant label identifying the issue.



ONE of the excitements of 1928 was the launching of the German airship Graf Zeppelin and its maiden flight with passengers and mail across the Atlantic to Lakehurst, NJ. Special stamps were issued in Germany to frank mail carried in the Graf Zeppelin, and several other countries, among them the United States and Liechtenstein, issued similar stamps to mark later flights on other routes. When the Graf Zeppelin flew over the North Pole in 1931, the German Post Office overprinted the three original Zeppelin stamps 'Polar-fahrt 1931'. These are among the scarcest of the Zeppelin issues and a mint set of three realised £180 in a recent Robson Lowe sale. Count Zeppelin himself was portrayed on German stamps issued in 1934 for use on airmail letters and in 1938 to mark the centenary of his birth. These stamps are still quite common.

C.W. HILL

Beginning July 1

This week the Sun and Venus are in Gemini, Jupiter and Mercury are conjoined in Cancer, Saturn and Rahu are in Leo, and Uranus is in Libra. Neptune is in Scorpio, Kethu alone is in Aquarius and Mars in Taurus. The Moon will be moving through Virgo and Libra from Leo.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) Be alert since new developments regarding your career are in the offing. The time is not ripe for undertaking new assignments. Financially, you are not going to be in a comfortable position. Don't neglect your work. Avoid all sorts of troubles in the family. This week is not good for love and matrimonial affairs. Keep away from gambling. **Good dates:** 2, 3 and 6. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 5. **Favourable direction:** West.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) You will be worried about the misunderstanding with your partners. Meet only those who are friendly towards you. Some will change their minds and help you in your needs. A short journey will help you solve your financial problems. Businessmen will enter into new contracts. Avoid love affairs. This weekend you will be entertained socially. **Good dates:** 3, 5 and 6. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 8. **Favourable directions:** South and West.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) This is going to be a week of adventure and thrills. Your aspirations are likely to be fulfilled this week. Letters will bring you good news. Businessmen will get a lot of opportunities to make profits. Artists and sportsmen are likely to score this week. Financially, you will gain this week. This is a good week for love and matrimony. **Good dates:** 1, 3, 5 and 7. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 6. **Favourable direction:** East.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) Go ahead with your plans. This week is a fortunate one for you. Some long standing problems will be solved this week. Some of your enemies will come forward with a helping hand. Actors and sportsmen are advised to keep a constant watch on their performance this week. **Good dates:** 1, 4, 5 and 6. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 6. **Favourable direction:** South.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) You will face humiliation this week. Do not depend on others since no sort of help will be forthcoming. Take time and make out your plans carefully. The latter part of the week is favourable, so postpone things of importance to a later date. Regarding finance, there will be paucity of funds. Someone in your family is likely to fall sick. **Good dates:** 4, 5 and 7. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) A week of mixed fortunes. Businessmen should pay attention to their ledgers and keep their accounts up to date. The first two days of the week are ideal for changing plans into action. Differences with your business partners should be settled amicably. Mind your language. You may entertain guests towards the end of the week. Some people will undertake journeys. Law suits should be postponed. **Good dates:** 2, 4 and 5. **Lucky numbers:** 9 and 11. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) You must seek the help of others to solve your problems. Businessmen may enter into new deals. You may have to play host to your friends and relatives. Ladies and children will have an enjoyable week. Do not worry about law suits. You may gain money through gambling. Ladies may get presents. **Good dates:** 3, 4, 5 and 6. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 8. **Favourable direction:** Nil.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) This will be a happy week for your family. Because of your forgetful nature you may lose something. Some people would suffer from toothache and earache. You may make up with your old enemies. This week is good for soeculation. Lovers will have a good time. Businessmen are advised to formulate new sale plans. **Good dates:** 2, 3 and 5. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 10. **Favourable direction:** South.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) In spite of your intelligence and efficiency, you must try and achieve your objectives quickly. The first few days of the week are very favourable for your plans. You will gain the praise and honour of many around you. No family problems will worry you. You will buy new things while ladies will get presents. **Good dates:** 1, 2, 4, 5 and 7. **Lucky numbers:** 10 and 13. **Favourable directions:** West and South.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) This is a good week for businessmen. Profits and new business are in the offing. Financially, you will be able to make both ends meet but only towards the end of the week. There will be no family problems this week. All differences with your colleagues will be patched up. A good week for love and matrimonial affairs. **Good dates:** 1, 2, 3 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 4. **Favourable direction:** South.



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) You will have to work hard to keep your promises. Your meetings with elders will be beneficial. Some will gain promotions and transfer in their job. Members of the family will get new clothes. Letters will bring good news. Someone in the family will fall sick and medical expenses are in the offing. **Good dates:** 4, 5, 6 and 7. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North-west.

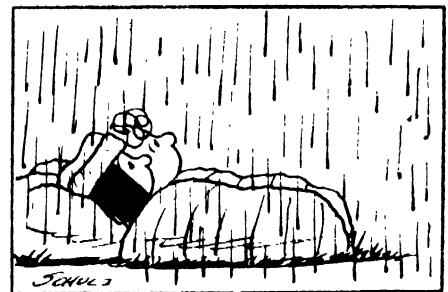


PISCES (February 20 — March 20) You will be very busy this week. Untimely meals and sleepless nights are forecast. Some problems will be solved with the help of others. Your family will not be in want of anything. Take suggestions of elders and go ahead with your job. This is not a good week for love and matrimonial affairs. Avoid unnecessary travel. Some will gain in sports and gambling. **Good dates:** 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable directions:** East and North.

M. B. RAMAN

PEANUTS

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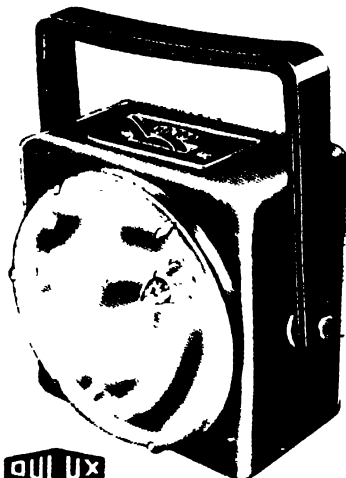


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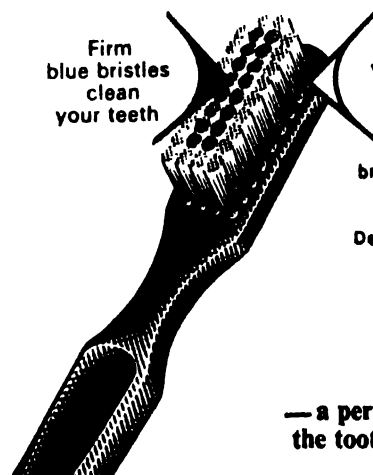


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without comment



SALEM: A monkey today presented a memorandum to District Collector S. Parthasarathy on behalf of the District Livestock Inspectors' Association. Livestock inspectors' demands include recognition for them as veterinary practitioners. Earlier, they went in a procession through the town with monkeys, donkeys, buffaloes, horses, dogs and cattle participating—*Deccan Herald* (K. S. Vasudevan, Trichy)

CUTTACKA: A woman claiming to be a candidate in last year's B.A. Part II examination, complained to the Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University that a young man had taken Rs 200 from her and promised to get her passed in the examination. He had asked her to wait near the Darbhanga Building but did not meet her there. She had not been able to find him anywhere in the area. A senior officer of the department took her around the office but she could not identify anyone. She said she had met the young man at Howrah station a few days ago. He had posed as an employee of the university and had visited her home once—*The Statesman* (N. R. Sekhar, Calcutta)

WALIOR: At a marriage in village Pall, near Gwalior, the bridegroom insisted on a dowry, but of an unusual kind. His father-in-law-to-be was suffering from lung cancer and doctors had advised him to give up smoking. "No bidis for you" was their injunction. But the old man was a slave to habit and try as he might, he just could not forsake his bidis, 20 or so

a day. The bridegroom had been told about this. So when he approached the nuptial altar he refused to perform the necessary ceremonies until the bride's father gave a solemn promise that he would smoke no more. This put the bride's father in a dilemma. Either his daughter remains unmarried or he has to give the required "dowry". He gave the promise of abstinence from smoking demanded of him and joined his daughter in happy wedlock, without a paisa of the usual dowry — *Indian Express* (V. K. Bajaj, Delhi)

NEW DELHI: "Yes, I am the SHO—I promoted myself". This was the reply a reporter got when he called up a police station last night. The cop later confessed that he was not the head of the station and proceeded to insist that the reporter join him in a drink. The minions of the law were celebrating the announcement of a month's pay against leave. When the question was repeated, the "high" police official insisted that it be deferred until the next morning when a more sober atmosphere might prevail. Such a "spirited" atmosphere prevailed in very many police stations and chowkies in the Union Territory. — *Sunday Standard* (K. P. Rajagopalan, Bokaro)

GWALIOR: A four-day-old baby's hand was eaten up to the elbow by some animal in the nurse duty room of a hospital. Nobody heard her cries, nor did any one attend to her throughout the night. Her bleeding arm was detected only in the morning. She, however, did not die. Hospital sources said she was separated from her mother, who was admitted to the other ward. The District Collector has ordered an inquiry—*Sunday Standard* (Kailash Kumar, Lucknow)

CHITTOOR: A pot of water is being sold at prices ranging from 25 paise to Re. 1 in Palamaner. There is acute scarcity of water in the area and the Palamaner Panchayat is supplying protected water to its 25,000 residents for only 30 minutes in a day. It is said even this water is not clean. To meet their requirements the people are forced to purchase water from vendors at exorbitant price. Reports from Kuppam, Puthur, Piler and other areas in the district reveal that there is water scarcity there also — *The Hindu* (S. C. Pandiaraj, Madras)

I TELL a lie only when journalists put me inconvenient questions—Mrs Gandhi

THE JANATA is behaving like the Congress—Jyoti Basu

ALL GENTLEMEN are with me—Raj Narain's reaction to his expulsion from the National Executive of the Janata Party

I AM 37 years old. I don't need you to tell me it's time to quit. I know that—Muhammad Ali to a German interviewer

THE BYELECTIONS at Nagapattinam and Thanjavur are a fight between dharma and adharmam—M. G. Ramachandran

MR MORARJI Desai is in the grip of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the US Central Intelligence Agency—C. M. Stephen

MR DENG Xiaoping has the courage to admit mistakes—The Dalai Lama

MORARJI is still the favourite, for Charan is ridden by the erratic joker Raj Narain, while Jagjivan Ram has accumulated extra pounds of Bahuguna—Cho Ramaswamy

EVEN IN murder cases, the writs of his (Mr Devi Lal, Chief Minister of Haryana) sons reigned supreme with the administration—Four dissident Ministers in their letter of resignation to the Governor of Haryana

humour in real life



THE classroom was asked to change, "He gives her a present", into the past tense. One earnest student's reply: "He gave her a past"—Aparna Mishra, Jaunpur

A log carrying truck sports the slogan "Grow more tree"—S. K. Jha, Darrang

india abroad

BRUSSELS: The Belgian police believe that the body of a British bride of Indian origin was cut to pieces in a hotel bath. Traces of blood were found in the bath of the room occupied by Namitar Lochab and her husband, Mr Mahendra Dahiria when the two stayed in Brussels while on a honeymoon tour of Europe. The 23 year-old bride disappeared in Brussels

and the severed head and limbs of a woman—believed by the police to be Namitar Lochab—was found soon after in a garbage bin near the Arenberg Hotel where the couple stayed. The fingertips had been cut off and the trunk of the body was missing. The bride's father has been asked to come to Brussels to help in identifying the body—*The Statesman*

POOR STATE OF MINISTERS



TIME WAS WHEN Ministers for State could speak directly to the Prime Minister whenever they had anything to discuss with Mr Desai. After more than two years in power, such facilities have been quietly withdrawn: possibly with good reason—a Prime Minister, after all, is expected to be busy. The furthest that Ministers of State can now reach is to the officer on special duty, Mr Has-

mukh Shah; some junior Ministers even feel pleased if they get an audience with Mr Shah! Actually, our Prime Minister can hardly be expected to have time for Ministers of State. For, no matter what happens, he goes to sleep punctually around nine. Let us hope no severe crisis in the shape of a war hits this country after nine p.m.: our PM may be forced to keep his eyes open after nine!

WORK FOR FOOD

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA and Bangladesh are not all that smooth in practice, despite the friendly pronouncements made by the two Heads of State during Prime Minister Desai's visit to our neighbouring country. Among other things that we did to show our friendship was to offer Bangladesh 200,000 tonnes of food—and this was a vital offer, as Bangladesh is facing a severe famine this year, and the Zia Government is in a panic. But Bangladesh treated our offer very shabbily indeed. They accepted the food all right, but a senior Bangla official told the country's Press not to play up this generosity on our part. The result was that most of the papers simply ignored India's gesture. Understandably, our Government was very annoyed at this, and privately pointed out to Bangladesh that when the EEC had given Bangladesh only 100,000

tonnes, it was played up in the headlines, but our offer was not even mentioned briefly! Now that this food is actually being transported, another problem has arisen. A ship chartered by the Bangladesh Government to carry the food from Calcutta, lay more or less idling in Calcutta for more than three weeks. The Bangladesh Government had to pay the ship at the rate of 4,000 dollars a day, incurring a heavy loss. No food was being loaded because a shortage of wagons had delayed the transport of food from the godowns to the ship. Would a more gentlemanly attitude on Bangladesh's part have led to a faster movement of wagons?

VERY RED TAPE

DO YOU KNOW that whenever an Under Secretary in the Government of India is promoted in the normal course to the rank of Deputy Secretary, the Prime Minister of the

country has to see the file and append his signature to it? Considering that the promotions to the rank of Deputy Secretary are time-bound and that these take place almost every day, why should the Prime Minister's time be wasted on such routine and mundane matters? But bureaucratic rules have a way of perpetuating themselves. Meanwhile, promotions for many Under Secretaries are being held in abeyance because the Prime Minister has not had time to put his signature on their promotion files.

AT SEA

IN THE WAKE of the unprecedented congestion in Indian sea ports and the failure of the Indian Government to ship export cargoes, a delegation of Commerce Ministry officials went to the United States and came back with the only tangible gain to justify the expense incurred on their trip: a Latin American heavy tonner, S.S. Jala Jaya. The chartered vessel was anchored at Indian ports, so that it could take export cargo to New York and then proceed to Trinidad.

The ship remained berthed in Bombay but the cargo proved elusive. The Commerce Ministry officials were embarrassed; they had got a ship to move export cargo but neither the private sector which had been clamouring for shipping facilities nor the various Government bodies which were blaming the poor export performance on account of inadequate shipping facilities came forward to book their cargo on the ship. All that the Commerce Ministry could manage for the chartered ship in four weeks was a paltry 30 tonnes. Meanwhile, various Port Authorities are charging S. S. Jala Jaya with congesting Indian seaports.

POWER TO SOME PEOPLE

THE BUG OF nuclear power is catching everybody. It is probably the prestige of the thing that attracts Governments to spend money on nuclear power projects, whether the country can afford, or even run, the thing or not. Bangladesh has been scouting around for a nuclear power plant: it has approached China, Pakistan and France, to help out. Alstom Atlantic, a French multinational, is already making a feasibility study.

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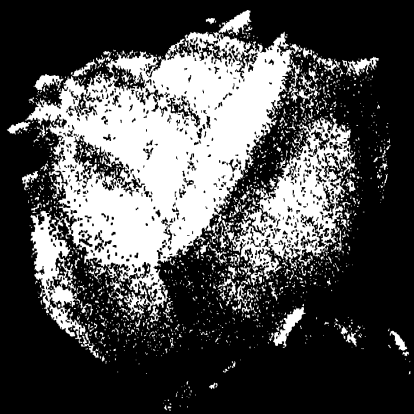
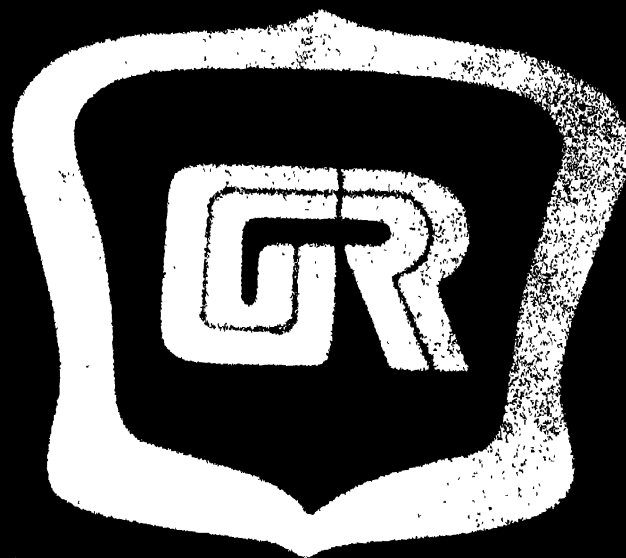


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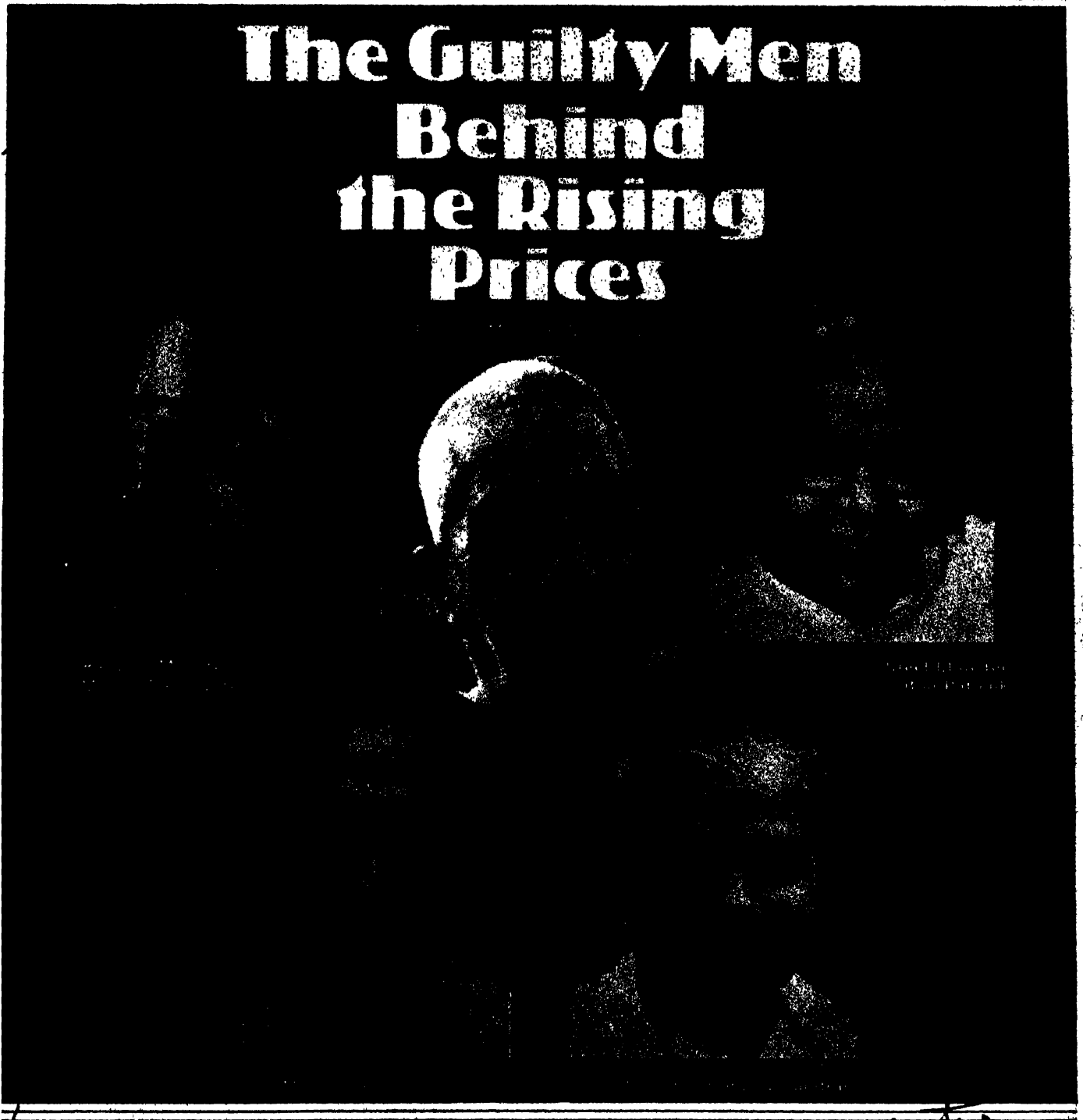


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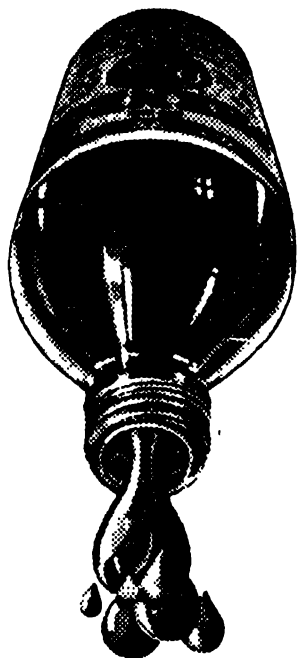
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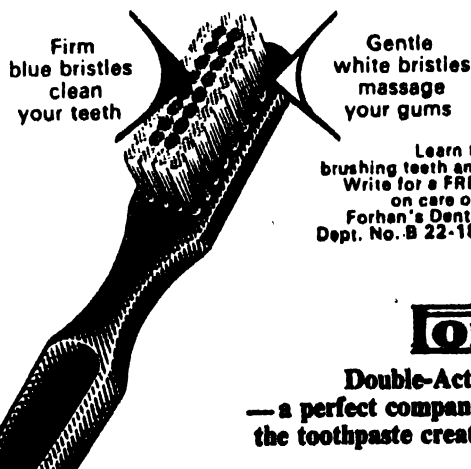


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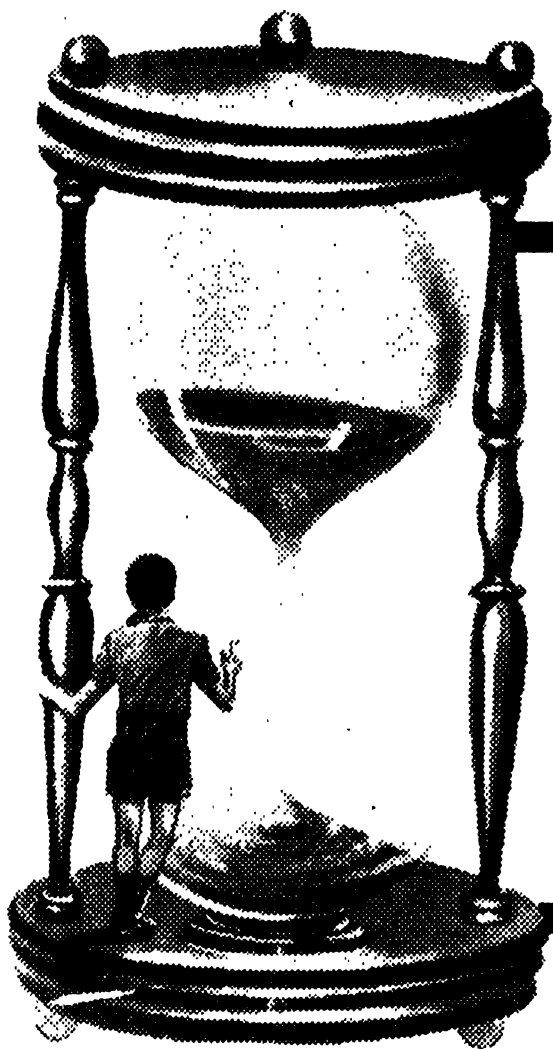
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The country is heading for a first rate economic crisis with an annual 29 per cent inflation rate staring it in the face. The blame for this must lie on the shoulders of an inept and sectarian Finance Minister and his inefficient Cabinet colleagues running the other economic Ministries. With the Janata disintegrating, it is everyone for himself and the devil take the poor, says KEWAL VARMA.

Kalpna, three times winner of the Karnataka Government's best actress award, died on May 11, 1979 in mysterious circumstances. While her family has suspected foul play, the police reports stated that she had committed suicide by taking sleeping pills. Others are confused after seeing her diamond ring sans the stone, wondering if she had swallowed it. RIMA KASHYAP investigates.



Did you know that Goa, now a heady seaside health resort, was once the battleground of a secret spy war? About four decades ago the German Consul in the neutral Portuguese colony, discovered to be a spy, was kidnapped with his wife, forced to reveal secrets and killed. Shortly afterwards, a party of wartime British veterans from Calcutta was assembled, and sent to Goa on another secret mission — to destroy four German and Italian spy ships in the Goan harbour. MARIO CABRAL e SA recreates the suspense, horror and excitement of those stormy days.

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SUNDAY



THE MAN
WHO
SCARED



INDIRA
GANDHI

Better late

MRS GANDHI's ouster from Parliament, the breakaway of her once-staunch supporter, Devaraj Urs, and MGR's betrayal of her over Thanjavur, are eye-openers enough for Mrs Gandhi to realise it is time for her to quit politics. Her persistent political manoeuvring only proves the adage: "A woman's greed knows no bounds".
M. Dhanapalan, Rourkela.

NOT only did Kalaingar Karunanidhi learn his political craft at Periyar EVR's feet ("He learnt his craft at E. V. Ramasamy Naicker's feet", June 10) but so too almost every other politician in Tamil Nadu, for

which reason Tamil Nadu politics has been relatively unaffected by national events. The photograph of the late Chief Minister Arignar Annadurai pointing to Anbil Dharmalingam, the DMK candidate for the Thanjavur byelection, with Kalaingar Karunanidhi was a pleasant surprise.
V. A. Poonkodi Selvan, Thiruvaiyaru.

THE Madras astrologer P. T. Sundaram ("Yes and No", June 10) says: "She (Mrs Gandhi) certainly would have won in Thanjavur but her victory would have created fresh problems for her". This ambiguous statement appears ridiculous without any supporting astrological facts. It is a pity that Prof Sundaram has not noticed the sixth house of the native, a guiding factor which clearly indicates Mrs Gandhi's inability to contest the byelection. Further, how can Saturn, being the Lord of Justice, allow the native to escape the verdict of law during his own period?
M. Bhasker Rao, Lucknow.

NOT Karunanidhi ("Hush-hush meetings in Delhi", June 10) but the Urs-MGR combine defeated Mrs Gandhi. You have given undue prominence to Mr Karunanidhi, in explaining why Mrs Gandhi backed out. Mr Karunanidhi now depends on agitations to keep up his popularity. In his interview ("I am glad I defeated her") he complains that MGR had denied permission to set up a statue of EVR near the Sankaracharya's *math* in Kanchipuram. This was for good reasons. Had a statue of EVR been erected there, it would definitely have offended the Hindus and provoked a conflict between the Hindus and atheist followers of EVR.
Ramanathan M. S., Tiruninravur.

I WOULD have liked Mr Karunanidhi to speak about the terror that was let loose on the staff of CMC Hospital, Vellore and the kind of punishment that was awarded to agitating graduate teachers during his rule. Mr Karunanidhi's political wisdom would never have been doubted had he resigned as soon as the Emergency was declared. But he stayed put until he was finally unseated by Mrs Gandhi. What is Mr Karunanidhi's reply to the charges brought forward by C.G.K. Reddy about the misuse of power during the Emergency?

S. A. Alagarasamy, Madras.

MR M. KARUNANIDHI's accusation of corruption against MGR ("What I was fighting for in Thanjavur", June 10) is not simply a case of the pot calling the kettle black, but a pot covered with layers of soot, calling the kettle black. It is common knowledge that during Mr Karunanidhi's tenure as Chief Minister, corruption was systematised. One could get admitted to a medical or engineering college by paying a fixed bribe. MGR may be a *vaalanki*, but he is now Chief Minister, just as a grocer's daughter is now Prime Minister of Britain; to refer to them with such names is in poor taste.
A.R.R. Narayanan, Rourkela.

KARUNANIDHI did nothing to better the lot of farmers during his tenure. He raised the price of electricity from nine paise to 16 paise per unit. He was also responsible for the rise in rice smuggling and the scarcity of rice in Tamil Nadu. MGR, on the other hand, has been trying hard to assuage the hardship of farmers, and done fairly well.
K. Elanthirayan, Madras.

Fascist 'culture'

"THE ambitions of the RSS" (June 10) by Madhu Limaye is an eye-opener. Mr Limaye has left no stone unturned to expose the shameful role of the RSS, which in recent years has emerged as a threat to national integration and development. Under the garb of nationalism and cultural awareness, it is playing a dubious role. It should mend its ways and act as a liberal cultural organisation without dabbling in fascist politics.

Soubhagyabanta Maharana, Bolanpur.

ACCORDING to Mr Limaye, the RSS is drawing inspiration from the Nixon-Kissinger-Brzezinski-Carter line. He also states that the RSS wants friendship with China because America supports China. This is not denied. But when the USA 'tilted' towards Pakistan during the 1971 Indo-Pak conflict, did the RSS support Pakistan? He also claims the RSS

used Subramaniam Swamy to denigrate Janata leaders. Considering Mr Swamy's attacks against Mr Vajpayee, this would mean the RSS is unhappy with the latter. But Mr Limaye contradicts himself by stating that any criticism of Mr Vajpayee, no matter how mild, is resented by the RSS.

Sudhendu Ranjan Pandey, Bhopalpur.

THE picture showing the RSS chief Balasaheb Deoras as a woman rocking a baby (Morarji Desai) in her arms ("Mother India?", May 20) is not, as you would have us believe, the handiwork of the RSS. The picture was made by an ardent socialist who had attended the All-India Angrezi Hatao Sammelan at Nagpur. The artist had shown the picture to "Netaji" (Raj Narain) while he was addressing a Press conference. Besides, how a picture showing Deoras as a woman would gladden members of the RSS, eludes me.

A. K. Sharma, Nagpur.

Bank on husbands

MISS S. CHATTOPADHYAYA's letter (Opinion, June 10) reminded me of my own experience with a similar private bank, with its headquarters in Delhi. After taking all the trouble to go for the interview, it was disappointing to see that the interviewer had no intention of giving me a job at all. He asked me as to why I needed a job at all when my husband was earning enough to feed me and my child. If they are of the view that girls with earning husbands have no right to seek jobs, why was this not made clear in the advertisement itself? Another friend of mine who suffered the same fate at an interview for a bank officer's job in Bangalore was asked why she was so greedy for more money when her husband was a bank officer himself. It is high time women resisted such humiliation.

R. Devi, Bombay

Naughty baby

MO. MATHAI's "Nobel words" (*Opinion*, June 10) was amusing enough to be included in "Humour in real life". Rajiv Gandhi, apparently a very docile and non-committal person, was either asking for some reaction from Mathai, which goes to credit his sense of humour, or was just being plain honest and dumb in the interview ("Rajiv Gandhi answers", May 13), which reflects, as Mathai so bluntly put it, the size of the brain his head contains. In any case, Mathai was provoked.

Now, this does not speak much of the "goodwill that he still retains towards Rajiv", nor does it prove his statements about Rajiv in his book to be true. On the contrary, it destroys the credibility of his story. Maybe Mathai hoped to get away with certain allegations concerning Rajiv in his book, not realising that Rajiv was no more a cry baby and had something to say for himself. Mr Mathai, one can be sure, was not one bit amused. He was insulted. *Mitali Gupta, Secunderabad*



M. O. MATHAI says in his letter that even for an adult, memory is in direct proportion to the size of the brain. Any neuro-surgeon will tell you that this is utter nonsense, that no person, however brainy, is likely to retain for long, events of a routine and inconsequential nature. But then, writing nonsense has become a prerogative of Mr Mathai. *R. Ravichandran, Madras*

Rank incompetence

IT IS shameful that responsible high-ranking officers in the Indian Army on whom depends the security of this country, lack competence and integrity and do not hesitate to bring disaster to their country in exchange for wine, women and wealth. The extract "Sabotage in the 1962 war" by Lt Col J. R. Saigal (retd) (June 10) should serve as an eyeopener to everyone in service, and every citizen of India. The examples of sabotage cited in the extract should be inquired into by the Government, and the Armed Forces' administration should be cleansed. Admittedly, excessive political inter-

ference in the army makes it ineffective and irksome, but it should not be immune from a system of checks and balances. *Jasvinder Singh, New Delhi.*

LT COL SAIGAL's historical narrative, if it can be so called, is an incoherent compound of personal attacks on commanders, senior and junior officers and even NCOs. As a former gunner, he takes devilish glee in swivelling his gun on all except himself. How the amorous acts of military intelligence officers, or their love for booze, can be the subject matter of the NEFA debacle is beyond our comprehension. *Jahan Das and Kartick Chandra Das, Calcutta.*

First language

NEELAKANT PATRI's article "North Eastern States take up the cudgels" (May 6) helps to focus attention on the indispensability of English as an essential language in India. English besides being the mother tongue of several thousand Indians, is also the de facto official and academic language. Again, English is almost the mother tongue of those living in the North Eastern States, who are confronted with a choice between a number of undeveloped dialects and English. We should accord English its legitimate status. *C. O. Sadasivan, Trivandrum*

IF AFTER so many years of Independence, a few tribal groups do not learn a language recognised in the Constitution, it certainly isn't the fault of the Government. I am not aware of the number of years Mr Patri has spent in the North Eastern States, but as one who has lived here

for four decades, I can say that notwithstanding English becoming the "official language", it is used only by the elite and not by the masses. *B. K. Mandal, Bongaigaon*

THE attitude of the West Bengal Government towards English is fast becoming an enigma. On May 9, 1977, I attended the Rabindra Purashkar awards ceremony. The gathering was addressed by, among others, Mr Jyoti Basu and Prof Sambhu Ghosh. While Mr Basu explained the need for the introduction of Bengali at all levels, with which I agree, Prof Ghosh expressed his unhappiness at the fact that Bengalis very often use English while talking. Yet, he praised the attempts of a foreigner, Dr Dusan Zbavitel, to master the language of Tagore and Nazrul. I fail to understand his logic. If we praise a foreigner for learning our language, we must also praise a Bengali for learning a foreign language. *Rathindranath Chattopadhyay, Calcutta.*

Generally absurd

LT GEN GILL has achieved the impossible ("Are Generals above the law?", May 20). At least over his misdemeanour, the Government, the Opposition, and the Fourth Estate are of one mind — a rare thing to come by! All of them are ardent champions of freedom of expression, and yet believe members of the Armed Forces should not express their views. But why? Political standpoint and activism are not one and the same thing. Ajoy Bose has quoted regulations which were framed in the colonial past. We do not hesitate to amend our Constitution, but why such Bourbonism only for the Armed Forces? We have gurus advocating free sex, journalists extolling the virtues of instant gratification, luminaries preaching urine therapy; but when a cranky brasshat makes a stupid comment, why the dickens can't it be ignored?

Mr Bhupesh Gupta should not be unaware that in the USSR Party membership is encouraged in the Forces (which are, albeit sectarian, politicised all the same). Yet when he goes into tantrums over an inconsequential utterance from a person who is intellectually even more inconsequential, surely he does not show his professed concern for fundamental human rights! Neither does the Government, nor does Ajoy Bose.

Brij Gopal Bose (retd.), Madhupur.

A stinker

IF RAJNEESH finds the culture of Pune stinking ("Pune stinks", June 10) he is welcome to quit the city. He is a hypocrite who professes the anti-culture of degeneration in the name of spiritualism to unassuming westerners, but has failed to impress the local population. The hypocrite in him stands exposed when he persists in his harangues against the heritage of the country on its very soil. Only the refined cultural ancestry of the city, and the country, prevents people from throwing drop-outs like him out of India.

P. G. Vijayaraghavan and K. Krishnan, Pune.

Religious killing

THANKS to Associated Press for the exclusive photographs of execution: in Iran ("Iran executes", June 10) under the regime of the religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who was called the "JP of Iran". As far as I know, our JP is neither a religious leader nor a killer. It will be several generations before the Ayatollah achieves the eminence and nobility of our JP, simply because a person who presides over a wave of senseless executions fulfils no role of a religious leader. *Amrit Lall, 24 Parganas.*

The Guilty Men

Behind the Rising Prices

To start with, Finance Minister Charan Singh must go

By KEWAL VARMA



THE country is beginning to pay the price. Two years of total mismanagement and reckless economic policies have brought the day of reckoning for the Janata Party very near. The dry powder of an economic crisis has been accumulating for quite some time. But it has been left to Chaudhury Charan Singh to ignite the powder with his archaic, parochial "Baghpet" economic philosophy. In the last four months during which he has been the country's Finance Minister, the annual rate of inflation has been 29 per cent. The official wholesale price index increased from 183 on February 10 to 200.6 on June 9: a 9.6 per cent increase in four months. During the corresponding period last year, the index increased by merely 1.2 per cent, from 181.4 to 184.6, proving that the current price increase is not seasonal. Nor is it just a coincidence that the present inflationary bout started within two weeks of Charan Singh becoming the Finance Minister. If the present trend is not tempered, Charan Singh will have gifted to the country a record inflation. What is worse is that it is a pure and simple man-made inflation.

The main cause of the present inflation is that too much money is chasing too few goods and the excessive expansion in money supply has been caused by huge budgetary deficits. In the first two years of Janata rule, the total budgetary deficits added up to Rs 2,525 crores (This does not include the Rs 555 crores of accumulated deficits by the States.) In the current financial year of Chaudhury Charan Singh's regime, measures taken by the Central and State Governments so far have created a built-in budgetary deficit of over Rs 2,500 crores. This consists of about Rs 1,370 crores of uncovered gap in the Central budget and Rs 700 crores due to increase in prices of imported crude and petroleum products and various wage increases granted so far. In addition to this yawning budgetary deficit, the total market borrowings of the Central Government are planned to increase by Rs 200 crores this year. Unless credit to the private sector is further cut, the increased market borrowings

Reghu Rai

are invariably financed by created money.

In fairness to the Janata, it must be said that it inherited a highly mis-managed monetary economics from the previous Indira regime. Mrs Gandhi's 1975 anti-inflationary package, though draconian and highly iniquitous, did restore equilibrium and order in the economy. The oil shock was also absorbed. In itself, it was a great economic feat, with few parallels in the non-socialist, non-oil-producing world. But then came the Emergency and with it the emergence of Sanjay. He laid down the outlines of the 1976 budget, which was the most irresponsible budget in the fiscal history of the country. Instead of mobilisation, there was in fact demobilisation of resources. The only mobilisation of resources undertaken in the Emergency year of 1976 was a futile search for hidden gold in a Jaipur fort.

As a result of the 'Sanjay budget' all the so-called economic gains of the Emergency were wiped out. The money supply expansion which was contained by the 1975 anti-inflation package, again started getting out of hand. It increased from 11.3 per cent in 1975-76 to 20.3 per cent in 1976-77. The Janata Government made only a half-hearted attempt to bring the situation under control. The rate of the money supply expansion in 1977-78 was about 17 per cent, and this went up to 18 per cent in 1978-79. If the current economic policies continue, the money supply expansion in the current year could be about 25 per cent. In the mean time, the accumulated heat of uninterrupted excessive money supply expansion of the last three years has already started displaying its after-effects in the shape of 29 per cent annual rate of inflation.

But why have prices started rising only now when the money supply has been expanding for the last three years? The answer is simple; it has been given by the Janata Party President Chandrashekhar himself: "There is a crisis of confidence in the country". The Janata Government has lost its credibility. More than anything else, it has lost on the psychological front. As a result, an inflationary psychology has gripped the country. In economic terms, the inflationary psychology increases the velocity of money i.e. the rate of circulation of money. Excessive expansion in money supply with accelerated circulation of money compounds its inflationary impact. Under the inflationary psychology everybody, the consumer, the trader and the manufacturer, tends to hoard, obviously, according to their respective capacities. This only accentuates artificial shortages and further stokes the fire of inflation.

The man-made shortages are further compounded by a virtual total collapse of public sector management in the key economic sectors of railways, coal, power, ports and steel. Though all are under one Government, we witness the strange spectacle of one department blaming the

If the present course is not tempered Charan Singh will have gifted to the economy a record inflation of 30 per cent or more.

other. The railways complain that they do not have sufficient coal and power, the coal people complain that they are being let down by the railways, and power stations complain that they are not getting coal and the railways are not doing their job. For the past nine months, a monitoring sub-committee of the Cabinet is supposed to be going into the problems of these sectors. Apart from asking various departments to put up notes, it has done pretty little. In the mean time, the vicious circle is becoming more and more vicious, holding the whole country to ransom.

Railways

What's wrong with each of these sectors? Let's take them one by one. The railways carried 212.6 million tonnes of freight in 1976-77. In the first year of the Janata rule it came down to 210.8 million tonnes, and in the second year to 198.9 million tonnes. The beginning made in the third year indicates that there will

be a further slump. How helpless the railways are cannot be better illustrated than by quoting the latest Press handout of the Ministry of Railways. It says: "Various factors, mostly beyond the control of the railways, affected rail operations resulting in loss of revenue-earning traffic during April, 1979, the first month of the current financial year. Mechanical breakdown in the Central India and Talcher coalfields, labour strikes in certain Bengal-Bihar collieries, shortage of power in the washeries affecting movement of raw coal to the steel plants, breakdown of reclaimers at Bachel for about 10 days and accumulation of ore stocks at Vizag port restricting loading potential for movement of iron ore for export, and immobilisation of 2,000 wagons for more than a fortnight in the Jamshedpur area on account of disturbances, were some of the factors. Rail operation in the eastern sector remained interrupted on account of various agitations and wild-cat strikes by the railway staff. As a result of these factors, the railways moved only 15.21 million tonnes of the originating revenue-earning freight traffic during April, 1979, as against 17.06 million tonnes moved during April, 1978. The approximate number of passengers booked in the month of April, 1979, was 256 millions, a drop of 46.64 millions compared to April, 1978. Both suburban and non-suburban traffic registered a drop, the former by 19.9 per cent and the latter by 10.5 per cent over the corresponding month of last year".

George Fernandes is securing his trade union base



Mandira Pure

Drop, drop, drop

Now, power. After West Bengal, it is Maharashtra's turn, and as a result, the country's two most industrialised States are afflicted with a power crisis. God forbid, but if the rains are inadequate, practically the whole country will become West Bengal and Maharashtra. Fears that 1979 will be a year of darkness in the event of a monsoon failure, are based on the performance of thermal power stations last year. The generation of electricity of thermal power stations in 1978-79 increased by only 2.8 per cent. The latest bulletin of the Central Electricity Authority admits: "The plant load factor of thermal stations, including nuclear, during 1978-79 declined to about 48.4 per cent from the 1977-78 level of 50.8 per cent". The maintenance and coal supplies to thermal stations have further deteriorated. As a result, there is no hope of reversing the downward trend in the performance of the thermal stations. In a way, the Janata has been very lucky. There have been good monsoons and, as a result, the generation of hydel power increased by 23.9 per cent in 1978-79. This covered the shortfalls in thermal stations. If luck does not favour the country this year, such an option will not be available. In the mean time, the Energy Ministry is trying to live through the crisis through bluffs. It claimed that a new generating capacity of 3022 MW has been added during 1978-79. But the Power Engineers' Association has challenged this claim. According to power engineers, not more than 1800 MW new capacity is ready for commissioning this year.

In coal, about Rs. 1,100 crores of new investment has been made in

the last five years. This is in addition to Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 crores of accumulated losses in this period. But where has this additional investment gone? The production in the last three to four years has been hovering round 100 million tonnes. For the last three years, coal production targets have been revised downwards almost every six months.

In steel, there was absolute decline in production in all the integrated steel plants except Bokaro during 1978-79. If production did not fall in Bokaro, it was because it was commissioned last year and its production cannot but pick up gradually. In April last, it was decided to deliberately cut the steel production by eight per cent to build up coal stocks for the monsoon period. But in the last three months, despite the cut in steel production, coal stocks at steel plants increased by only 13,000 tonnes. Since coal movement inevitably slows down during the rainy season, it is feared that with the available coal stocks, the steel production will have to be cut drastically in the coming months. As regards ports, at one time as many as 120 ships were waiting on the high seas as they were not getting berths at ports.

Inefficient, inexperienced ministers

The collapse of the public sector infrastructure can be traced to the inefficiency and inexperience of Janata Ministers managing these departments. The only administrative experience the Energy Minister Ramachandran has is that of a housekeeper at Kamaraj's residence. It is said that he was very good in

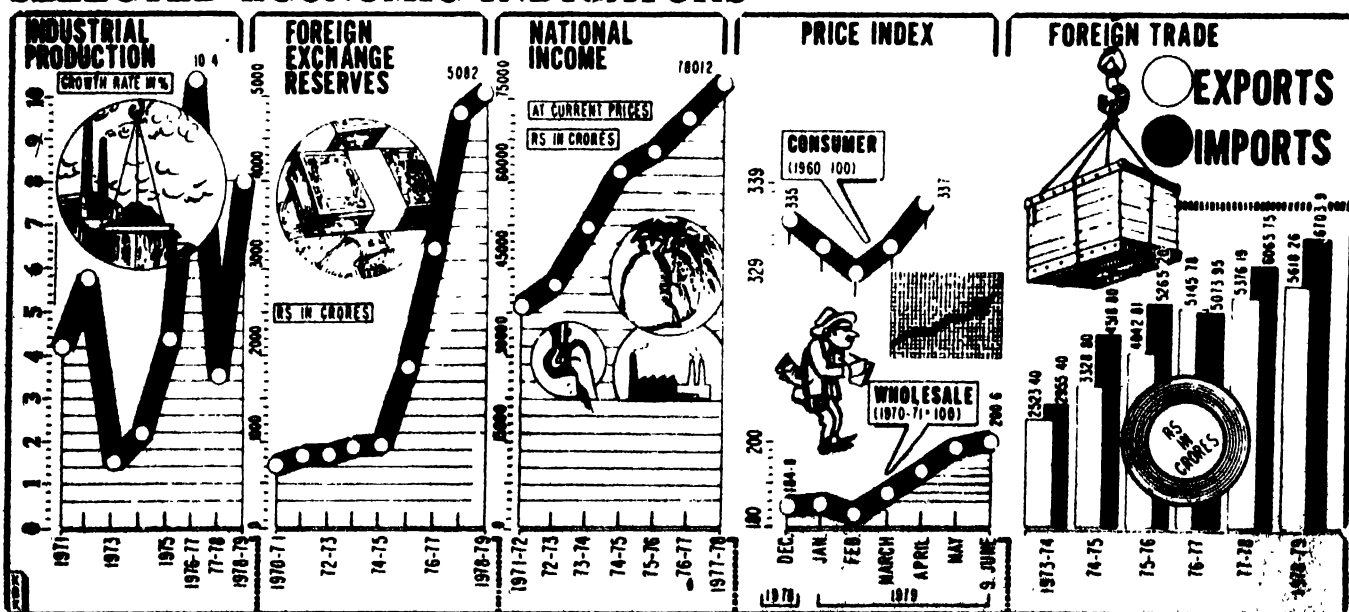
making coffee for Kamaraj's chosen friends. Before he became Minister at the Centre, Ramachandran did not even have the experience of managing a municipality. But in this world, blind loyalty to great men pays.

Now Madhu Dandavate is a goody goody soft socialist. He promises everything to everybody, and cannot say "no" to anybody. In the first flush of Janata's enthusiasm he got all those involved during the 1974 railway strike reinstated. A strict disciplinarian like Morarji Desai could not stop this; and this affected the morale of railway officers and bred further indiscipline. Gradually, Morarji became desperate. Like King Lear, his whole wrath came down on the innocents—in this case, the Railway Board chairman K. S. Rajan. When Dandavate demurred, Morarji told him: "Either you go or Rajan will go." Rajan went. This has further damaged the morale of railway officers.

Rayindra Varma was quite successful in labour management as long as the CPI(M) was playing ball with the Janata. But now the Marxists are becoming militant, adding to the headaches of Varma. And he has been stabbed in the back by some of his own colleagues, like George Fernandes, who have started instigating labour. As a result, Rayindra Varma's effectiveness as a Labour Minister has reduced considerably. In his helplessness, he can only tell his Cabinet colleagues: "Et tu, Brutus". And what can one say about Chand Ram. Coming from landlocked Haryana, he, perhaps, saw a ship for the first time after he became the Union Shipping Minister.

But of the Ministers of the economy, Biju Patnaik is the biggest disappointment. As Orissa Chief Minister, he had earned the reputation of being a good administrator, particularly in the sphere of economic develop-

SELECTED ECONOMIC INDICATORS

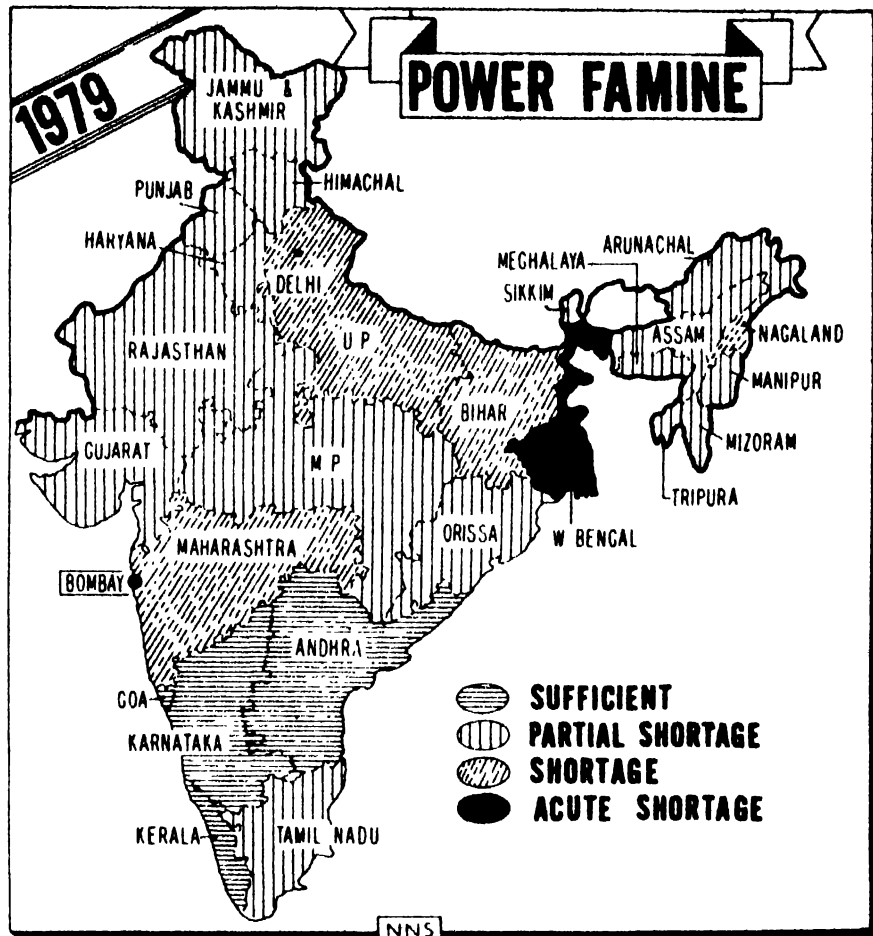


ment. But as Steel Minister, he has proved to be a bluffer and a braggart. It seems that he has no heart in the Steel Ministry; perhaps the Ministry is too small for his ego.

However, perhaps more than the inefficiency and inexperience of individual Ministers, it is the collective incompatibility of the Janata coalition which is mucking up the economy. With the Janata withering away at a growing pace, each constituent and each top Minister is in a great hurry and has become desperate to consolidate his mass base. If the Janata breaks up, which it will, George Fernandes, for instance, will have to fall back on trade unions to survive politically. The Jana Sangh depends on traders, and Charan Singh on kulaks. In fact, this free-for-all game was started in its worst form by Chaudhury Charan Singh when he became the Finance Minister and, of course, the Deputy Prime Minister also. In his budget, he offered windfall gains to kulaks at the cost of urban people. Against all economic rationale and advice of the Planning Commission, he abolished all duties on fertilisers, power tillers and PVC pipes for irrigation, and reduced duties on diesel for pump sets.

Subsequent to the budget, Charan Singh most skilfully used the credit instruments and his authority over other economic Ministries to transfer gains to his rich farmer constituents. Charan Singh comes from the heartland of the sugar-growing districts of western UP. He seems to have entered into an unwritten understanding with sugar magnates that he would enable them to earn massive profits provided they paid high prices to growers. Thus, when he became the Finance Minister, the wholesale price index of sugar, khandsari and gur was 130; now it has crossed 190. All in four months. The sugar industry was given most liberal bank credits. This created the holding capacity in the industry. Simultaneously, the sugar syndicate, despite massive production, regulated the sugar supplies in such a manner as led to the rigging of the retail sugar prices. When the sugar syndicate was manipulating the prices, the Government became a passive spectator. In fact, Bhanu Pratap Singh, a dyed-in-the-wool kulak and Chaudhury protege, proved too smart for his senior, Sardar Surjit Singh Barnala, and for all practical purposes controls the Food Ministry which is in charge of the sugar department. It is only now that the Government has taken over the monthly releases of sugar. But the sugar syndicate still wields considerable influence over the sugar controller's office.

As in the case of sugar, the wholesale price index of edible oils in the last four months increased from 149 to 172. First, in his budget, Charan Singh announced a basic customs duty of 12.5 per cent on imported palm oil, rapeseed oil, soyabean oil, sunflower oil and palmolive oil. This set in motion a price rise in edible oils. Also, tankers bringing



God forbid, but if the rains are inadequate, the whole country will become West Bengal and Maharashtra, power-starved. The Energy Ministry is trying to live through the crisis through bluffs.



imported edible oils were not accorded priority and were not given berths in ports for weeks together. It is worth investigating who conspired in this delay. This was enough to create an artificial scarcity of edible oils.

Charan Singh's pro-kulak bias knows no limits. He has now put a ceiling of Rs. 100 crores on the food-for-work programme for the current year. This programme is, perhaps, the only positive economic achievement of the Janata. Even though it was conceived and made possible by the previous Government, the credit for implementation certainly goes to the Janata. Despite leakages and corruption in the programme, it provides employment and increases the wage level of agricultural workers. It is catching up in a big way. Apart from pushing up the wage levels of agricultural workers, it has reduced their abject dependence on rich farmers. Agricultural workers and marginal farmers conserve food from the quota they receive under the programme; as a result, they will not have to go to village moneylenders and rich farmers for food in the lean season at "any price" — either in cash or in kind. This is enough to enrage kulaks. So they have nipped the programme in the bud. When the food stocks have swelled to 22 million tonnes — experts think that beyond 16 million tonnes food stocks are counter productive — Charan Singh will let food stocks spoil in the

rains and be eaten by rodents rather than by the hungry millions in the rural area. After all, American kulaks also either keep their land fallow or burn their grains in the fields rather than wipe out hunger in the developing countries.

Earlier, the widening budgetary gaps did not deter Charan Singh from increasing the subsidy on fertiliser. Now, he is increasing the subsidy on food. With the big increase in productivity, the cost of production of agricultural commodities has come down this year. Yet, the procurement prices of wheat have been increased, and of rice and cotton are being increased in the teeth of opposition from the Planning Commission. The Agricultural Prices Commission, which recommends these increases, is packed with kulaks and is headed by a kulak-oriented administrator, Avtar Singh Khallon; there is no representative of consumers in this commission. The Finance Ministry, which normally should play the role of a moderator in such cases, is openly aiding these moves even though in the process it is making its task of fiscal and monetary management more difficult. Charan Singh's keenness to help middle and rich farmers is so strong that he recently raised the limit of Government subsidy for installing irrigation pumps from 5-acre holdings to 10-acre holdings.

A free for all

When Chaudhury Charan Singh is so unabashedly using his governmental position to shower undeserved windfall gains on his constituency, which by no stretch of imagination belongs to the weaker sections of the society, he has no moral authority to deny the same privilege to his other Ministerial colleagues and constituents of the Janata Party. The Jana Sangh has started instigating traders to demand abolition of sales tax. Why should traders pay sales tax, when reports reaching

Ravindra Varma

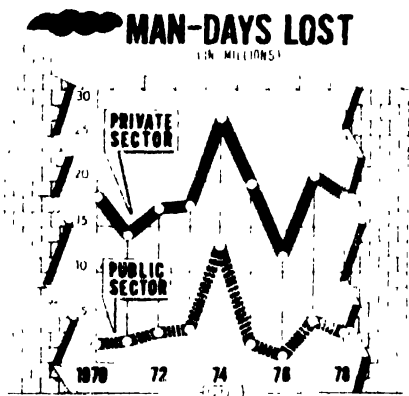


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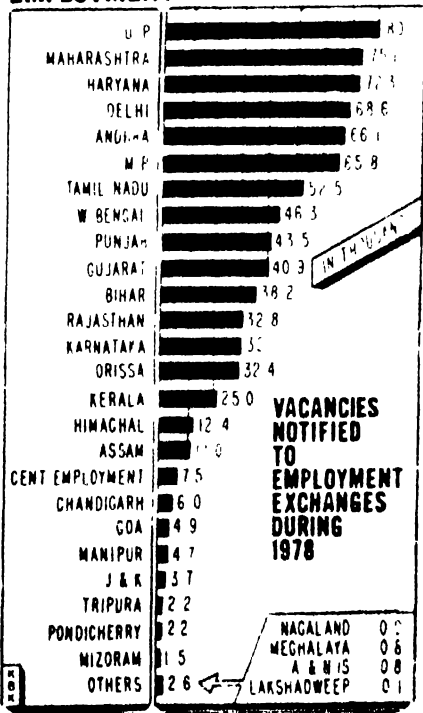
Of the Ministers of the Economy Biju Patnaik is the biggest disappointment. As Steel Minister he has proved to be a bluffer and a braggart.



Vijendra Tyagi



EMPLOYMENT GENERATED



Delhi indicate that in many parts rich farmers are not paying land revenue because they feel they have their own Government? It is reported that they are not returning loans of cooperative banks since the supreme bank in the country, namely the Reserve Bank, is now under the control of their leader, Charan Singh.

Earlier, when the Gujarati mafia had monopolised all the critical economic instruments, it also followed the axiom: charity begins at home. The Gujarati's lust for gold is well known. They had an eye on the nation's gold stocks built with the sweat and tears of the people. The former Finance Minister, H. M. Patel, auctioned gold to reduce prices. But with every auction, the gold price went up and the country, on a very conservative estimate, lost Rs. 50 crores. Anybody with any knowledge of international economics should have known that with the erosion of confidence in the dollar, and the proposed official restoration of gold contribution in the European monetary system, the international prices of gold would inevitably go up, and this would inevitably have an effect on domestic prices of gold in India. But who bothers about the nation's interest and disinterested intelligent projections, when money-making by policy makers and their friends is the primary motivation?

In this free-for-all atmosphere, organised and unionised sections of employees, both white collared and blue collared, cannot be expected to remain far behind. More so when they have such a vocal and irrepressible political patron as George Fernandes in the Cabinet. Bank employees in particular made a mockery of the feeble attempts to evolve a wage policy. At first, Morarji showed his impotent anger. He threatened to issue an ordinance to ban bank strikes. But his Cabinet colleagues, responsive to urban middle class pressure, browbeat him and bank employees got what they were demanding. Then Charan

Madhu Dandavate



Sri Bhatnagar

'The Janata will not administer tough medicine'

Dr Raj Krishna, a member of the Planning Commission since 1977, has been an important spokesman of the Janata Government's over-all economic policies. At the turn of the year he extolled the Government's good economic house-keeping in a long newspaper article. A brief six months later the tide has turned dramatically and it is an altogether more defensive Dr Krishna who answers AJOY BOSH's questions.

Q What are the causes of inflation and what are the prospects if the present policies continue?

A: There has been an unnecessary controversy whether the budget caused the inflation or not. In any country inflation is caused by three basic reasons: the cost push factor, the demand pull factor and scarcity. Fortunately we have not had very much scarcity. But the cost push factors have become very strong because of the recent increase in prices of petroleum products, cement, steel, etc. There is also some increase in indirect taxes because of the last budget. On the demand pull side, the main cause of concern is the 18 per cent increase in the supply of money in the last year, partly due to the very large Government deficit of Rs 1,400 crores. So the present inflation is due to cost push factors and demand pull factors. Which factor is stronger is, I think, a largely academic question, because from the policy point of view, both should be attacked.

Q: What are the components of the anti-inflationary package suggested by you?

A: We have basically recommended four measures. First, the rate of growth of the money supply should be brought down to 10 per cent, particularly by squeezing commercial credit given to traders. But the productive credit flow should be maintained. Second, the non-developmental expenditure of the Central Government should be cut down by at least 10 per cent. Third, the bank interest rate should be raised from nine per cent to 10 per cent and other interest rates should also be raised upwards. And finally, the prices of four essential commodities, grains, sugar, edible oil and common varieties of cloth must not be allowed to rise at all. Zero inflation in all these com-



modities is possible because the Government can either have buffer stocks or import these commodities. It is absolutely important that these prices are not allowed to rise. Further, increases in administered prices should be postponed and partial increases in the price of coal, petroleum products, rice and cotton which have been proposed, should be postponed until the price situation has stabilised.

Q: Will the Government really take up these measures?

A: Well, out of the package, it seems that the Reserve Bank of India is already squeezing credit and the Government has also taken action to bring down the market price of sugar and also started releasing more edible oil in the open market. But, so far there has been no action to raise interest rates. And no substantial action is being contemplated to reduce non-developmental expenditure. This is very necessary because we feel that if the Government deficit continues to be large it will not be possible for the RBI to reduce the growth of the money supply. The Government should also be careful not to raise the prices of coal, rice, petroleum products and cotton even if they are necessary.

Q: But do you think that the Janata Government has the political will to implement the whole package?

A: No, I don't think it is possible. This is because of political reasons. Any of the proposed expenditure cuts will adversely affect some interests. All these interests have strong representation in the Government. For instance, agricultural subsidies cannot be cut and probably subsidies for some agricultural products will be raised. Similarly, staff emoluments have also to be raised. Defence expenditure will probably not be reviewed. The expenditure on prohibition will also have to be incurred. All these expenditures cannot be cut because of political reasons.

Q: What would then be the effect of the anti-inflationary package?

A: Well, it would be like administering half the required dose to the patient. The easier medicine like credit squeeze and supply management of essential commodities will be administered. But the more difficult medicine, namely cutting down of non-developmental expenditure and the raising of interest rates, would not be possible.

Q: What then are the prospects and which section of the population would be hit by the inflation?

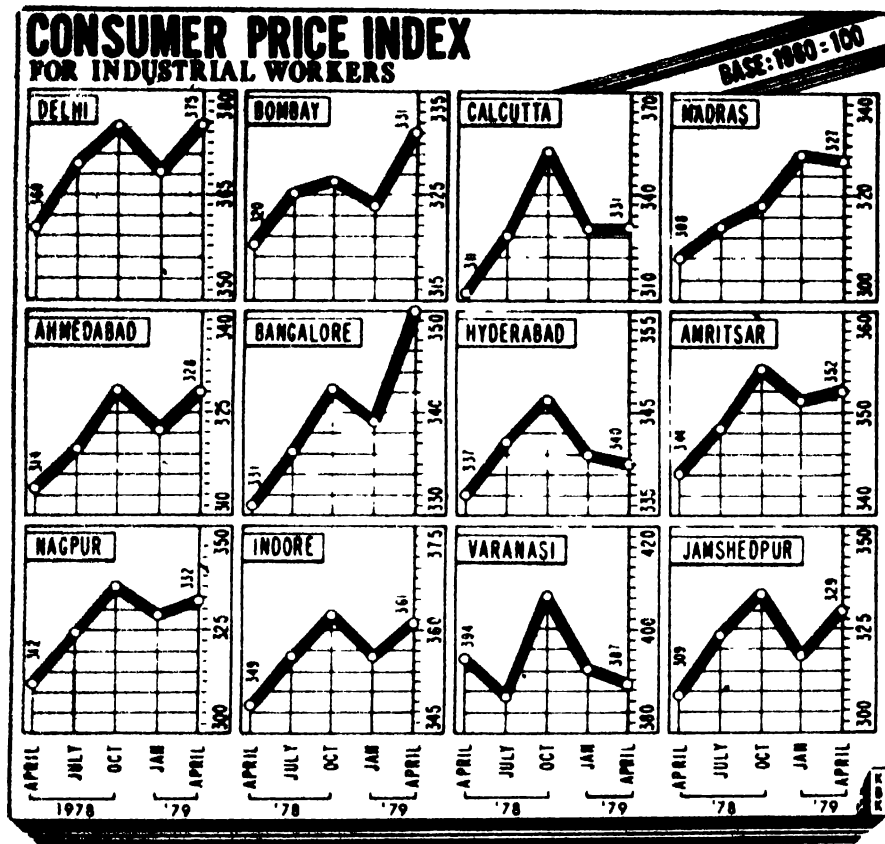
A: Well, the rate of inflation will rise to 12 per cent in this financial year. And as in all inflationary situations, it will be the agricultural labourers, factory workers, fixed salary earners—all whose incomes do not rise with prices—who will be hit the worst. Whereas manufacturers and businessmen will gain since their incomes rise with prices. Some big farmers will also gain if agricultural prices rise.

Q: What effect will this inflation have on the plan and the growth prospects of the country?

A: Inflation will force the Government to spend more and more money on non-developmental items and less on planned projects. Inflation is always regressive. It does not increase the rate of investment nor does it help the growth prospects of the country.

Q: How desperate do you think is the situation?

A: Fortunately, we have a food buffer stock of 22 million tonnes and foreign exchange reserves of Rs 5,000 crores. This makes it easier for the present Government to deal with the situation than was the case in the early seventies. The situation is bad but we will survive.



Singh tried to be firm and said that in the public sector he would not let wages increase by more than the 10 per cent ceiling fixed by the Bureau of Public Enterprises. But in the mean time, coal miners demonstrated their unity through a token strike and threatened an indefinite strike.

This unnerved the Government. Twelve hours before the strike was to start, it conceded an 18 per cent increase in the coal miners wages. This has opened the floodgates of wage explosion and the so-called wage policy of the Janata Government is in a shambles.

Now a big fuss is being made on the bonus for railwaymen. George Fernandes has made it clear that he will remain in the Government only if railwaymen get bonus. If he goes out of the Government, he will make things impossible for the Government, at least through the railways. Chaudhury Charan Singh, who has been opposing bonus, perhaps realises this. So he is entering into competitive radicalism with George. In his letter to the Prime Minister, he has said that if bonus is given to railwaymen, it cannot be denied to employees of other departmental undertakings and State and Central Governments, including the security forces. This will cost Rs. 600 crores per annum to the exchequer. In addition, the sudden countrywide police revolt cannot but lead to a hefty increase in their wage bill: Punjab, with its panicky response, has already set the pace in this regard.

Back to the blackmarket

One of the most serious failings of the Janata has been the reemergence of blackmarketing during its regime. In the last two years, more than Rs. 200 crores of black money must have been generated through blackmarketing. And in commodities for which the Great Socialist George is responsible. Paper is openly selling at treble the controlled price, cement at double the price, tyres and tubes at 50 per cent higher. Steel prices in the open market are 50 per cent



Central Newsphoto Service



Charan Singh (here addressing the kisan rally) is openly partial to his electoral base

higher than those fixed by the Government, and soda ash is selling at about 70 per cent higher than fixed by manufacturers. The value of property and gold has shot up by 100 per cent in the last two years. Cotton prices have come down, but cotton textile prices have gone up. Traders, emboldened by their political power, are indulging in black-marketing with impunity. And our George is not raising even his little finger. Perhaps this is the price he is paying for seeking Jana Sangh support to dislodge Devi Lal. Mr. Fernandes cannot keep his credibility with empty threats alone. Only lately he came out against the rising communal violence but the next day took back a lot of what he had said.

The finance ministry remains most complacent. It has become a victim of its own propaganda that the budget has caused an increase of only 0.8 per cent in the price index. It is trying to deceive itself that with foreign exchange reserves and the food stock, there is nothing much to worry about. But with congestion in ports, it may not be possible to arrange timely imports. Also, the international price of practically every commodity is higher than the domestic price. In other words, the greater the imports, the higher will be the imported inflation. Also, shortages of some non-tradeables, i.e. items which cannot be imported, like power and transport, are becoming serious. After some time it may not be possible to import unlimited quantities of petroleum products and crude to meet the shortfall in the sources of domestic energy. As regards food, it is true that even with one drought there should be no problem of wheat and rice. But we are entering a phase where "not by bread alone" will be literally true. A starving man does not revolt. He submits to his fate. Only a man with something in his stomach demands more. And it is that "more"

which is becoming scarce and costly. This "more" is sugar, edible oil, cloth, a house etc. When the current wave of wage explosion runs its full course, this "more" will be increasingly sucked into the whirlpool of hyper-inflation. The Government is also caught between the devil and the deep sea on the question of increasing the prices of coal and petroleum products to economic levels. If their prices are increased now, it will only add to the inflationary psychology. If the increases are postponed, budgetary deficits will increase further, and this will also increase inflationary potentials even in the short-term. In the mean time, Chaudhary Charan Singh is so supremely unconcerned with the plight of the consumers that he has said that he cannot guarantee bank credits to launch the public distribution scheme

prepared by his colleague, Mohan Dharia.

There is now much talk of an anti-inflationary package. When national interests are subordinated to sectional interests, God alone can save the country. In fact, even the sectional gains are illusory, since sooner rather than later they are eaten away by inflation. In this free-for-all situation, the only sufferers will be the unorganised majority of the Indian people, and the future generation. Inflation will eat into the growth potential. What makes the situation grave is that as in 1974-75, economic and political crises have converged. The Janata Party is at a breaking point; the political and moral authority of the Government is at the lowest ebb; the police are revolting, communal riots have broken out, and the sensitive north-east region is in trouble again. In this situation, a political crisis will feed on the economic crisis and vice versa. There are very disconcerting signs. In the wake of the police revolt and the mounting economic crisis, Morarji has declared that he cannot effectively govern the country without a preventive detention law. If democracy is to be saved, the country indeed needs a 'Veer-Abhimanyu' to break up the 'Chakra-vyooha'. Alas, 84-year-old Morarji is not equal to the task. He is leading a most incompatible and disorganised team. Behind the facade of a strongman, Morarji will make any compromises to continue as Prime Minister. In 1975, the anti-inflationary package resolved the economic crisis by placing additional burdens on salaried classes and peasantry. The burdens were most unequally distributed, but the country's economy was saved. Somebody has to make the sacrifices this time too. But, in the Janata, who will bell the cat? As a first step, Charan Singh will have to be sacked to save the economy. But who will do it? ■

The only administrative experience the Energy Minister has is that of a housekeeper at Kamaraj's residence. It is said he was very good at making coffee.



Raj Narain declares independence

And Haryana will be his fort



ists in the country).

By the end of the month, the coming split in the Janata was even clearer. George Fernandes, who had been calmly ignoring the RSS menace at the expense of all he had stood for, came out with an anti-RSS statement. And Chandrashekhar, whose affection for his Prime Minister had reached such proportions, finally realised that there was a crisis in the country, and the Prime Minister was responsible for it. Bahuguna issued a statement against the RSS, and it was a safe bet that he was preparing to eventually join the revived Congress. Of course, none of this can be directly attributed to Mr Raj Narain's resignation from the Janata Party — but once again, it was Raj Narain who had made the first move, perhaps the decisive move. And the issue he had chosen, the RSS, was the issue that would break the Party.

But the most curious reaction to Mr Narain's resignation was from his supporters. The first question was: Was this a prelude to a general resignation by Chaudhury Charan Singh and his followers, leading to a collapse of the Morarji Government? The answer was available very soon — No. Charan Singh was still not ready to give up power. But it is possible that he might be waiting for an opportune moment, for the right economic issue to arise. It would be more dramatic, would it not, if he resigned on the bonus issue — converting a decision to give railwaymen bonus into another concession to the city at the expense of the village. According to the theorists (and their number is legion in the capital city) Raj Narain's resignation was a trial balloon sent up by the Chaudhury camp. It would be followed by the resignation of about ten MPs. And if even this did not change things in the Janata Party and the Government, the great exodus would start.

Events, some startling, could overtake the theorists. A period of uncertainty, in which the only certainty is the failure of the Government, has begun, and the different politicians could do some unexpected things. There could be betrayal — hardly an unknown element in Indian politics. But what is most likely is that two anti-Morarji-RSS and anti-Mrs Gandhi Parties will emerge within the next few months. One of them will be the Congress, the other the old BLD (what names these Parties eventually acquire is a secret of which only God is aware at the moment). The two could work in harmony in the coming electoral battles.

In the meantime, the ludicrous battle for power in Haryana is the

RAJ NARAIN must surely be the most underestimated politician in the country. And the blame for this must, to an extent, be shared by Mr Raj Narain himself: His colourful hyperbole and dramatic style do not exactly conform to the middle class notion of a "respectable" politician, who is expected to be sober, thoughtful, committed and possibly honest too. In fact, the only adjective that does not apply to Raj Narain from that list is "sober": the others fit him. Not merely this: Raj Narain has played a crucial role in the recent political history of this country. One is referring not only to his singular victory over Mrs Gandhi, first in the law courts, then on the electoral battlefield. On crucial occasions, Raj Narain has acted as the catalyst, the mover of events that have had significant consequences. Once again, this might happen.

June has been an important month for Mr Raj Narain, and perhaps it was a sense of history that made him

resign from the Janata Party on June 23. It was an interesting time. In the South, Mr Devaraj Urs was getting ready to leave Mrs Gandhi, and set in motion an effort to provide an alternative to both the discredited Janata Party and the discarded Congress(I). The North was in a mess. The Jana Sangh-Congress(O) Ministry in Bihar was already in trouble; Ram Sunder Das was still unable to form a Government. The anti-RSS forces in Bihar were waiting to pounce. And in Haryana, the battle between the Jana Sangh and the anti-RSS factions of the Janata Party was coming to a head. Rajasthan was unsteady. All over, in fact, what might broadly be called the pro and anti-RSS sections of the Janata Party were fighting with an acrimony they had never exhibited in the past, a passion that would surely make it impossible for them to co-operate in the future (although, of course, nothing can be ruled out in the corrupt political climate that ex-

Vijendra Tyagi

down which shows the day. Devi Lal and Raj Narain have left no one in any doubt about their intentions: They would rather destroy the Janata Party than allow the RSS to dominate it.

OM PRAKASH describes what happened in Haryana:

THE Bihar drama was reenacted in Haryana. The Jana Sangh, Socialists, CFD and Congress(O) joined hands to oust the BLD Chief Minister, Devi Lal. Much has been and can still be said against Devi Lal's style of functioning but the high-pitched drama which took place in Delhi in the last three weeks of June with the open connivance of the Central leadership can have serious repercussions in the Janata Party in particular and national politics in general.

It all started with the fateful decision of Devi Lal to sack four Jana Sangh Ministers, Dr Mangal Sain, Kamla Verma, Ram Lal Vadhura and Bir Singh. There was no immediate provocation for this ill-timed decision. But it was a typical 'Jat' reaction to what had earlier happened in Bihar and UP. Charan Singh advised Devi Lal not to do so but the latter was adamant and complacent that he could easily ride out the storm.

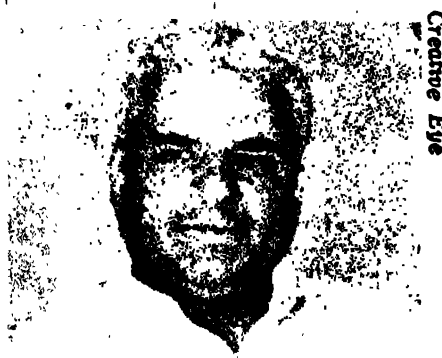
The four ousted Ministers camped at 11 Ashoka Road in New Delhi which is commonly shared by three bachelor MP's. Besides Jhandewala (RSS Delhi office) this is also virtually a camp office of the Sangh. The entire Haryana drama was rehearsed and played out here. After persuading their Central leadership the four Ministers contacted, nagged and persuaded the other constituents of the Janata Party to stage a coup d'etat against Devi Lal. And on June 8 after getting a green signal from his mentor and Party President, Chandrashekhar, Gajraj Nagar raised the curtain. He, along with Bhajan Lal (CFD), Mehar Singh Rathi and Sher Singh (both BLD dissidents) announced his resignation from the Devi Lal Ministry. S. C. Malik, deputy chairman of the State Welfare Board, was also present on this occasion.

The BLD camp was taken aback. Devi Lal himself was touring the inner parts of Haryana distributing the matching grants to the rural folk. An unruffled Devi Lal said in his Jat English "worry not". And thus also spoke the ever cool, calm and composed Jagjivan Ram while briefing pressmen about his tour of East European countries. It is nothing new in Haryana politics. Nothing would happen. Little did he know then that exactly two weeks later he would have to throw his whole weight behind his protegee Bhajan Lal to get him the CM's seat.

Devi Lal was sure and so were Haryana watchers. But the dissidents under the shrewd leadership of the Jana Sangh high command were more than obsessed by the horse-trading tactics of Devi Lal. They had seen that Devi Lal was a past master at the numbers game. They had been robbed of almost certain victory twice. So they pressed for a fresh

confidence vote. Chandrashekhar was closeted with the Prime Minister twice but Mr Desai said; "Nothing doing. I am not going to believe these Haryana MLAs". They had twice wasted his connivance in ousting Devi Lal. Forty-three MLAs paraded before him. But he said not so soon. "Let me come back from USSR." Bhajan Lal went to see off Mr Desai at the airport. He even told this correspondent that the new leader would be elected by him and Chandrashekhar.

R. K. Hegde announced that the Janata Parliamentary Board would discuss the Haryana issue on June 22. Devi Lal got 10 days to manoeuvre. The dissidents got jittery. "Even at the rate of one MLA a day Devi Lal could turn the tables. He was capable of even more. The Jana Sangh, however had an ace up its sleeves. Remove the MLAs from the scene. What would Devi Lal barter with? And that really worked. Twenty-eight MLAs were sent in three groups in air-conditioned luxury coaches for Bharat Darshan. But with a rider. They could visit only the saffron capitals, i.e. Jaipur, Bhopal and Simla. And meanwhile their



Bhajan Lal

leaders kept on claiming their majority

Devi Lal, for the first time in his chequered career, found himself outwitted. He requested Bhairon Singh Shekhawat to clinch a deal. You scratch my back I will scratch yours. Shekhawat said I have no dissidents. You do. Hence it can't be a deal. A humiliated Devi Lal was rebuffed by Shekhawat who had put his MLAs in luxurious captivity. Devi Lal even made the husband of an MLA issue a rescue cry for his wife. He sent his elder brother, Sahob Ram, to the dissidents' guide, philosopher and friend, Muktiar Singh Malik, to issue an appeal to spare his brother. But before that some loyal bureaucrat had issued a statement from Harvana Bhawan that Malik had been ostracised from his 'khap' (community). Devi Lal even resorted to holding the sarpanchs' meeting, calling upon their elected legislators to return in case they decided to oppose Devi Lal. But nothing worked. The die had been cast. Devi Lal's days were numbered.

Devi Lal, in a desperate attempt, threatened to dissolve the Assembly. When Chandrashekhar took strong exception to his right to do so, he denied having made such a threat.

One MLA even quoted the Prime Minister that Devi Lal would not be allowed to dissolve the Assembly. The PM's secretariat did not contradict this assertion. On the eve of the JLP meeting Devi Lal resigned from the leadership but retained the CM's post. It was an abortive attempt to frustrate the MLAs' attempt to pass a no-confidence vote against him. Chandrashekhar again rejected his request to cancel the meeting. Just before the meeting Devi Lal resigned unconditionally. The 72 MLAs unanimously accepted the resignation. The meeting to elect the new leader was billed for the next day. The climax was approaching. Before this Devi Lal had circulated the name of the PWD minister, Lachman Singh, for the new leader. But on seeing the dissension he denied his support.

June 26 was the most crucial. Each faction held its own conclave. The PM wanted Balwant Rai Tayal. Chandrashekhar wanted Gajraj Nagar. Chand Ram wanted Rizak Ram. The Jana Sangh had no nominee. They were looking for the most vulnerable candidate to render their support. At this juncture Chandrashekhar and Jagjivan Ram met Mr Desai. The CRP and army clashes were fresh in their minds. The PM and his protegee, H. M. Patel, were the target of the attack. Chandrashekhar, shrewd as he was, lashed out at the PM for not assessing and appreciating the dangers confronting the country. Mr Desai had little to explain. Jagjivan Ram had always waited for such an opportunity. He subtly mentioned the name of Bhajan Lal who had the blessings of Kanti Bhai and Suresh Ram. The only hurdle was Chand Ram who was adamant on Rizak Ram. But he was persuaded on the plea that the atmosphere was not in favour of a Jat candidate.

Bhajan Lal's public image is not enviable, so feel many. There are many skeletons in his cupboard. His detractors can always capitalise on them. So he would be compelled to play second fiddle. What else could the Jana Sangh have wanted? They pocketed another State capital.

In this review it is noteworthy that it was Sunder Singh Bhandari who tilted the balance in favour of Bhajan Lal after Krishan Kant walked out in exasperation and disgust. It was apparent to Krishan Kant that Sunder Singh Bhandari had already decided and was bent upon imposing Bhajan Lal on the Party, though Bhandari was skilfully playing the part of a democratic negotiator to arrive at a consensus. It will be an all Jana Sangh Government from the word go, which was amply evident in his first Press conference which was not only held at Bhandari's house against Bhajan Lal's wishes but, what is more, was addressed by Malik and Mangal Sain.

Tailpiece — One cynic quipped: Now that Bhajan Lal is elected we better amend the Constitution to add corruption and smuggling to the ninth schedule so that both occupations also enjoy protection from the courts of law.

The impact of Urs

It can be found everywhere

THE expulsion of Mr Devraj Urs by Mrs Indira Gandhi from the Congress which has split for the third time in a decade has ironically at the same stroke prepared the ground for the various Congress factions to come together on one platform against her.

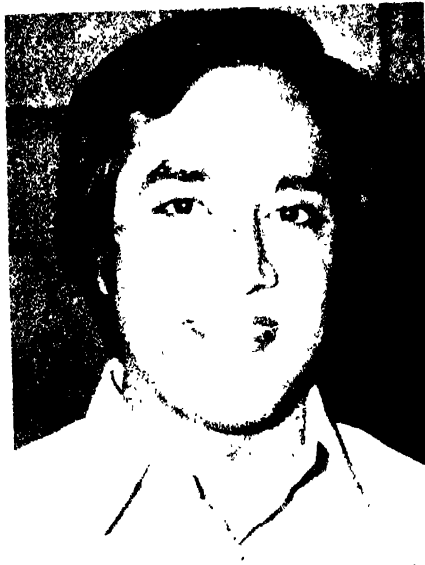
Urs's call for a realignment of political forces has struck a very responsive chord in the various existing factions of the Congress today. Whether it is the numerous dissidents inside the Indira Congress or the Swaran Singh Congress or even the breakaway State factions like the Sharad Pawar group—all are keen to make common cause with Urs to fight against the authoritarian style of functioning that Mrs Gandhi has come to represent.

The unity talks between the two Congresses which were suddenly scotched by Mrs Gandhi at the insistence of Sanjay, have again been reactivated, but this time, without her. While most members in the Indira Congress still remain hesitant about coming out openly against Mrs Gandhi, more and more dissident groups in the various State Pradesh Congress Committees are thinking seriously of the Third Force alternative that Mr Urs has proposed. A few, however, have already come out openly in support of this move. "It is high time that we stopped Mrs Gandhi coming in the way of a revitalised Congress Party just because her son does not want it so", said Mrs Tarkeshwari Sinha, a bitter critic of Sanjay and his caucus. Mrs Sinha who vehemently opposed the emergence of Sanjay in the Congress at the AICC (I) Conference held in April might face expulsion from the Party for her open support of Mr Devraj Urs and her criticism of the non-democratic style of functioning in the Party.

"I remember L. N. Mishra used to say in 1974, when Sanjay started his Maruti, that we should all try to raise money to make his car company a success. Otherwise, he warned, this boy is going to turn to politics and that would be disastrous for the Party and the country. That is exactly what has happened," Mrs Sinha said.

What is interesting is that while the Karnataka controversy had nothing to do directly with him, Sanjay Gandhi seems to be the main issue on which most dissidents in the Indira Congress are united.

The best example is Mr Lalit Maken, General Secretary of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee and one of the most vociferous supporters of Mrs Gandhi, both during and after the Emergency. Mr Maken was responsible for gathering crowds for shouting slogans supporting her. This he did with great zeal and in



Lalit Maken

fact when Mrs Gandhi was being whisked away in a CBI car after her arrest in October 1977, it was Maken who jumped on the car and tried to stop it. What he failed to do, however, was to placate Sanjay who had his own ideas of showing support for Mrs Gandhi. "The main difference between me and Sanjay was that where he wanted to deliberately provoke violence, I wanted to follow the old Gandhian path of satyagraha", Maken said. Maken was also taken to task after his father-in-law, Mr Shankar Dayal Sharma, at the time of the 1978 split sided with Mr Brahmananda Reddy. Further, his wife, Geetanjali Maken (nee Sharma) was removed from the Presidentship of the National Students' Union of India.

Ironically, Mr Shankar Dayal Sharma made his way back some time later into the Mrs Gandhi camp while Mr Maken became increasingly alienated from her. An interesting tale which Mr Maken has to relate is the blood donation incident. Evidently, the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee took up a blood donation drive in 1978. They decided to donate blood equivalent to the weight of Mrs Gandhi but ultimately donated four times her weight. For this Mr Maken was praised by Mrs Gandhi. This year, however, when the Red Cross approached Mrs. Gandhi to ask her supporters to donate blood again, she wrote to them saying that Mr Maken had nothing to do with it last year and the Red Cross should approach Mr Jagdish Tytler, a noted Sanjay supporter.

It is not strange, therefore, when the day after the Congress Working Committee decided to set up the ad hoc Committee in Karnataka, Mr

Maken held a Press conference denouncing the move and openly supported the stand taken by Mr Urs. He was expelled soon after from the Party.

According to Mr Maken, of the seven General Secretaries in the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee only Mr Sajjan Kumar, one of the juniormost General Secretaries is a staunch Sanjay supporter. "The rest of them are just watching the situation. They are unhappy about the dominance of the Party by Sanjay and support Urs for his stand against him but they are still afraid to take an open stand against him like me," he asserted.

The situation in the other States is very similar. Most dissidents would like to join Mr Urs but are afraid of taking an open stand against Mrs Gandhi. As Maken puts it, "How do you suddenly call Mrs Gandhi a dictator if you have been shouting for so long from rooftops that she was the greatest leader of the country".

The biggest beneficiary of the Indira Congress split has been the Swaran Singh Congress. The Congress (S) which has been lying dormant for so many months has suddenly, within a space of a week, been reactivated. "Devraj has given us a supreme opportunity to revive a united and dynamic Congress which could be a real alternative to the Janata Party", said Mr Chandrajit Yadav who is in almost daily touch with Mr Urs, to work out a strategy for a united front. "My calculation is that if we manage to put up a united platform for Congressmen to come together, at least 40 per cent of the Indira Congress will come over to us", he said. Mr Yadav was also certain that this would also lead to considerable erosion in the Channa Reddy Government in Andhra Pradesh, the only remaining State ruled by the Indira Congress.

The gains for a unified Congress could indeed be immense. Mr Sharad Pawar has already given the green signal for such a move and is also in touch with Mr Urs. If the united front succeeds, the Congress could well govern both Karnataka and Maharashtra and might then succeed in also capturing Andhra Pradesh. In Parliament, a unified Congress could easily dislodge the Indira Congress from being the majority Opposition Party. Mr Urs himself can bring 12 MPs and more from other States are likely to follow suit.

Even in Mrs Gandhi's own camp there are few who are basically against a unified Congress. In the 20-member Congress Working Committee there were as many as 17 who were for unity before Mrs Gandhi forced the unity talks to break down. Except for the three hawks—Mr A. P. Sharma, Mr Pranab Mukherjee and Mr Stephen, all the others were wary of adopting a hard line against Mr Urs. It would be interesting to see how long the few who are with Mrs Gandhi today, stay with her.

AJOY BOSE, New Delhi

Decency in distress

Eve-teasers are doing worse than teasing

PLAINCLOTHES policemen swarm all over the Lucknow University campus to check what has been described as the "eve-teasing scourge" by the District Magistrate of the city, Mr Yogesh Narain. The district authorities were forced to sit up when the traditional form of eve-teasing by passing lewd remarks was replaced with such brazen acts as *dupatta* snatching, back-patting and in some cases even forced kissing.

"We are determined to put an end to the activities of campus terrorists," fulminated the DM. "A handful of hooligans cannot trifle with the rights of a silent majority." It was only a week later that Mr Narain realised the magnitude of the menace he was so anxious to eradicate. No records of residents of the University hostels are available with the Provost. Consequently no action could be taken against students, though it was found that even outsiders had brazenly occupied rooms while hundreds others still stood on a waiting list. Lethal firearms, including country-made bombs, pistols handgrenades and even teargas shells were found in several rooms.

It was also discovered that campus *dadas* served as liaison officers for contractors looking for work on cam-

pus. For this they pocketed hefty commissions that went as high as 25 per cent. Even more incredibly, over 100 students armed with fake degrees secured admission into the University at pistol point.

Lucknow University is not the only campus plagued by the campus terrorists, however. Gang warfare, in the words of a senior police officer, has assumed "apocalyptic proportions" in almost every university campus in the State. Students of Kanpur University stormed a police station recently and gave the policemen on duty a sound thrashing for police failure to "protect" law-abiding students. Students of BHU nearly assaulted a State Minister when he refused to meet a student conducting a hunger strike. The police had to wage a pitched battle with armed students before the President of the students' union. Mr Chanchal Kumar, could be arrested. In Bareilly, the Deputy Registrar of Rohilkhand University was gunned down by students inside a restaurant. Pantnagar, still limping back to normalcy after the April 13, 1978 massacre, was witness to a renewed outbreak of violence on November 27 when, there was a clash between two rival groups of Jats and Purabis. In the ensuing *carte blanche* two students were

gravely injured and two professors, Dr Sharma and Dr Golakotta, were precariously poised between life and death for two weeks. A shaken Vice-Chancellor, Mr Mathur ordered the University closed *sine die*. It reopened nearly three months later, after disciplinary action had been instituted against nearly 50 students.

Riotous students of Lucknow University hijacked two mini buses and set them ablaze sometime ago. In another incident, hundreds of students waged a pitched battle with the police who attempted to disrupt the unruly mob even as panic gripped commuters in the city. The students were protesting against the "murderous assault" upon a student by a conductor for allegedly travelling without a ticket.

Universities throughout Uttar Pradesh are in turmoil. Not one of the 17 universities in the State was able to hold its examinations on schedule. Campus violence has risen by 30 per cent over the last twelve months. During the first half of 1978, 7,434 students were arrested in 146 riotous incidents in the State whereas throughout 1977 only 588 students were arrested in 67 incidents.

The trend of violence on Kanpur's campuses assumed monstrous proportions during the Emergency, when one college was discovered to have its own virtual arsenal. There were other trends too: the S. D. Singh Commission of Enquiry was appointed in 1971 to investigate reports of sex abuse on the campuses of Lucknow University and had warned of the existence of a Mafia that either

Sanjay's modesty

IS Mr Sanjay Gandhi in politics or out of it? This is a question which is answered differently by different people. The Congress(I) leaders, including Mr Gandhi's mother, Mrs Indira Gandhi, assert that he is not in politics. The non-Congress(I) politicians say that he is. Mr Devaraj Urs and his supporters say that they have left Mrs Gandhi's Party because of Mr Sanjay Gandhi's interference in the Party's affairs. While this debate is on, Mr Gandhi has been leading Congress(I) demonstrations in various parts of the country and his statements to the Press have been, to say the least, political.

Take June 22, for example. Mrs Indira Gandhi was in Srinagar and her younger son had flown to Calcutta to lead a Congress (I) rally. Mrs Gandhi told newsmen in Srinagar that "Sanjay is neither a member of the Congress (I), nor in politics and his participation in any demonstration is in his individual capacity". While the news agencies flashed this statement by the former Prime Minister, Mr



Sanjay Gandhi was telling newsmen at the Calcutta airport that Mr Urs had violated Party discipline by refusing to accept the ad-hoc committee of the State Congress (I) in Karnataka. This surely was not a statement of a person who is not involved in Party politics!

That afternoon Mr Gandhi "participated" in a Congress (I) rally. He was among the five people who went in a deputation to the State secretariat, the Writers Building, and handed over a memorandum to the Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu. If Mr Gandhi had participated in the rally in his "individual capacity", then why was he included in the five-member delegation? Moreover, Mr Basu told newsmen soon after the meeting with the Congress(I) deputation (which included the State unit President, Mr A. B. A. Ghani Khan Choudhury) that he had promised Mr Sanjay Gandhi that he would enquire into the specific cases listed in the memorandum. Did the Congress (I) leaders take a back seat during their talks with the Chief Minister and let the leadership be in the hands of a person who had joined them in his "individual capacity"?

Every citizen in India has the freedom to be a member of a political Party, and if possible, lead it. Then why this hide and seek, Mr Sanjay Gandhi?

S. BHATTACHARYA

terrorised girls or enticed girls into the flesh trade. Organised copying is yet another irritant to the University authorities. Groups of students are reported to have intimidated professors into leaking examination papers. Invigilators have been threatened and even beaten up. Some students have even taken their answer scripts to their hostels to work in a more congenial atmosphere. In a Meerut college four boys and girls ejected an invigilator, locked themselves inside the examination hall and only emerged six hours later. In Rohilkhand University copying was done so brazenly that a self-constituted *Nakalchi Sena* (Copying Army) chanted slogans extolling the virtues of copying outside the examination

hall while their colleagues copied with impunity.

Authorities are alarmed at the increasing involvement of students in political riots. Most of the 500 youths arrested in the Lucknow Youth Congress (I) rally at midnight on May 6 were enrolled students. Aligarh Muslim University and Benares Hindu University are hotbeds of political violence between rival youth groups dominated by the Jamaat-e-Islami on the one hand and the RSS-dominated Akhil Bharatiya Vidhyarthi Parishad on the other. "Political involvement of active student unionists is almost 100 per cent," according to a police officer. Not a pretty picture at all.

ACHAL MEHRA, Lucknow

S. P. Plem



Ex-Minister, R. K. Shahi

The curious case of the stolen buffalo

Starring an ex-Minister of UP

MILCH cattle are a weakness with Ravindra Kishore Shahi, the former Minister for Power and Irrigation in the Ram Naresh Yadav Government and an active RSS man. A recent incident now under investigation by the local police throws some light on Shahi's love of cows and buffaloes.

It was on March 30 that Shahi's servant, Paras Nath Pandey, lodged an FIR with Husainganj police station. The report said that a buffalo belonging to the former Power Minister was missing since 10 a.m. and despite efforts it could not be traced. The report registered under

Section 379 said that the missing buffalo was short and had a tail with a black end. So fond was Shahi of his buffalo that he telephoned the District Magistrate, Yogendra Narain, and Senior Superintendent of Police, Sriram Arun to trace his buffalo and restore it to him within 24 hours.

Shahi, though no more a Minister, is still in the habit of throwing his weight about as he feels that being a dissident belonging to the Jana Sangh faction gives him more power over the administration today than he had as a Minister. They tried to prove their efficiency and by the next evening the Station House Officer of Husainganj brought a buffalo to Shahi's house. Shahi, however, was not satisfied by the buffalo's performance, though its looks had convinced him that it was his. He sent the buffalo back to the police station after keeping it for three days and three nights. "This is not *Mantriji's* buffalo," Paras Nath told the baffled police officer, "because its milk-yield is very low." The police had willy-nilly agreed to continue the search for Shahi's original buffalo while the one returned by Shahi went back to where it had come from.

After a three-week lull, the buffalo front was again activated by Shahi. Ghulam Nabi, a cowherd of Havelock Road, not very far from Shahi's Mall Avenue residence, was chased away by the Husainganj police station on April 21 when he went to report that one of his buffaloes had been forcibly taken away by some men of one Ravindra Kishore Shahi who according to the same people was a former Minister.

For three days Ghulam Nabi was

But nobody seemed to pay attention to his words. Finally, his cause was taken up by a member of the Janata Party, who just about a year ago lost to the Congress (I) candidate in a byelection for the State Assembly. Belonging to the former Socialist Party, Akshaiber Mal has in recent months developed a political dislike for the former Jana Sangh men. Mal first gained the sympathy of a dissident leader, to whose group Shahi now owes allegiance at least in public. Like Shahi he comes from Deoria district. Mal was shrewd enough to do so and thus neutralized the affair before it could take a turn for the worse involving Ministers. He then accompanied Ghulam Nabi with a letter to the District Magistrate detailing his complaint against the robbers who came from Shahi's residence. According to Ghulam Nabi, Shahi's men not only took away his buffalo by force but also beat up his blind father, Rahim Bukhsh, who tried to resist.

Nabi has claimed that he purchased the buffalo from Munir Ahmad of Meerut for Rs 2,000 (to be paid in instalments) and readily produced a receipt to prove his purchase.

He requested the District Magistrate to treat this complaint as an FIR to the police station (which had refused to entertain his complaint on April 21) and direct the local police to take appropriate action for immediate restoration of his buffalo.

Although the police and the local administration is tight-lipped, reliable sources say that the former Minister's claim to this particular buffalo (whose milk-yield is almost as much as that mentioned in the report registered by the former Minister's servant Paras Nath) rests on very flimsy ground. Shahi was unable to produce any evidence to prove that he had purchased the



S. P. Plem

"Its mother was bought by my men in Bihar." But Shahi could not produce any document to prove his later statement either. The report lodged by Shahi's servant had stated that the former Minister's buffalo was short and had a tail with a black end. To the amazement of the police officer, Nabi's buffalo (now claimed by Shahi) was not only taller but has a tail with a white tip. But Shahi is not ready to go back on his claim to this buffalo.

There is yet another discrepancy which could only be verified by a veterinary doctor. According to Shahi the buffalo has produced a calf once. Nabi had told the police that the buffalo, yielding seven litres of milk twice a day, has produced three calves — the last did not survive. The veterinary, Dr R. K. Paramhans, who was taken to Shahi's residence to examine the buffalo and gave his opinion said that he would not examine the buffalo until he received instructions in writing. He also said that he had informed all concerned he would like the buffalo examined at the hospital by a panel of three veterinary doctors. According to Shahi's neighbours and some of his servants, the buffalo responds to Nabi's call and recognises him among other members of Shahi's household.

The dispute between an ordinary citizen and a VIP has become a problem for officials. They do not know which way to decide the case — on merit or on other considerations. If Shahi becomes a Minister again he is not the kind of man

who is going to forget and forgive and would surely take his revenge. If they decide the case in his favour (and Nabi is deprived of his buffalo) the people in authority today may take them to task for doing injustice to an ordinary citizen.

"Shahi has a weakness for milch cattle and all cattle-owners should know," said a senior official of the State Government. He recalled a Call Attention motion in the State's Vidhan Parishad about a year ago. It was mentioned in the House that a retiring station officer of Tarkulwa Thana in Deoria district had left a guidance note for his successor in the police station's register number 8 (which acts as a brief on the criminals within the jurisdiction of that police station.) The register contains the following note about a notorious cattle-lifter of the area. "...this bad character is at present residing in Lucknow having become a Minister. This has naturally resulted in decreased incidence of cases of cattle-lifting. Even then the vigilance (on him) must not be relaxed." Shahi had refuted the allegation on the floor of the House that he was ever suspected of cattle-lifting. But when the leader of the Opposition had challenged the Government to produce the said register in the House to disprove his statement that the entry was related to Shahi, the Government had preferred to remain silent. "Maybe habits die hard as people say," murmured the harassed officer, who has to take a decision on the two complaints.

S P PREMI, Lucknow

Funny money

It's no longer a crime to hoard old currency

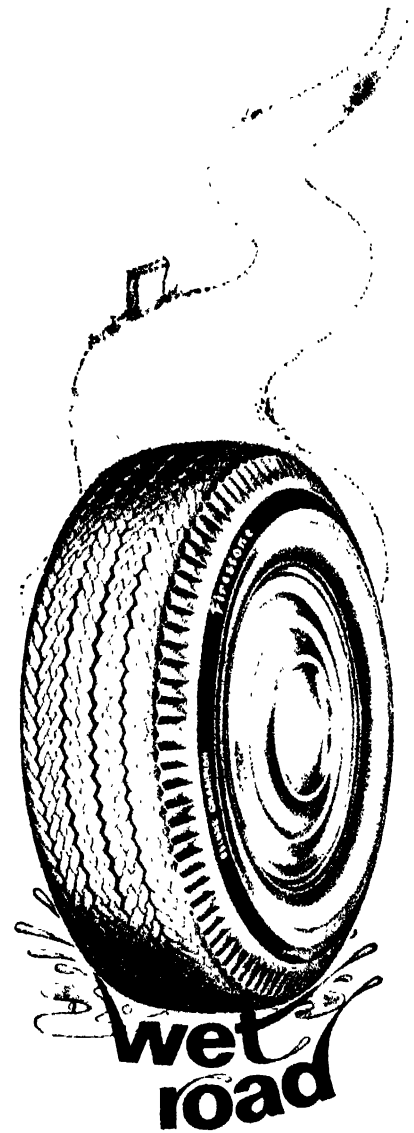
WHEN money is old it could be bought at ten thousand times—or more—its face value. It can be hoarded. You can possess foreign money—if it is out of circulation, mind you—without fearing an encounter with the Enforcement Branch. You can even counterfeit old coins and old notes with impunity.

When the Rs. 10,000 and Rs 1,000 notes were legal tender, their possession could create problems. You might have had to explain the source and lost it all or, more likely, you may have had to share some of it with the "long limb of the law", a cliché which enlightened etymologists suspect was coined after it was realized what lengths corrupt officials can reach to grab a bribe. You may now frame all your Rs 10,000 and Rs 1,000 notes on your parlour wall, and no one can do a thing about it. It has ceased to be money.

As money oddities go, old money may be obsolete, even antique; but it has been exempted from the Anti-

possession a rare Aureus of Geta—one such was auctioned in 1975, in Switzerland for 65,000 Swiss francs, and is today worth upwards of 100,000 in the same currency—than to possess the framed likeness of your dear departed mother-in-law. For, if she was as ancient as most mothers-in-law are, you come under the purview of the Antiquities Act, and besides keeping her darling daughter happy and contented, you will have to periodically fill forms and returns, to remain on the right side of the law. You may, of course, gift your framed ma-in-law to the National Museum, and get rid of the headache for that, in essence, is the final aim of the Act. But talk of coins and you are safe.

An Advocate in tiny Goa, Mr Kotambi Desai is reportedly negotiating with the Government the sale of one of the largest and rarest hoards of coins. He is said to value it at Rs 15 lakhs, though the Government is willing to pay a limit of Rs eight lakhs. Dr T. Gune, the Director of Historical Archives (and an authority



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on Deccan King coins) was shocked and scandalized when I rang him to seek confirmation of the deal. He initially did not get my name right and thought by "my aggressive tone" of voice that I was a Government Secretary. He meekly agreed that a proposal for the deal was under way, then asked my name again and, in a quavering and high pitched voice, admonished me saying that it was "wrong to ask such things", they being "top secret". Anyway, if the deal goes through, the Government will come in possession of what is perhaps the only existing Gupta period coins, circa 300 or 400 AD. In the theft at the National Museum, New Delhi in the mid sixties, coins of the same vintage disappeared and have not been seen or heard of since.

Kotambi Desai's hoard probably includes Deccan King coins (circa 100 BC) and rare Portuguese issues (a gold coin with a face value of one rupee was sold in 1975 in London for £ 750). Fenelon Rebello, probably the most respected authority on Portuguese issues in India, says that it is difficult to say what Kotambi's collection is worth as it has not been catalogued.

Money can be so funny that, if you fake a coin, it could be worth a fortune as a fake, provided, of course, it is well faked and, further, if you "tender" it as a "fake." If, however, you merely try to pass on a fake buck, you may have to reckon with Section 420 of the Indian Penal Code, for it would be cheating. A gold-

smith who knows a lot about casting fakes, tell me that most collectors being fakes themselves—if not out and out fools—for they have nothing but an irrepressible possessive urge, you can always get out of a "fake" jam very smoothly: by taking it back or replacing it or, as often done, "you can always say that you sold in good faith. And that you yourself were a victim." With luck, the collector may agree to buy the fake at a lower price, hoping to pass it on and get away with it.

Mr Rebello estimates that, of the silver coins floating around, a sizable portion consists of fakes. They are faked in Goa, at least at three places, as well as in Belgaum and Karwar.

MARIO CABRAL e SA, Goa.

CARTER'S UTMOST FOR SALT-II



US President Jimmy Carter signed the SALT II agreement with the ailing Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev on June 18 in Vienna. The Treaty which runs until 1985 limits both the Soviet Union and the USA to 2,400 missiles and bombers within six months of SALT II's ratification and later to 2,250 bombers. The Russians will have to lessen their present capacity of 2,500 bombers while the Americans will increase their fleet from their present figure of 2,058. SALT II will lead to more American spending on nuclear weapons to offset the present Russian lead in short-range nuclear weaponry most of it based in Europe. Soviet President Brezhnev (centre) talks to Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger during the first meeting at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna while US President Jimmy Carter (right) seems to be having a hard time getting to his feet.

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The sins of a son

A. K. CHAKRAVORTY and UDAYAN SHARMA report on the new found wealth of Om Prakash Saklecha, son of the Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister

When a 21-year-old undergraduate carries around lakhs of rupees, a lot of eyebrows are raised. When that undergraduate is the son of a Chief Minister, a lot of doubts are raised in addition to the eyebrows. The Chief Minister in question is Madhya Pradesh's Virendra Kumar Saklecha, whose son Om Prakash is now in the limelight.

Om Prakash Saklecha caught the public eye at a DDA (Delhi Development Authority) auction on January 17, 1979. The 777-square metre plot that was put up for auction fetched the incredible price of Rs 1.33 crores and enterprising journalists later discovered that Om Prakash had been the second highest bidder. He had balked after the bidding crossed the one crore and thirty one lakh mark. However, the Jana Sangh CM's son had carried a startling sum of Rs 25 lakhs in cash and bank drafts to the auction: under DDA rules 25 per cent of the sale money has to be deposited on the spot by the bidder. This sudden flush of money caught the attention of certain real estate businessmen present at the auction and also prompted the Revenue Intelligence to enquire into the lad's business connections.

The Chief Minister initially denied that his son had even been present at the auction. The issue was then raised in the Rajya Sabha by Mr N. K. P. Salve but Mr Sikander Bhakt took it upon himself to shield Om Prakash by stating that DDA records did not maintain a list of bidders' names. It was only later when Mr Jyotirmoy Bosu raised the matter in the Lok Sabha that the Minister was hauled over the coals. At that stage he admitted that "Om Prakash Saklecha was the second highest bidder". Mr Saklecha (Sr) now admits that his son was present at the auction but he claimed that he was bidding on behalf of Mr R. K. Gupta, a businessman.

Om Prakash, who never made a mark in the academic field, was launched by his father in business when he was hardly 19 years old. He is fond of the good things in life and is an extrovert in the mould of his father. A lot of the political clout commanded by Mr V. K. Saklecha by virtue of being Chief Minister has rubbed off onto his arrogant son. Om Prakash made his maiden venture into the realm of business early in 1977 when he purchased industrial sheds in NOIDA (New Okhla Industrial

Development Authority) with the intention of setting up a cardboard manufacturing unit. Saklecha Udyog, a partnership concern was established the same year, registered in Jawad, Madhya Pradesh. The partners in the firm were Mr V. K. Saklecha, Mrs Chetan Kumari Saklecha and Om Prakash Saklecha. Later that year, on June 26, Mr Saklecha substituted his name with that of his minor son, Vijay Kumar Saklecha, as he had been inducted as Minister for Industries in Madhya Pradesh.

Om Prakash skilfully utilised his father's connections and obtained generous grants from the Uttar Pradesh Financial Corporation, thanks to the good offices of the Jana Sangh Minister for Industries in Uttar Pradesh, Mr Ram Prakash Gupta. Om Prakash now possesses two sheds in addition to the NOIDA plot and has switched over from the manufacture of cardboard boxes to machines required for plastic moulding. He has set up two plastic injection moulding machines, the market value of which is anything between Rs 15 and 18 lakhs. The UP Financial Corporation has given Om Prakash loans totalling Rs eight lakhs. Mr Ram Prakash Gupta had taken a personal interest in sanctioning the loans bypassing the nor-

V. K. Saklecha, after his election victory in 1978



mal procedures.

Certain new interesting facts have come to light regarding the Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr V. K. Saklecha's shady business connections and investments made by him in real estate. Only a thorough probe by the Department of Revenue Intelligence and other independent agencies of the Government can bring out the truth.

Mr Saklecha purchased two flats in Gopal Towers situated in Rajendra Place Commercial Complex in early 1978. The two flats are valued around Rs 5 lakhs. The Gopal Towers, a multistoried building, is owned by a construction firm, United Builders. The managing director of United Builders is Mr R. K. Gupta. It may be recalled that Mr R. K. Gupta had accompanied Mr Om Prakash Saklecha, the eldest son of MP Chief Minister, to the January 17 DDA land auction at which the latter made a bid up to Rs 1.31 crores. It is now learnt that Mr Saklecha was legal adviser to United Builders for the last 13 years. He was also at one time a director of United Builders.

Mr R. K. Gupta has floated a firm called Madhav International whose ostensible purpose is to construct hotels and to promote tourism. For this specific purpose they were able to get clearance from the Government to utilise remittances from abroad by Indian businessmen, which is said to be substantial. When Om Prakash Saklecha unsuccessfully participated in the DDA auction on January 17, 1979 he carried hefty bank drafts purchased by Madhav International. The Parliament Street branch of Canara Bank handles the banking operations of Madhav International. Incidentally, Mr Saklecha had deposited Rs 2.5 lakhs in Canara Bank, Bhopal, between August 3 and 8, 1977 in the names of his family members and no satisfactory explanation has been given about the source.

When the O. P. Saklecha auction issue found an echo in Parliament and there was the possibility of a probe, the executive secretary of Madhav International, Mr J. P. Sharma, resigned from his job. Mr J. P. Sharma resigned out of fear that the Government may haul him up for "illegally" diverting company funds (foreign exchange) meant for a specific purpose. Mr J. P. Sharma was earlier working as general manager in a public sector hotel.

Besides Mr R. K. Gupta, other partners of Madhav International are Mr Haribhau Shah, a businessman from Kenya, one Mr Harbans Singh, an Indian settled in New Orleans (USA) and two others, Mr Bhism Agarwal and Mr Brahm Agarwal. It is alleged that Mr Saklecha has Prakash loans totalling Rs eight lakhs. Mr Ram Prakash Gupta had taken a personal interest in sanctioning the loans bypassing the normal procedures.

benami shares in Madhav International.

The diversion of funds—that too foreign exchange—meant specifically for a purpose permitted by the Government of India attracts the penal provisions of COFEPOSA (Conservation of foreign exchange and prevention of smuggling Act).

A detailed inquiry by the Government into the affairs of Madhav International can only unravel the truth. The revenue intelligence should be immediately asked to seize the bank accounts and other probable incriminating records now with Madhav International.

The affairs of United Builders and its kingpin Mr R. K. Gupta require close examination by the Finance Department and its agencies. It will also help clear doubts about the extent of black money reportedly funnelled by Mr V. K. Saklecha and his family members into the activities of United Builders.

HOW Om Prakash, who began as a young entrepreneur in 1977, could muster the huge investment required for plastic injection moulding machines has yet to be satisfactorily answered by both father and son. The DDA auction gamble and the confidence with which he carried the money has aroused widespread suspicion and mutterings about black money being used.

In 1978, Om Prakash had filed an affidavit before the Delhi Development Authority, stating that his elder sister (from whom he had obtained a power of attorney) was a resident of Nyawala in Old Delhi. According to the affidavit his elder sister owned a house in Nyawala which had been demolished during the Emergency. Om Prakash therefore sought compensation for the damage and claimed that a plot measuring 165 square metres be allotted to him in an industrial area for business purpose. The DDA made the land allotment measuring 165 square metres in the Okhla industrial area. Om Prakash then presented a fresh application to the DDA in late 1978, stating that the allotment of the 165 square metre plot was inadequate for his business purposes and requested that another industrial plot measuring 556 square metres be allotted to him. He expressed his willingness to pay the market value of the land if it was allotted to him. Three addresses are mentioned in the affidavit. One of them is No. 10 Janpath, the official residence of Mr Larang Sai, the Union Minister of State for Labour and Parliamentary Affairs.

DDA officials, surprised at the fresh demand, wondered whether Om Prakash was in a position to pay the sum of Rs 3,20,000, the market value of the land he sought. But they were in for a jolt. Om Prakash sent four reminders within a week, asking that the allotment be made as he was prepared to foot the bill.

At this point of time, a Land Management officer ordered an investigation to verify the details mentioned in the affidavit. In the course

of the inquiry it came to light that the affidavit itself was a concoction, every word of which was false. Legal experts in the DDA suggested that Om Prakash be hauled up before a court of law for filing a false affidavit. It is learnt that some M.P. Government officials who are on deputation to the DDA, soft-pedalled the issue, fearing the wrath of the Chief Minister. The affidavit is now believed to be in the custody of Revenue Intelligence authorities, according to whom it prime facie establishes that Om Prakash was in a position to pay the amount of Rs 3,20,000 for the land. The affidavit was seized from the DDA office by the Revenue Intelligence Department.

Two of Om Prakash's godfathers are Delhi-based businessmen, Mr R. K. Gupta and Mr J. C. Rishi. According to reliable reports Mr V. K. Saklecha had instructed the two to teach Om Prakash the fundamentals of business. Mr R. K. Gupta, once a junior engineer in Haryana, is today a leading real estate businessman. He has an excellent rapport with top Jana Sangh leaders and recently expanded his business operations to Kenya and some Arab countries. Mr J. C. Rishi began his career as an accountant with a mine owner in Bilaspur (MP) and can today boast of being a director of over two dozen firms. Rishi, who has his head offices in Nehru Place, New Delhi was close to such Congress leaders as S. C. Shukla and V. C. Shukla before the 1977 elections. He has wormed his way into the Janata Party, claiming that he had given shelter to a top RSS boss during the Emergency. Rishi also has the dubious distinction of unsuccessfully contesting a Rajya Sabha seat from Madhya Pradesh on six occasions. He also has extensive mining interests in Madhya Pradesh.

Mr Rishi's son, Ravindra Kumar Rishi, travelled with Om Prakash to Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore ostensibly to further the interests of the Rishi Electronic Company. There are allegations that Om Prakash Saklecha has sizable shares in the Rishi Electronic Company. Incidentally, Mr Sitala Sahay, the MP Minister for Health who was in Hong Kong on an official visit spotted Om Prakash and Ravindra Kumar at the airport. Mr Sahay reported the matter to Mr Kushabhan Thakre, the RSS boss of MP, on his return. Significantly, Mr Ramashankar Singh, former Minister for Planning whose resignation was recently obtained by Mr V. K. Saklecha, has disclosed that official agencies are investigating a report that Om Prakash deposited a sum of Rs 10,00,000 in a branch of Midlands Bank in Singapore.

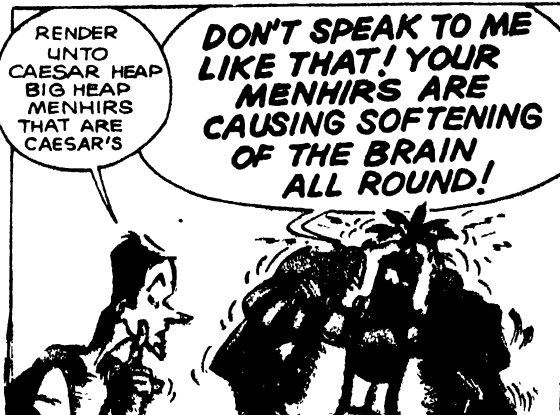
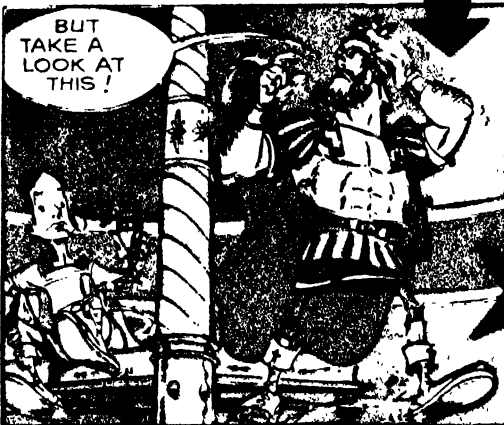
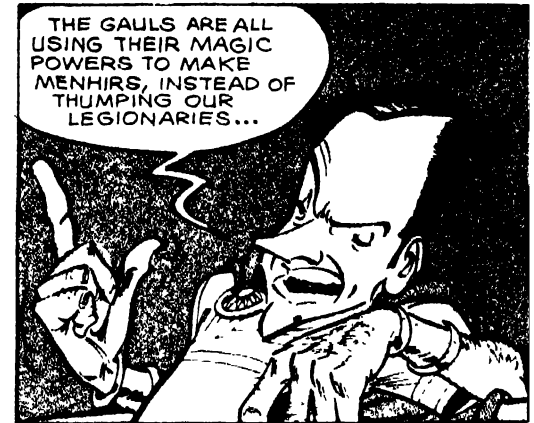
MYSTERY also surrounds Om Prakash's acquisition of a plot of land in Atana village, Jawad tehsil Mandsaur, with the connivance of his father. Om Prakash submitted an application on August 17, 1977 to the gram panchayat of Atana village for a plot of land in the village in order to build a house, even though he is not a resident of the village. As the

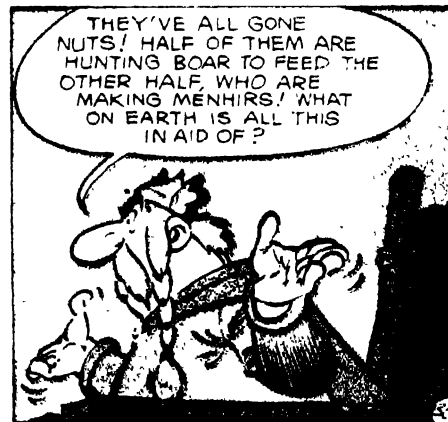
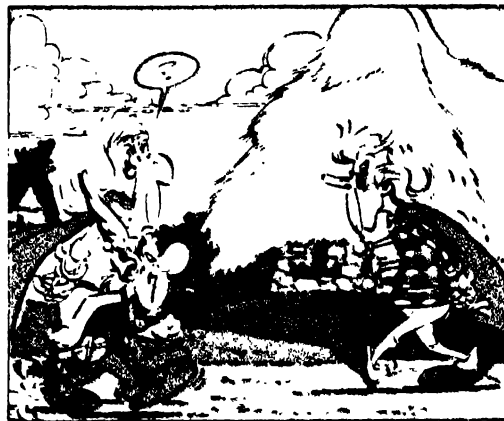
area enclosing the plot was common village land, the district panchayat officer, by virtue of a written order dated December 18, 1976, had prohibited the allotment of this piece of land to any individual. In spite of this order, pressure was brought on the panch by Mr V. K. Saklecha, as a result of which the land was allotted to Om Prakash Saklecha on September 14, 1977. Significantly, the sarpanch of this gram panchayat, Mr Shyam Sharma, is the driver of Mr V. K. Saklecha.

On Prakash also travelled with his father when the latter flew in the State aircraft on a mysterious visit to Kathmandu in mid-1978. The allegations that Saklecha deposited money in the Nepal Rashtra Bank have now been substantiated by a team of IB and RAW officials, who went to Nepal to investigate their accusations. It is still not clear whether the money belonged to the RSS or Saklecha himself. Recent investigations by Revenue Intelligence officials into the business contacts of Om Prakash Saklecha have revealed that he is interested in Madhav International, a firm which constructs hotels and is in tourism otherwise also. Some Jana Sangh leaders including Mr K. N. Sahani, the chief executive councillor of Delhi, have financial interests in the concern and it has been revealed that part of the money which Mr O. P. Saklecha carried on the day of the DDA auction came from Madhav International. The secretary of the firm, one Mr Sharma has since resigned in protest, fearing that if official agencies investigate, he will be answerable for illegal use of the company's fund.

To avoid further exposure of his son's business operations and contacts, Chief Minister Saklecha has shifted his residence from Madhya Pradesh Bhawan to a bungalow in Lodi Colony when he is in Delhi. The bungalow was hitherto occupied by the Special Commissioner of Madhya Pradesh in Delhi. Om Prakash Saklecha, on the other hand, is said to be benami owner of a house near Green Park. No outsiders are permitted to enter. Mr V. K. Saklecha's brother-in-law, Mr G. C. Surana, who is now an insurance executive, has been asked to shadow Om Prakash while he is in Delhi, lest he be trapped. Mr Surana, who was earlier an insurance agent in a branch office in Ajmer was brought over to Delhi on a salary of Rs 2200 per month. The general insurance firm extracted its price for the favour and in return got insurance worth Rs. 40,00,000 from various State and autonomous departments in Madhya Pradesh. The company has also given him a loan for a car, which he recently obtained from Premnath Motors. But Mr Surana is seldom seen in the Fiat which is at the disposal of Om Prakash Saklecha.

Om Prakash Saklecha's activities and the spate of corruption charges levelled against his father, the Chief Minister, have embarrassed even the RSS leadership. They too have a "Sanjay" in their midst. ■





SHE was called "Minugutare" (Twinkling star) because of the zest and beauty she threw into her screen roles. They were all unconventional roles—mostly tragic—but she threw herself into her roles with a passion that sent shivers down the spine of the audience. On May 11 this year, Kalpana, three times winner of the State Government's best actress gold medal, was found dead in the Gotur Inspection Bungalow, 50 kms from Belgaum.

The initial reports all said that she had committed suicide but the method she used was not clearly apparent. Her personal attendant, Sakkubai, said that she was in the habit of consuming dozens of sleep-

The mystery of the Twinkling Star

ing pills before going to bed—but then it was noticed that the diamond in her ring was missing.

The discovery that the diamond was missing caused quite a stir because in one of her most popular movies, "Gejje Puje" (Initiation), Kalpana playing the part of a girl from a Devadasi family is reluctant to join the family business after her education. She swallows a diamond from her ring and dies after the religious ceremony initiating her into the profession. The film won the Best Film award from the State Government, and won her the best actress award as well. Did Kalpana re-play her make-believe movie death in real life as well?

Her family members were informed of her death the next day through

Several questions about the death of filmstar Kalpana remain unanswered, reports RIMA KASHYAP from Bangalore



a cryptic phone-call from the police asking what they should do with the body. Kalpana's aunt requested them to keep the body intact till they arrived to take it. When the postmortem had been completed, the police sent the body back to Bangalore in a van. The family members met the van en route and "in total darkness, while it poured outside, the body of the beautiful girl was given to us from the dicky of the car." The next morning the body was so disfigured and decomposed that it seemed as if the Twinkling Star had been struck by a meteor. The cremation was held soon after—and immediately after that newspapers, which had earlier accepted the suicide report handed over to them by the ever-compliant cops, echoed the thoughts of the family—suspecting foul-play.

The matter was brought up in the council, one of Kalpana's close friends being Mr Viswanath, MLC. The Opposition leader Subbiah, stated in the council that her body bore marks of injury; that the proprietor of the drama company owed her money and that the suicide letter was unsigned. A letter dated May 9 which reached her mother a day after the cremation said almost gaily that she was well. She enclosed a bank draft of Rs 300 adding that she had sent her younger brother in Bombay Rs 400. She also wrote she would send her mother Rs 1,200 by money order within 2-3 days. "I have some throat trouble", she wrote explaining the reason why she could not act and therefore unable to send more money.

On May 14, the Chief Minister Mr Devaraj Urs, said in the council that the police had not received any complaints about her death. This he did when he was forced to make a statement.

Four days after her death the proprietor of the theatre company, a rich landlord named Basavaraj appeared before the police. He was known to be "close" to Kalpana and in a statement to the police he announced that he had secretly married the star in July 1978 at her residence. Apparently the fact that he has a living wife and six children forced him to keep the marriage a secret. But family friends of Kalpana ask why he should suddenly disclose his bigamous relationship. Relating the events prior to her death Basavaraj said that Kalpana playing the role of Rama's young mother in "Kali-yuga Raina" missed the cue in her dialogue on the night of May 10 while playing at Sankeshwar—a small town near Belgaum. Hot words were exchanged and he slapped her. The next morning he alleges she was in tears and her eyes were red and swollen. According to Sakkubai she later gifted her sarees and clothes to the Bungalow staff.

Meanwhile the post-mortem report released by the police said that her death was not due to strangulation or even consumption of diamond dust. The surgeon added that there was no evidence of external or internal injuries. A lot of time was spent on analysing a book in which a diamond

Kalpana's career



It was the kind of role that she would subsequently revel in and it gave her the name she was known by—Minugutare (Twinkling star).

Her next, "Uyyaale" (swing) saw her portraying a married woman who falls in love and finally gives up her lover; in "Hannele Chiguridaga" (Rebirth of an old leaf) she played a young widow. The film had tragic undercurrents which by then had become her forte. And it was then that she is said to have become involved with her director Puttana Kanagal.

It was in his film, "Gejje Puje" that the diamond-swallowing episode occurred followed by "Shara Panjara" (Cage of arrows) in which a pre-marital affair haunts her after marriage and ultimately drives her mad.

When she reached fame Kalpana suddenly seemed to have found the position too much for her. Her relationship with Puttana collapsed and she broke up with him—at least professionally. She became very demanding—and even Raj Kumar dropped her as his leading lady. She got fewer roles and at a Press conference at that time she wept and said that "the Kannada film industry had deserted her." Her only trip abroad to Bylo-Russia in 1972 was the only distraction for her that year.

In 1974, she began redecorating a house she had bought on Davis Road. The 5-bedroomed house is done in immaculate taste—white wrought iron pelmets with rich purple curtains and upholstery on white cane in the verandah; cream carpet and a sofa set in the living room. Her books were neatly divided into English and Kannada—Denise Robbins, best sellers, roses and books on trees adorn the room. She had even been asked to do the decor for the West End Hotel some years ago. Often she designed her own clothes for her films—her sexy clothes for the role of the young widow caused quite a controversy.

She thought she was a star and wanted to be treated like one. Whenever she travelled a dozen coconuts and various other fruits surrounded her along with her trunk full of clothes. Even on the last day, a dozen coconuts lay under her bed and a similar number of musambis were on her bedside table. A *kathakali* dancer in her earlier years, she was known for her lavish hospitality. After her success in films many felt she had become arrogant, but no one ever dreamed that she would take her own life.

R K

DAUGHTER of a businessman, Kalpana was born Sharat Kumari. She spent some years at St. Ann's Convent, Mangalore and completed her schooling. At 17, she decided she wanted to become an actress. This decision, according to her family, is the reason her father left disapprovingly. Her career on the screen began with "Saaku Magalu" (Adopted daughter). Her small role was not a great success. In fact, it was believed that she would never be successful because of her unconventional beauty and the way she spoke Kannada. She came to the screen via the stage and by the time she acted in Laxmi Narayan's "Naandi" (The beginning) she had attracted attention. She played Raj Kumar's wife who dies in childbirth. Her portrayal of the character earned a lot of sympathy. The film was a success and Kalpana started to rise.

In her very first leading role in Puttana Kanagal's "Belimoda" (Cloud with a silver lining) she enacted what many consider her best film. Playing the fiancée of a young man (who goes abroad and returns and changes his mind about marrying her), she showed various moods—happiness, frustration and desperation.

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like dent was discovered. Kalpana had asked for a metal file, Sakkubai said, and later a hammer, it transpired. The diamond has to this day not been found.

With witnesses making inconsistent statements—and the quick acceptance of the suicide theory by the police which made it difficult to recreate the scene of her death—it became difficult for the COD (Corps of Detectives) team of eight policemen appointed by the CM to find any evidence to support the theory of foul play.

Evidence there was in plenty. 27 Hypnotex-S pills were found in the room; doubts were expressed about the suicide note; the forensic experts established that she had ingested a toxic dose of a sleeping pill—but hesitated to say whether death was due to the drug or a diamond, and was reluctant to clarify whether it was a case of homicide or suicide.

The police, having already committed themselves to a premature statement of suicide would prefer to let the statement lie. But family members and friends of the star are convinced, like many in Hubli and Belgaum, that the star was either murdered or forced to swallow poison.

Some points made by her aunt,

Seethamma, are that Kalpana had a signature which was difficult to copy. Both in English and Kannada she signed with swirls and squiggles. The fact that the suicide note was not signed is very strange. The note, besides, merely says: "Do not worry about the marks on my face—they were caused accidentally when I braked the car to avoid hitting a cow. Do not think I was hit..." She asks: would a girl about to commit suicide write such a note?

There were visible scars on both sides of her forehead, and the tip of her nose was burnt and blistered. Seethamma feels these were probably due to hot tea being poured over her head in anger by someone. As to Sakkubai's evidence, Seethamma scornfully said: "Kalpana's personal attendant for 13 years, Chinnamma was not allowed to go with her for the first time. They (the drama troupe) begged Kalpana for two days to join their troupe. As a matter of fact, they were so insistent they took her baggage with them but they would not allow her own attendant to accompany her and engaged Sakkubai for her." Sakkubai is alleged to have said that she gave some breakfast to Kalpana that morning. Photographs prove that plantain leaves were strewn on the

Katti's Art Studio



The diamond ring with the missing diamond

floor of Kalpana's room. "Kalpana was so fastidious about her room she would never have eaten and left her plantain leaf on the floor," said her aunt.

According to the "Artha Vikasa"—a Hubli newspaper of June 10—the viscera examination showed traces of an ingredient which is not found in the Hypnotex-S pills. These pills were later found in her room. The newspaper also asks why no attempt has been made to find out what happened to her between the night of May 10 when she had an altercation with Basavaraj and the night of May 11 when she was found dead.

The jewellery Kalpana was wearing, many of her personal assets and her clothes have yet to be returned to the family. The diamond on her ring was cleanly removed. Would she carefully remove the diamond and then put the ring back on her finger? Where is the drama troupe she was working with? Not one of them had shown up to pay their condolence to the family.

The proprietor of the troupe and the man who claims to have been secretly married to her "disappeared in Hubli for four days after the fight." He made statements that she owed Rs 1.5 lakhs for her house and was pestering him for money. Kalpana's family instead, insist that he owed her money and on the promise of paying her back lured her to Belgaum. "In fact, on the telephone earlier and even in her letter of May 9, she has said that she was going either to Bijapur or Jamkhandi—there was no mention of Sankeshwar till that time." The detectives are to submit their report. One hopes it will be a fair one to the memory of the Twinkling Star.



Mishra Case : The other side

"Is he politically motivated?"

Q : Why are you opposed to a fresh probe into the murder of Lalit babu?

A : I am not opposed to a fresh probe. There has been some misunderstanding. I do not want the probe to be inspired by political motives. Those who have been found guilty by the CBI should not be considered innocent, until some fresh evidence is found. One thing is clear, the demand for a fresh probe has come up with a motive—that the Ananda Margis found guilty in the case should be released. Take, for example, the last despatch on the Tarkunde report which was published by the *Indian Express*. In that a strong appeal was made for building up public opinion in favour of a fresh probe, and in case the Government does not yield, for a writ petition. This was the motive behind the Tarkunde report and each of the reports published in the *Express*. Are these (the *Express*) people and Mr Tarkunde pursuing their respective professions — journalism and law—or are they advocating the case of a particular group? What is new in the story or the theory of the Tarkunde report? The present DIG (Vigilance) was the DIG (CID) at the time of the murder and the present SP (Vigilance) was the SP of Samastipur. These two had managed to get a confessional statement at that time, which was not accepted by the Government. Now these two gentlemen, sitting in the Vigilance Department, want to give credibility to the theory advanced by them earlier and gain rewards. The people who are demanding a fresh probe and those who are accused in the case are in league with each other. One of the accused, an Ananda Margi, Ranjan Dwivedi, has in the past worked as a junior lawyer with Mr Tarkunde. Mr Tarkunde himself has worked as a lawyer for the Vigilance Department in which the two officers (mentioned above), Sahay and Ojha, were in charge. The journalist, B. M. Sinha, on whose so-called investigations the reports in the *Indian Express* were based, is committed to the Ananda Marg. He has in the past been arrested as an Ananda Margi. According to my information, Mr Sinha had

The former Chief Minister of Bihar, DR. JAGANNATH MISHRA, is the younger brother of the late L. N. Mishra. He was present at the Samastipur railway station when Mr L. N. Mishra was injured due to a bomb blast. Dr Mishra was also hurt in the blast. Presently a Congress (I) stalwart and the Leader of the Opposition in the Bihar Vidhan Sabha, Dr Mishra feels that the demand for a fresh probe into his brother's murder is politically motivated. He wants the people found guilty by the CBI prosecuted and the CBI's findings honoured till any substantial evidence is found to the contrary. ARUN RANJAN spoke to him in Patna on May 15.



Krishna Murari Kishan

for being an Ananda Margi. The Government's intentions are also clear from the fact that the findings of Mr Tarkunde were not made available to all the newspapers but to one newspaper, and the reports were released after much planning and consideration. It is the Ananda Marg and some vested interests who are behind the demand for a fresh probe.

Minister after Lalit Babu's death? It is alleged that the post was offered to you in order to keep you silent.

A : There is no justification for this (allegation). The move for removing Mr Abdul Gafoor (as Chief Minister) had started long back, during Lalit Babu's lifetime itself. He did not enjoy the majority support in the Party. The Party High Command knew this. When the Party had expressed its lack of confidence in Mr Kedar Pande, two-thirds of the Party's legislators had expressed their confidence in me. But at that time I had informed the High Command in writing that I did not want to take up the leadership. Therefore, to say that I was made the Chief Minister for any other reason is totally wrong and baseless. Was Gafoor really removed? When he saw the lack of support for him (within the Party) and the growing unrest, he had no option but to resign. I enjoyed a massive majority in the Assembly, so I was elected unopposed. Another thing: when Lalit Babu died due to the bomb explosion, I had a narrow escape. I was near him, I could have been killed and he could have survived. Do you think that I am shielding the people who may have killed me? Even today I feel the pain of the wounds caused by the bomb splinters. Why don't you look at the case objectively? Everything would then be clear.

Q : What was the relationship between Ram Bilas Jha and Lalit Babu? What are your terms with Jha now?

A : As far as I know he (Jha) was Lalit Babu's trusted man. He used to carry out Lalit Babu's orders. I do not know him intimately.

Q : What were the political and personal relations between Mrs Gandhi and Lalit Babu in the period immediately preceding his death?

A : As far as I know, till January 1, 1975, their relations were extremely good—both political and personal. This I know because he (L. N. Mishra) used to confide in me about political matters. Therefore, I can confidently say that their relations were never bad. Despite a forceful campaign by his opponents, Mrs Gandhi did not agree to either removing him from the Ministry or an

an enquiry against Lalit Babu because he was her trusted lieutenant. What other proof do you want?

Q: Then how do you react to the statement of Lalit Babu's widow, Kameshwari Devi, that Mrs Gandhi wanted to remove Lalit Babu from the Centre and make him the Chief Minister of Bihar?

A: This is wrong and baseless.

Q: Do you have any reservations regarding the role of the two CID officers, Mr Shashibhushan Sahay and Mr D. P. Ojha? Do you doubt their integrity?

A: Both these officials have political motives. They have been more involved in politicking than policing. Perhaps that is the reason why, instead of being punished, they have been getting promotions. The Mathew Commission had held the local administration of Samastipur guilty of neglecting the security criterion (on the day of the murder). Ojha was then the SP of Samastipur, so he knew about his failing. Even then the DIG (CID), Mr Sahay, entrusted the initial investigation to Mr Ojha. The so-called confessional statement was obtained at the instance of these two, who wanted to get rewards. A cash award of Rs 25,000 was recommended for Ojha and a President's Police medal for Sahay. I removed Sahay's name from the awards list because he had wrongly recommended Ojha's name for the cash reward. I had opposed this duo's investigative theory. These facts were known to the former Janata Chief Minister, Mr Karpoori Thakur.

Mr Karpoori Thakur posted these two officials to the Vigilance Department for two reasons. First, to advance his political interests. For example, they seized the incriminating letters from Haridwar Pandey. Secondly, these officers were entrusted with the task of filing false cases against me, because as the Leader of the Opposition I had been a strong critic of the Thakur Government. These two officers took full advantage of Thakur's weaknesses. On these people's instance the former Chief Minister had instituted the Tarkunde probe. Because there were close ties between these two officers and Mr Tarkunde, they managed to advance their old theory through him. Based on their old theory and some untenable arguments, these two prepared a 35-page report and got it signed by Mr Tarkunde. Karpoori had no option but to order the Tarkunde probe because these two officers had in their possession the incriminating letters seized from Haridwar Pandey, which were in his (Karpoori's) own handwriting.

Q: You reached Lalit Babu moments after he was hit by the bomb. Is it true that he told you that it was the work of some 'high-level' people?

A: As far as I remember, he suspected the railway union leader George Fernandes and the striking railwaymen. He suspected that a conspiracy was hatched by these people. This is broadly what he had said. I do not remember what ex-



L. N. Mishra arrives at platform no 3 of Samastipur railway station

Q: Why was no post-mortem done on Lalit Babu's body?

A: There was no talk of a post-mortem then. He had been operated upon, and the reason for his death had been declared by the doctors. What was the need for a post-mortem then?

Q: Was there any 'unidentified person' in the train that brought the injured Lalit Babu from Samastipur to Danapur? Was Lalit Babu carrying some documents? If so, what happened to them? Did anybody offer any food to him during the journey? If so, who, and where?

A: I was injured and in pain. I was in a state of semi-consciousness. How could I have known about any unidentified person? We were in the same bogey, but in different compartments. There was some luggage with Lalit Babu which was taken off

Dr Jagannath Mishra



Dr Jagannath Mishra



the train at Danapur. He was under the care of Dr Bhalla. He must have eaten only what the doctor had given him to eat.

Q: What do you have to say about the so-called confessional statement of Arun Thakur and Arun Mishra?

A: Neither are their statements reliable, nor is there any logic in them. The strong motivation that should be evident in the murder of an important man is missing in the weak statements given by them. In any case, does the law accept confessional statements obtained forcibly?

Q: What are the steps you have taken in this matter, apart from making public statements that there should be no fresh probe, or that the probe should be on the correct lines?

A: I wonder why the Government is so interested in the murder case. The Mathew Commission submitted its report. It was approved by the Cabinet. Even the Janata-dominated Parliament approved a part of the report. Should not action have been initiated on at least that part of the report which has been approved? Shouldn't action have been taken against the two officers? They were held responsible for the lack of security arrangements. Shouldn't they have been given exemplary punishment to ensure that in future Government officers did not act in such a negligent manner? What was Karpoori Thakur's duty—to appoint the Tarkunde probe, or to punish the guilty officers? The intentions of many people (who are dealing with the case) seem doubtful. It is ironical that a tragic murder case should be politicised by a Government and the people should remain silent spectators. More than the urge for finding out the murderers of Lalit Babu, these people are interested in shielding the Ananda Mohan Ganguly

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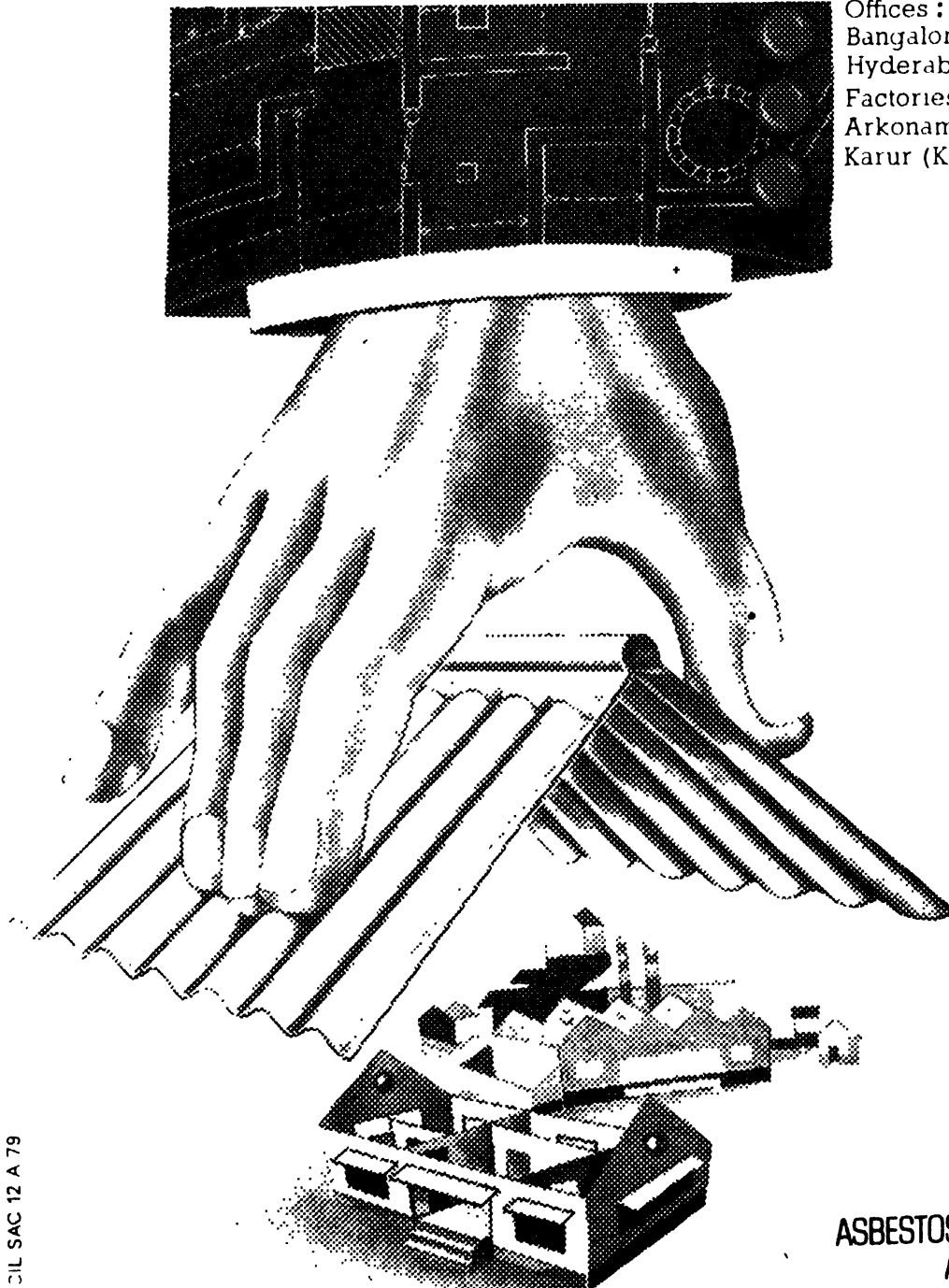
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'They tortured me for 27 days'

In the second week of May, one of the chief accused witnesses in the L. N. Mishra murder case, Arun Kumar Mishra, along with another witness, Arun Kumar Thakur, arrived in Patna. They were very keen to meet a senior Congress leader. Of medium build and height, fair complexioned, a short hair cut, a moustache, with a towel placed on his shoulders, Arun Kumar Mishra is in the habit of speaking in a bossy manner. We present his story, which he told ARUN RANJAN, in his own words. This is strictly Arun Mishra's version.

ON January 8, 1975 people from the CBI came to my house to look for me. At that time I was in Mohiuddinnagar. When I returned people told me that the CBI had been looking for me and that I should go and meet them. On January 10, I met a CBI officer, Ahuja. From January 10 to 28, 1975, I was interrogated. They even searched my house. In the end they said I could go.

Suddenly, on February 3, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon the SP of Police, Mr D. P. Ojha, Inspector K. P. Singh, along with other CID officers, raided my house. They were accompanied by a police contingent. They surrounded my house. I asked Ojha: 'SP saab, what is the need for such a large force? Whenever you have called me, I have gone and met you,' Ojha replied: 'I have brought this force along with me for security purposes. IG saab has come and he wants to meet you.' They took me to the Samastipur thana. At 10 o'clock at night I discovered that I was under arrest. For three days I was fine. From the fourth day the interrogation started. On the fifth day I found that Arun Thakur had been brought here too. In fact, they purposely made me see him from a distance. I understood that Thakur had also been detained in connection with the L. N. Mishra case. Soon after, we were shifted to the Dalsinghsarai IB (office). Even in Dalsinghsarai, there were heavy security arrangements. It was at this place that an interrogation cell had been opened. We were kept separately. My interrogation started: 'How did you know Thakur? How was the murder plan drawn up? Who all were present and where?' I said that from 10 days before the incident I had not met Thakur. I kept on repeating this and then they showed their true colours. First, both my legs were tied up, I was turned around and my legs were tied to the window. Then they started hitting me with a rod on the soles of my feet. They carried on hitting me and asking me questions: 'Which prominent people and politicians are involved in this?' When I could not answer, they untied my legs and tied my hands, separately, to the window—crucifixion style. It was very painful. Whenever I tried to rest by lowering my head or closing my eyes, they threw



Ram Bilas Jha, alias "Boss" Jha

ice-cold water on one. It was winter, so you can well imagine my condition. This torture carried on for 27 to 28 days. In between, for two days, I was made to lie down on ice. The police made sure that I didn't die. They used to keep warm water next to me. When my blood began to freeze, I was removed, and washed in warm water till I felt better, and then put on ice again.

Now you might ask why I was implicated. In 1973, at the Bhagalpur jail I had met Shiv Narain Vishwakarma (alias Sharma) for a short while. After he was released from there, Shiv Narain started writing letters to me. The police got hold of a letter and some leftist pamphlets which he had sent, from me. Arun Thakur had written a booklet called "Red Revolution". They had found a part of that. On the basis of these, the police were preparing a case. And they were asking me to confess.

Even then I did not listen, and the next part began. Along with the beating they gave me an opium injection. Under the influence of the opium, people normally do not become unconscious but tend to give an exaggerated account of things. They wanted me to corroborate their version. I was forced to give an oral statement. One day, the SP, Ojha, gave me a paper to read. I got to know later that under the table, they had placed a tape-recorder. When I read the paper Ojha had handed over to me, all that I read got taped. When it had been taped, the IG of Police, Ghosh saab, came to Samastipur. I was brought before him. He told me of this statement. I denied it. Then the tape was played. I told IG saab that I did not know anything, and

that I had read from a piece of paper which Ojha saab had handed over to me, and he had taped this without my knowledge. Naturally, when IG saab went away, Ojha beat me mercilessly for having said what I had before the IG.

Not having got anything from me, they started turning their attention towards Arun Thakur. One day they got a confession from Thakur. They gave it to me to read, and said: 'See, had you done the same, the Government would have made you an approver. Now we will release Thakur. But there is still time; if you make a statement in front of the magistrate, we will also release you.'

Under these new circumstances, I got a bit nervous. I said, 'OK, since Thakur has given his confession, I will consider it'. I was taken to the SP's house. There, after a long time, I was served good food. When SP saab went to sleep I was given Thakur's statement, so that I could read that and prepare my own statement. Till late at night I was reading it. Suddenly I realised that all this was very wrong. So in the morning, I refused to give a statement. When SP saab came, he came to know that I had got the statement, but after reading it, I had decided not to give a confession. He got angry and said, 'All right, lock him up'.

After that I was kept in Samastipur jail. I did not know what these people were up to. There the jailer, Rahman, started pampering me to give a confession. He said that Thakur had already given his statement and asked me to mention a few names among which Ram Bilas Jha's name should be mentioned. The truth is that I would not recognise Ram Bilas Jha even today. One day the jailer prepared some questions and answers and started drilling me, just the way children are drilled in order to make them learn their lessons. He was asking some questions about the case—'Yes, then what happened?' This was the way he extracted a statement from me and taped it. Later on, with a lot of fanfare, this was displayed as my second confession.

In reality, I had not given any confession. During Holi, the Director of CBI, D. Sen, along with some other CBI officers, arrived in Samastipur. The jailer, Rahman, on the pretext that it was Holi, made me drink a lot of liquor. Then I was brought before D. Sen. There the jailer played the manipulated tape. Every one was congratulating the jailer for what he had done. The jailer was under the impression that under the influence of alcohol, I would say 'yes' to whatever they asked me. But I again told them the entire story of how a list of questions and answers had been drawn up and how the entire thing was made to look like a statement.

The L. N. Mishra murder case is being brought up again. See what people like us, who are weak, alone and innocent have to face.

The Pope goes home



The Pope in Warsaw's Victory Square

SOMETIME back, a cocktail party was held in the Holiday Inn, just outside Krakow on the road to Auschwitz. It was a hearty, almost triumphant occasion with vodka supplied by the Bison Brand people who had been dispensing their fine product, gratis, plus Bison Brand desk flags, key rings and ballpoint pens to the thousand or more foreign Press covering the Pope's tour of his homeland. It was an invitations-only affair hosted by the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic and with guests drawn from four distinct groups: the hierarchies of the United Workers (Communist) Party and the Polish Church, the Vatican and the media. "This is such a wonderful celebration", said a bishop to a senior Ministry 'spokesman', whose arm appeared to be fixed to the bishop's shoulder, as if a tango were contemplated. "There is much to celebrate", said he; and the happy, crumpled faces of both God's and Caesar's

servants seemed to indicate this was so. Certainly, the Press could not have been happier; shrewd nannying by the Government Interpress Agency was almost American-style with cata-racts of handouts and translations, interpreters, 'shuttle' buses and batteries of phones and Telex machines wherever we went, including a 'Press centre' in the Gate of Death at Birkenau extermination camp, overlooking the ovens and the chimneys.

But what was the celebration really about? From what I could gather here, a great many commentators in Western Europe and America have seen the Pope's tour in trusted Cold War terms of good (the Church) triumphant over evil (Communism); and of course it was nothing of the sort. Of all the historic 'firsts', the most significant was scarcely mentioned: the striking of an unwritten deal between the Vatican, representing spiritual imperialism, and the

Polish leadership, representing Stalinist imperialism. It is a deal involving great gamesmanship, under which, for the sake of self preservation and 'continuity', each recognises the other's boundaries of power in Poland—power, that is, to subdue and tame the Polish people. At the Pope's airport farewell the Polish President, Henryk Jablonski having been bear-hugged by the Pontiff, put it like this. There is now, he said, a "convergence between Church and State in Poland." There is in other words, another 'concordat', though much more subtle than the last which was consummated between the Vatican and Germany in 1933.

On the eve of the Pope's arrival, I was introduced to a senior Government bureaucrat, a man responsible for much of Poland's foreign trade dealing by one of his 'liberal' friends in the film world. He said: "If you come here and wish to see this event as an heroic Pope returning home and thereby challenging the power of the State, that is your mistake. The reality is quite different. Poland is the political volcano of the Soviet bloc; the workers brought down Gomulka and two of his predecessors and ninety per cent of them are Roman Catholic. Without an accommodation between Church and State neither will survive in their present form. Anyway, look how much we have in common! We are both totalitarian. We both wish to control people and to instruct their minds! The Pope is a Pole; he knows this better than anyone, and as Pope it's his job—his sacred duty!—to accommodate with the lesser evil..."

Such measured cynicism is echoed by those who oppose or rather resist the regime as best they can: especially writers and filmmakers who have survived by perfecting what they call 'the code of the metaphor'. (A radical Polish film currently doing the rounds here is called *King Fu*, which to the politically initiated means 'struggle for freedom'.)

Throughout his tour the Pope's generally vapid jibes at the regime were blown into headlines and given a significance they did not deserve, especially when you compare them with his effusive flattery of the Central Committee. To Edward Gierek, the Party Chairman, he said, "I express my esteem for all your solicitude that has as its aim the common good of fellow citizens". To the assembled Politburo, he said, "I have regard for all of you, the distinguished representatives of the authorities and for each one in particular and the dignity which you hold..." And they all beamed and shook on it.

In his book, *God's First Love*, probably the most documented account of the Vatican's 1933 Concordat with the Nazis, Frederick Heer wrote: "Archbishop Grober, in the *Handbook of Contemporary Religious Questions* which was published with official

church approval in Freiburg in 1937 and which gave the authoritative view of the German churches on all political and religious questions of the Nazi period, declared the Concordat to be "a proof that two powers, totalitarian in character, can reach an agreement, if their spheres are clearly differentiated..." That is precisely what they were celebrating the other night at the Holiday Inn.

OF course, Pope John Paul II is a very different man from the reclusive, tortured character that was Pius; but what the ballyhoo surrounding him on his Polish odyssey concealed was that like Pius and Paul (John was an aberration: the one true radical), he is a profound fundamentalist, a preserver at all costs.

Since his installation as Pope, his considerable energies have been directed almost exclusively to shoring up the archaic fortress of the Catholic church, as exemplified by the Polish branch, which produced him and is still very much medieval at heart. (One unforgettable sight was a long line of confessional booths, on a meadow beside the Jasna Gora monastery, with a queue of passive sinners awaiting their turn.) Do those who have exalted the Polish Church's 'struggle for freedom' seriously suggest that the Poles would have more democratic freedoms if they swapped Edward Gierek for the despotic Cardinal Wyszynski?

Indeed, in the short time since Karol Wojtyla became Pope, he has wasted no time in condemning all the main liberalising forces within the Church: those that champion a more humane attitude toward birth control, abortion, divorce and the celibacy rules for priests. In his Puebla speech he said nothing about those Christians, including many priests, who have suffered in the torture chambers of Latin America and have died in the defence of human rights and their Christian faith. I was in Mexico, shortly after the Pope's visit and met young priests, superb men, trying to battle with poverty, the State oligarchy and their own hyper-orthodox masters, and who waited for a powerful word of support from John Paul II. One of them who bore the scars of a torture session in El Salvador, said, "I despair his silence". The 1970's may be a very different world from the 1930s and 1940s; but Pius, in his obsession with the preservation of Fortress Vatican, alas said nothing about the thousands of similar sufferers.

John Paul II is undoubtedly the first 'media Pope'. I have been to a number of 'media events' around the world; I have never been to one like that staged at Auschwitz and Birkenau death camps during his visit. At Birkenau, the Pope's large white helicopter landed in a plantation of chimneys: hundreds of horrific sentinels built at ground level and with the ovens beneath. Nearby was a prefabricated edifice for the Mass, a kind of Papal reviewing stand, with the gold and velvet Papal throne, a giant cross girt by barbed wire and two priests, former prisoners, wearing copies of the infamous striped uni-



John Paul II kneels down to kiss his homeland

form. And half a million people. And stalls selling busts of the Pope, plastic Dying Christs, ice cream, Coca Cola and sizzling sausages—the first meat, incidentally, many of the faithful had seen for weeks. Those photographers who managed to escape from the 'media enclosure' and try for a creative angle of His Holiness were swiftly apprehended by arm-banded wearing toughs from the parishes: heaving a camera strap from behind was favourite method of ecclesiastical arrest. If revolutionary fires had been lit in the great crowds, it would have been these soldiers of the Church who would have put them out.

Over all this was a whiff of of hypocrisy. Most of those murdered here were Jews, and they died while church bells continued to peal in Germany. And here was the

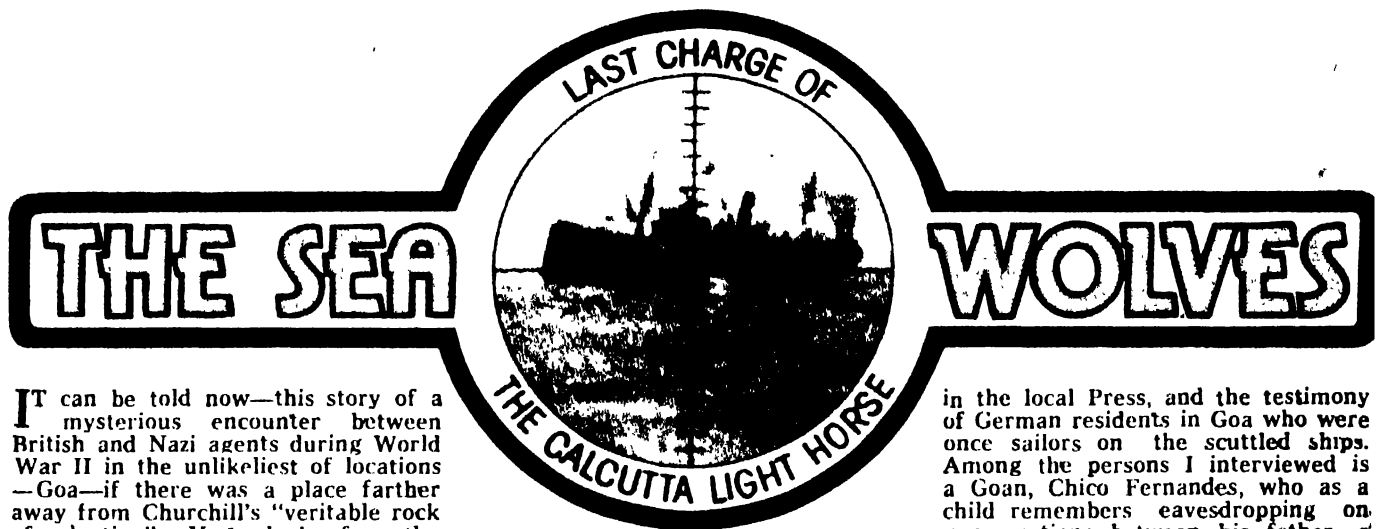
leader of the Church celebrating mass at the epicentre of their agony. Of the Jews he said this: "The very people that received from God the commandment, 'Thou Shalt Not Kill', itself experienced in special measure what is meant by killing. It is not permissible for anyone to pass by this...with indifference." And that was all he said about them. If ever there was a historic opportunity to publicly repudiate the Church's darkest age since the Inquisition—the Concordat with the Nazis which, in effect, condemned many Jews to death—this was such an opportunity. But he made no mention of it, which is a pity.

JOHN PILGER from Poland

(By arrangement with New Statesman)

Goa's secret war

Thirty-six years ago, Goa was the scene of an unexpected encounter that might have shocked those who thought India was a safe-enough distance away from Nazi Germany. The German Consul in Goa, then a neutral Portuguese colony, and his wife were kidnapped, whisked off to Belgaum, forced to give out secrets, and shot dead. The attack followed the discovery that the Consul was a spy who regularly transmitted details of Allied ship movements to Germany. MARIO CABRAL met residents of Goa who remember the affair, and got the full story of this secret war.



IT can be told now—this story of a mysterious encounter between British and Nazi agents during World War II in the unlikelyst of locations—Goa—if there was a place farther away from Churchill's "veritable rock of salvation". Yesterday's foes, the British Admiralty and the Bonn Government, have got together to tell it all, 36 years later.

On a carnival dawn, of March 9, 1943, Panaji was woken from its drunken haze by loud blasts. The southernmost tip of the town, Dona Paula, was lit by the blaze of four burning ships in the Marmagoa harbour, one Italian and three German. Smudges of blood shimmered on the emerald green sea, and dead bodies floated amid the debris of the burning ships.

Three months previously, Robert Koch, the German Consul in Goa, and his wife Greta, were kidnapped from their house in Panaji's elite residential district of Altinho, before aghast Goan housewives, still in their rollers and nighties, talking sleepily to the bakers outside their half-open bedroom windows. Disguised as a bona-fide representative, Koch was part of the formidable, worldwide Nazi spy network and operated under the code name 'Trompeta'. And what a silent operator he was, despite the name! On intelligence regularly supplied by him, German U-boats were sinking up to an average of 40 Allied ships a month in the Arabian Sea, under the very nose of Mountbatten's South

East Command, based in Colombo.

These facts have been culled by James Leasor from the records of the British Admiralty, the statutory limit on their secrecy of 35 years having lapsed in 1978. Leasor's book, *The Boarding Party* (published by William Heinemann, London, May 1978, priced at £4.90), was serialised in London's *Sunday Express* in spring last year. Euan Lloyd, the producer of *Wild Geese* and *Guns of Navarone*, has bought the filming rights. The film is to be shot in Goa around October this year, apart from some location work in Calcutta, where the British had mustered the 'boarding party' from among the armchair soldiers of the Light Horse (also called the Tight Horse, for their love of alcohol) and the Calcutta Scottish, both clubs of disgruntled soldiers, and Cochin, from where the 'party' sailed for the assault by the *Phoebe*, a dredger secretly arranged for the operation by the Calcutta Port Commissioners.

James Leasor's account, though not authentic in detail, is by and large credible. (I gleaned material for this feature from such sources as the Historical Archives in Goa, police records, a thesis on Portuguese diplomacy by Dr P. Shirodkar, reports

in the local Press, and the testimony of German residents in Goa who were once sailors on the scuttled ships. Among the persons I interviewed is a Goan, Chico Fernandes, who as a child remembers eavesdropping on conversations between his father, a schoolteacher, and a Colonel of the Portuguese Medical Corps, a Goan, both of whom collaborated with Koch, and spoke in whispers about the war and the secret operations afoot.)

LISA was eighteen and slender. Her father, Paul Gasse, repaired watches and had been an engineer aboard one of the spy ships scuttled in the Marmagoa harbour. After his ship floundered, he spent with the other survivors, ten years in a Portuguese prison in Goa, after which he decided to stay back and send for his family. Germany, for him, was done for. But he was still proud of being a German: an Arab merchant settled in Panaji, who smuggled gold to India, had once sent him a signed blank cheque. "Fill in the amount and send me your daughter," he had said in a note attached. But Gasse knew better. He sent back the cheque and kept his daughter. "The Reich may have fallen, the Germans still had their pride." Paul is now dead and Lisa, aged and frail, lives in Germany. She still plays the accordion, as when I knew her, and she still is a 'navy girl'—her husband is an engineer in the merchant navy.

Madame Hepp was a tall, bony

blonde—a bit mousy perhaps, but still great fun. She would step out of her virgin-white bedroom, tiptoe gingerly to the centre of the dim-lit parlour, flip open her green and black bathrobe, and rush back into her room before the sex-starved Portuguese officers, gathered for a sun-downer, had caught a glimpse of her sparsely-haired pubis. If encored, she would be back, cackling loudly as a hen that had just laid an egg, curtsy and fling around rubber condoms, customarily 'made in Deutschland'. Some had embossed scales no larger than a lizard's, others had a cock's comb on the top. "Try them, good night." And Madame Hepp would finally get into her bath, alone.

Like a bunch of little children clutching their lollypops, the Portuguese officers would grab their rubbers, troop out in a bustle, climb excitedly into their waiting Volkswagens, and shoot out into the night, looking for a whore.

That was Panaji, circa 1954. For a living, Robert Hepp (Madame's husband) sold cars—German cars, of course—by the thousand. And understandably, because Madame Hepp's titillation always worked. It was an ingenious arrangement, and business was brisk. And no wonder. Robert Hepp had a talent for ingenuity: He had been a radio officer aboard the spy ship Ehrenfels and knew 'Trompeta' very well, as he must have, for how else would Koch have sunk so many British ships in the Arabian Sea?

Chico Fernandes markets tyres in Goa. As a child he recollects having overheard his father and a doctor friend talking in whispers about certain radio transmissions. One of the transmitters in question was concealed in a small, inconspicuous private shoe-polish manufacturing laboratory near the town post office. The laboratory had a small range of unimportant products: shoe polish, and tranquillizers for hysteria.

When World War II was on in full cry, Portugal was a neutral country, and so Goa too, being a Portuguese possession. But the British did not take any chances with Goa, knowing it to be a secret base of German espionage. They posted a stocky officer of the Bombay CID in Goa, Inspector D'Souza, to tail 'Trompeta' wherever he went. Mr D'Souza bred poodles (I knew him as a teenager; in fact, he had given my sister one of his poodles as a gift. His son Daniel D'Souza, once a *Free Press* Journal sports reporter, worked for me when I was editing a local daily in Goa) and pretended to be a Goan come home on an extended holiday. The British Special Operations Executive (SOE) and radio monitoring services had thoroughly investigated the German secret operations in Goa. 'Trompeta' was found to supply clear and precise data to the German U-boats. One of them, U-181, commanded by Lt Wolfgang Luth, had sunk the Dorrington Court, a 5,000 tonner and seven other ships in almost as many days. British intelligence also grew wise to who and where

'Trompeta' was. In fact, 'Trompeta' and Inspector D'Souza's contacts were common. The good Nazi that he was, 'Trompeta' was haughty and worked almost singlehanded. SOE found out about his secret transmissions from India, which seemed unbelievable to those who still maintained Britannia ruled the waves.

The British, on the other hand, wished to avoid doing anything that would hurt the Portuguese, particularly in Goa, because it was Portugal's oldest colony, and Portugal Britain's oldest ally. True, the Portuguese were neutral, but it was a neutrality that betrayed a sympathy for the Allies, who were already making full use of the Portuguese Archipelago of the Azores, in the Atlantic.

Apart from Inspector D'Souza, the SOE had their own man in Goa, a lanky six-footer, Gavin Stewart. He had detected from radio monitoring services that 'Trompeta' sent his coded messages from Marmagao through a transmitter in the Ehrenfels, a 7,752 tonner of the Hansa Lines. Ehrenfels had been to Cal-



The house that was once the "Hotel Palácio" where Nazi and British spies stayed

cutta earlier and an Indian agent, posing as a port fireman, had reported to SOE that she had decks made of reinforced steel, concealed gun mountings, two six-cylinder two-stroke Mann engines and a cruising speed of 18 to 20 knots which enabled her to double as an auxiliary cruiser. A sister ship of the Ehrenfels, Kandelfels, had done just that, sinking in the process 28 Allied ships, before the Cornwall got her. Ehrenfels' Captain, Rofer, was an exceptionally experienced and daring man. He had managed to pull his ship out of the Hooghly without a pilot, and disappear even before the British could start working out a capture plan. He brought the ship to neutral Goa and dropped anchor at Marmagao where, shortly after his arrival, the Anfora, a 5,452 tonner of Lloyd Triestino under the Italian flag, and two other Hansa Lines ships, the Drachenfels (6,342 tons) and Braunfels (7,847

tons) also joined the Ehrenfels in seeking asylum.

The SOE's problems were many and serious. First, Ehrenfels was a regular enemy transmitting station. Second, there was every possibility of her slipping out and sailing for Singapore to join the Japanese. Third, any rash attempt to capture the ship from Marmagao might antagonise the Portuguese and turn them in favour of the enemy. Officially, the Ehrenfels was unarmed and stationed in a neutral port, though the Salazar regime in Lisbon was undisguisedly fascist. So, with the circumspection and cunning characteristic of wartime British commanders, the SOE decided to despatch an agent to Rofer.

THE crews of the Italian and German ships were on the dole. They had no money, and subsisted on making small deals of pilfered cargo with grocers and ship chandlers, some of whom presently own crores of rupees. In a document I read, Robert Hepp, among others, is said to have represented to the Portuguese Government that the crews were putting up with great hardship because they were unable to communicate with their own Government in Bonn, and the Portuguese were not allowing them the use of the official wireless station to send their messages home, asking for money. A bold ruse, no doubt, considering Ehrenfels had a powerful transmitter of its own.

SOE's agent to Rofer was instructed to offer him £20,000 and raise it to a maximum of £30,000 for getting him to sail three miles out of the Marmagao harbour. Once the ship was three miles out, the British would pounce on it and give Rofer and the crews money and safe conduct to wherever they chose to go. The ship was well worth over £500,000, and for a bribe of £30,000 it would be a handsome bargain. But Rofer would not listen. Next, a plan was chalked out—and abandoned—for smuggling time bombs on board the ships in baskets of mangoes and oranges. But it was a foolish plan, considering the bombs when exploded, would not cause much damage beyond the decks and the storeroom.

SOE then decided on a final plan—to silence 'Trompeta'. Lewis Pugh and Gavin Stewart were sent from their headquarters in Meerut, the seat of the Ministry of Economic Welfare, to Calcutta. Pugh, then director of Country Sections, was in his late thirties, blue-eyed and sandy-haired. He knew the members of the Calcutta Light Horse too well, most of whom, with "their thickening waists and thinning hairlines"—as Leasor describes them—had been relegated from active service. Their long discourses about patriotic zeal and the pains of rejection were fuelled with the best Scotch. No wonder they were called the 'Tight Horse'. But they could still be of great use, as was later proved.

The Light Horse was commanded by Colonel Bill Grice, the managing director of a Calcutta-based chemical



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Here lived Trompeta until he and his wife were kidnapped and killed

company, and had other resourceful members—planters, jute merchants, insurance and shipping executives, like Harry Square, a merchant who had arranged the money to bail out the Calcutta zoo from financial stringency. Harry's plan was simple. He had rhino urine sold at a high price for its aphrodisiac properties, real or imagined. The stocks imported from Africa were of suspect quality, so Harry had the rhinos of the zoo defecate while the keepers dangled carrots and sugarcane bits in front of them. The urine was collected and sold fresh, almost from source. In the bargain, he raised a few thousand rupees every month, from 'natives' praying for a hard-on.

Pugh got Grice, who had extensive business contacts, to write a letter to any Goan shipping agent, introducing them as bonafide businessmen. And so, with forged letters and a borrowed Ford V8 station-wagon, specially chosen for its roominess, given the mission in mind, they came to Goa, drove straight to the Hotel Palacio, (which still stands), bang opposite the Secretariat.

'Trompeta' got his intelligence from, among others, Ram Das Gupta, a drop-out from the Aligarh University, and a staunch nationalist. Ram Das's mistress in Bombay would ever so often, hand him an envelope to carry to Goa. He would go to Goa, and at an appointed place — generally a cafe — he would meet 'Trompeta', give him the envelope, collect the money and return to Bombay. Not a pleasantry was exchanged. 'Trompeta' was a strong man, crew-cut like other brother-Nazis, and pushing 40. He was constantly tailed by the British Consul in the colony, also a resident of Altinho. And tailing him was not difficult, considering Goa was a small place. But most of the data that could be collected by tracking him was of little value; 'Trompeta's' principal operations were confined to the Ehrenfels, to which the British Consul had no access.

The Light Horse men, Pugh and

Stewart, were quick and energetic and deliberately crude. They learnt that 'Trompeta' never received visitors before nine in the morning. So they went to his Altinho house before eight, and called out to him in German. He answered from behind the closed door, but refused to open up. Soon they coaxed him into letting them in. Once inside, Stewart drew his colt .32 and pressed the muzzle against 'Trompeta's' ribs. They ordered him to clasp his hands behind his head, walked in, and told his wife to follow suit. On the way to the waiting station wagon outside, Greta made a bid to run away. Stewart grabbed her, covered her bleeding mouth with a massive hand, lifted her and shoved her into the rear seat. 'Trompeta' had already collapsed on the seat after being hit on the head with the pistol butt. On the drive, they were given a shot of pentothal.

"Are you going to kill us?" Greta asked when she came round. There was no trace of fear in her eyes, just a little feminine curiosity.

"No, just to make you drowsy," Pugh answered flatly.

'Trompeta' and his wife were driven to Belgaum, where, under relentless interrogation, they gave out Ram Das's name. Ram Das and his mistress were subsequently captured, and killed.

CHICO FERNANDES recalls how that night, his father and his doctor-friend had suddenly shut down their shoe-polish manufacturing laboratory and "spoke into some gadget". A few days ago they had tried in vain to hide Koch and his wife after learning that British agents had arrived in Goa and were on their track. Perhaps, they had relied overmuch on Portuguese neutrality, and 'Trompeta' was caught off guard.

After 'Trompeta' was killed, his work was continued by "people" (whom Chico Fernandes will not name) who would drive to a point on Dona Paula Hill, opposite Marmagao, and send semaphore signals which Ehrenfels picked up and transmitted.

That meant another mission. So Pugh left his headquarters at Meerut and went to Calcutta again. It was clear the 'Tight' Horse were now going to find themselves in a tight corner. SOE's mission for them was explicit: "No medals if it goes right! You'll be disowned if it goes wrong." In any case, no one was to know of the plan at that stage, except Grice. He was to summon 18 volunteers and ask them to tell their wives that they would be for some time at Ranchi, for drill and exercises. Grice got 14 men from the Light Horse, and four from their peacetime rivals, the Calcutta Scottish.

Pugh's plan was for a hopper barge, the Phoebe, acquired from the Calcutta Port Commissioners, to take the 'party' to Marmagao. Here they would seize the spy ships and get them out of territorial waters, failing which the ships would be destroyed. The Phoebe was built in 1912, was 206 feet wide, 38 feet long, and had just two bunkers. The only toilet on the ship resembled a telephone booth, except for its slatted floor. It was not oceanworthy. For camouflage, she had been fitted with a funnel and looked very much like an oiler, but the funnel gave her a list when she rolled.

To evade the obvious, Indian 'laskars' were to take the barge to Cochin, where the 'sahibs' would board it. Smaller risks and greater glory went together, after all.

Jack Cartwright, a heart patient who had offered himself for a number of assignments and had been rejected, was sent to Goa as a scout. His son had been captured by the Japanese and Jack wanted to avenge it, somehow. His task in Goa was to pre-empt possible German resistance. SOE's plans were to get as many of the German and Italian officers and crew out of the ships at the time of the attack by the 'boarding party', which was to be carefully planned.

It was carnival time in Goa — for all men and women. For the three days preceding Lent, the Portuguese and Goans just let themselves go. Before Lent's abstinence and penance, there was to be joy and merriment, with no holds barred. So Cartwright organised, through a Goan contact, a Grand Carnival Ball. Just then, two Portuguese sloops had arrived at Marmagao with a total of 1,800 troops on their way to the Far East, to defend the Portuguese islands of Macau and Timor against the invading Japanese. The officers on all the ships in Marmagao were welcome to the ball, which was to be a free show. Cartwright also organised, through a pimp in Vasco da Gama's red light area of Baina, a free bacchanal for all the sailors.

When after the arrangements were finalised, Cartwright returned to his hotel, his wife rang up to inform him that their son had been found, a POW in a Burmese camp.

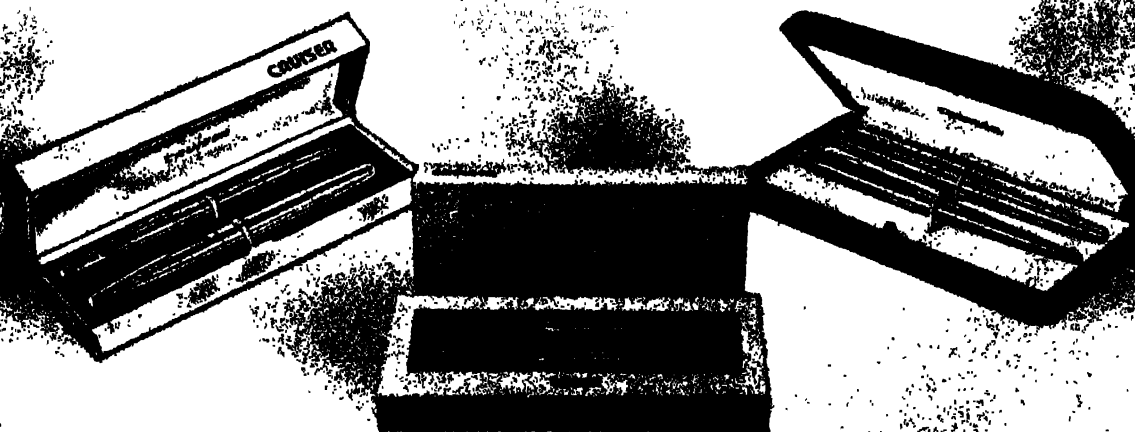
THE Calcutta Light Horse had not seen action since the Boer War in 1900. The 'boarding party' comprised men well past their prime, all



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40 plus. And they were all men well placed, used to the best things of life—as *boxwallas*, then were. Here, in the *Phoebe*, they were just so many untrained, if daring, volunteers, in a huge "iron bathtub with an engine in the middle". They had to sleep on bedrolls spread around the huge hatch in the centre—in which, normally, the *Phoebe* collected the silt it dredged from the Hooghly to throw into the sea. But they kept their cool—and their sense of humour. There was a mission with no rewards if they succeeded, nor liabilities to Britain if they failed. Bill Manners, a one-eyed volunteer, once a good hockey player (that's how he had lost his eye), every night, before he hit the sack, took out his glass eye, wrapped it in flannel and kept it in his pocket, lest it rolled out into the stormy sea.

ROFER "knew" something was in the air. He had been waiting for it, since Koch's death. He had a conference with the other Captains—the *Anfora's* Garibaldi, the *Drachenfels's* Schmidt, a man who suffered from chronic dysentery and had a paralytic leg, the *Braunfels's* Johan Bielt—a "great man", according to Karl Brietloff, a sailor and a citizen of Kiel, now settled in Goa "for good".

Rofer took charge of all cargo in the hatches of the ships. The *Drachenfels* had brought in 2,000 bags of explosives for blasting iron ore mines. The *Anfora* had tin, aluminium sheets, marble slabs, wheat flour. The *Braunfels* had oil cakes which she was to take to Finland, and car batteries.



Karl Breikopf, a crew-member of *Braunfels*, who still lives in Vasco near the Marmagao harbour.



Drachenfels in flames after the attack

Rofer boobytrapped all the ships with the explosives and the car batteries; he covered up the traps with flour and marble. He had made devices which, at the sound of an alarm, would spray the decks with grease and diesel, making the boarding difficult, if not altogether impossible. And Schmidt's huge Kingston valves would be opened in the final act of the ships' scuttle.

"We will not give up the ships. We will die," Karl Brietloff remembers Rofer saying.

"Those damn Italians cried," Karl recalls. "They were only good for music and women. You won't believe. They had made a garden in the ship and reared pigs."

The *Phoebe* made the trip from Cochin to Marmagao on schedule. In the holds, they had chickens and goats. If the chicks stopped laying they were killed, so were the goats if they stopped yielding milk.

On March 9, 1943, under cover of pre-dawn darkness, the *Phoebe* emerged from nowhere and touched Ehrenfels. Rofer deliberately had not joined the Carnival revellers. He had stayed back. He had also seen the *Phoebe*, mistaken her for an 'oiler', but was, nonetheless, suspicious. The sentry was to sound the gong "if, she came too close for comfort," were Rofer's orders, before he retired to the bridge.

But the 'boarding party' was made of desperate men. They had nothing to lose—what they were about to do was sheer madness. And they did it well. Red Mac, a boozard of a Scot, shot dead the sentry. Pugh and Stewart who were the only professionals in the group, boarded Ehrenfels, spoke some German to confuse the crews, and the 18 British volunteers, soon enough, were all on board—on bamboo ladders, which were all they had. The Indian 'laskars' manned the *Phoebe*, all through.

And just then, hell broke loose. The siren in Ehrenfels went dead. The sailors on shore hurriedly picked up their pants and ran out of the whore shops. The officers deserted

their waltzing partners, in midstep.

"Is it Carnival? That Thiga was asking me, man. He was so drunk, man, he tried to go forward and come back. Oh, how we laughed, man. But we knew what it was. It was no laughing matter," Karl tells me, his little eyes blinking in the hot sun of Marmagao's jetty. "We were here"—and he points out to a portion of the Port. (Recently, Karl salvaged for the Marmagao Port Trust 700 tons of steel scrap, which once was the hull of Ehrenfels.)

Rofer, almost singlehanded, faced the British. One by one, the ships blew themselves up. It was an inferno, to which the squealing pigs on *Anfora* added a touch of comedy.

"It was all over man, just like that" says Karl, and snapping his massive thumbs, more in sorrow than in anger.

Dimzak, also an ex-German sailor, and presently Panaji's best watch repairer—actually, he is an expert in musical boxes—is German enough not to admit that the British did it. "It was something I do not know." And 36 years have gone by. "People talk, you know," he says, without believing it himself, and shakes his ageing head.

CAPTAIN Rofer was killed during the scuttle. Captain Schmidt slit his wrists in the hospital, determined not to submit himself to interrogation. The Portuguese accused the Germans and the Italians of having destroyed the ships "after a drunken carnival brawl". And, for ten years, they were in jail—much after the war had ended.

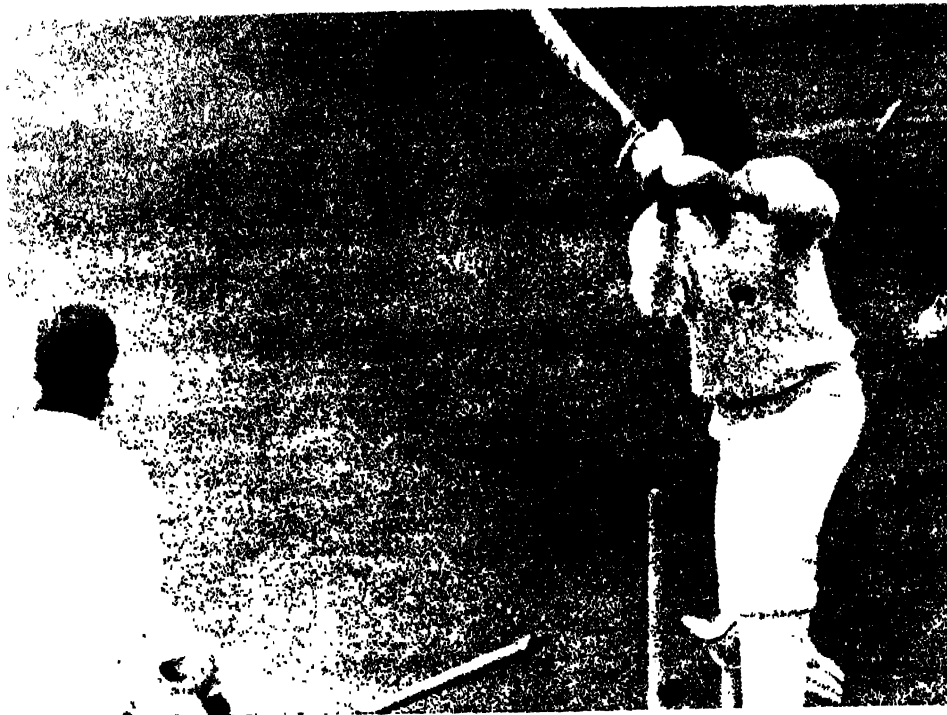
Of the "boarding party", only two were injured, but they were retrieved and taken back.

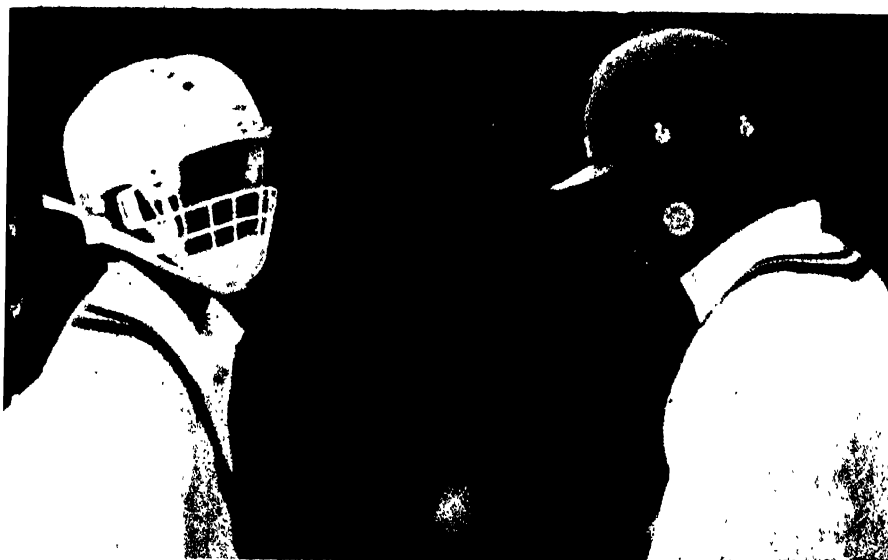
And "as the paint of the burning ships burst in giant blisters", the *Phoebe* revved its engine. Back in the *Phoebe*, Pugh passed around bottles of rum, brandy and what have you—a good hard drink to a mission accomplished. For no rewards!

Bill Manners took out his glass eye from his pocket and fitted it into his empty socket. It was dawn.

The Cup that cheered the West Indies

Photographs by
Patrick Eagar





LEFT PAGE: Below right, Pakistan's Majid Khan savours a hit in the match with Australia at Trent Bridge. Below left, Geoff Boycott bowls in the match between England and Australia at Lords. Boycott took two wickets. Top right, Bob Willis clean bowled by Sikandar Bakht in the match between Pakistan and England at Headingley.

RIGHT PAGE: Top left, contrasting headgear. West Indians Faoud Bacchus (l) and Desmond Haynes (r) discuss tactics in a warming up match against Middlesex before the start of the Prudential Cup. Below right, one of the many lusty shots West Indian Gordon Greenidge brought off in his sparkling 106 against India at Edgbaston. Below left, West Indian Clive Lloyd in action against New Zealand at Trent Bridge.



THE one actor who is never short of new stunts, when it comes to getting publicity for himself, is *Ranjeet*. This guy had been complaining for a long time that his girlfriend-mistress, Pushpa, the leech in his life, Simple Kapadia and all the servants in his bungalow were taking undue advantage of his kindness, generosity and good nature. At that time, he claimed that he was fed up of all the *jhajhats* and *teda* ways of the world. He stated that he wanted to live his life in peace, "just go for my shooting and come home and relax." He also requested his friends from the Press to stop writing about him because he wished to be a recluse. For a recluse, Ranjeet's latest behaviour is very puzzling. He has got himself a new girlfriend (he claims she is a foreigner) and it is with great pride that he has been attending every possible function with the girl hanging on his arm. But if Ranjeet knows what is good for him he will go only this far and no further. When I last met Pushpa, she was gritting her teeth in anger. She refused to comment on the new girl in Ranjeet's life, but I noted that she was filing her nails with great care that day. And Pushpa's scratches leave lasting impressions as Simple Kapadia can testify!

KAMALAHASAN, the superstar in the South, has been offered roles in Hindi films by many Bombay producers, but he has not accepted any of them. Rumour has it that it is wife Vani (ex-actress herself) who has been dissuading him from working in the Bombay industry. Why Vani? Don't tell us that grapes are sour!

HAS Padmini Kapila got a new godfather or something? She was glowing like a roadside neon when I saw her in a restaurant the other day. I overheard her telling her companion (and film stars automatically develop extra loud voices when they are in public places) that in another fortnight something really exciting was going to take place in her life, which was going to change things completely for her. Being



Padmini Kapila: something exciting

a serious-minded person myself, I took it for granted that she was referring to her film career. But for all one knows, she may have merely been talking about her next trip to exotic Dubai. In case that has set you wondering, let me tell you that Padmini's famous Dubai trips have been commented on and suspected, in many Bombay film magazines.

EVEN before she has completely hooked *Rishi Kapoor*, Neetu Singh is trying to put on massive airs with her friends in the industry. When she goes for her shooting

to Neetu's *nakhras*. In the end, Neetu had to burst out laughing at the shameless Sonia, and join in the light-hearted banter. And as Neetu laughed, one could almost see signs of the old Neetu, the likeable, appealing Neetu who had been so popular with everybody!

AMRISH PURI, the character-actor who tried his best to scare the lights out of everybody in *Jaani Dushman*, is convinced that he is the Indian version of Christopher Lee. In fact, before he started shooting for that film, it seems he used to sit with books on the make-up of Count Dracula and study them intensively, late into the night. Though why he should require make-up, I don't know. He looks like Dracula as he is.

RITA BHADURI, the talented actress who is being ignored by Hindi film producers, seems to be doing quite well for herself. She is working in a lot of Gujarati films and doing a lot of TV work, too. It won't be long before the Bombay producers wake up to her true worth. If I were Rita, I would teach them a lesson by refusing to work with them.

SHIRJEE



assignments, she no longer laughs and jokes with the unit workers as she used to do before. She holds her nose up in the air and pretends that all of them are worthy of nothing but her contempt since she is the great 'Mrs Rishi Kapoor' (to be). On the sets of *Chorni*, Sonia Sahni tried to chat with her, but Neetu answered in monosyllables and showed her reluctance to talk openly, by yawning, asking Sonia the time, etc.. Any other person would have got the message, but not Sonia. She kept jabbering, quite oblivious

"**S**HOULD every call girl blouses with plunging necklines?" asked Sharmila Tagore. In Madras, after a long gap, to act in a Malayalam film *Chuvanna Chirakukkal* being directed by N. Sankaran Nair, Sharmila declared that she won't wear revealing clothes. Ioman is cast opposite her: the film is being shot at breakneck speed and is being readied for release in August. Director Nair was a bit disappointed with Sharmila's refusal to titillate the audience, but he's confident that his film will sell as it presents "an altogether different kind of call girl", not the self-pitying, virtuous type but a spirited call girl who's not ashamed of her profession, who's obsessed with the idea of becoming the highest-paid professional.

SRIVIDYA, the wide-eyed heroine, is hoping that she will soon come out of dark tunnel which she is in at the moment. Due for immediate release is *Imayam*. Though it's dominated by Sivaji Ganesan, she hopes she will shine in a few good scenes. And there's the untitled Tamil film, rumoured to be a version of *Khattu Meetha*, in which she's paired with Vishnuvardhan. Vidya still has plenty of charm, but she should give serious thought to her figure. So what if Sripriya, K. R. Vijaya and many other "fatties" are accepted by the audience? It isn't as if Madras audiences do not appreciate slim, graceful heroines.

JAYAN has got an excellent boost through the fantastic success of his Malayalam hit *Sara Pancharam*, a story of a horse-keeper whose sexual passion wrecks the lives of a mother and daughter. The film is soon to be remade in Tamil, but Jayan may not play the lead role. His mannerisms are too close to those of Rajinikanth: naturally, Tamil producers are wary of him.

Sheela played the role of mother in *Sara Pancharam* after the success of I. V. Sasi's *Yestha* in which she played the role of a lusty woman. Producers are keen on casting her in similar roles. In fact, in *Sara Pancharam* it is she who



Suresh: from Kenya with love

arouses the passion of the horse-keeper.

KENYA-born Suresh, a family friend of director Sankaran Nair, was quite impressive in *Tamburatti* one of those much discussed "sex" films from Kerala. After having crossed swords with the censors, and with many of the so called "hot" scenes butchered, the film is running again. And doing very well. Suresh, however, isn't keen on continuing in films — doesn't like the tense atmosphere. And he has plans to go back to Kenya, or maybe to the UK and plunge into business. In the meanwhile, director Nair is trying to feature him in one of his productions.

KRISHNACHANDER, the young boy who made love to Jayabharathy in *Rathi Nirvedham* looks like a regular sissy, but the producers in Kerala see in him the next edition of Errol Flynn. Following the box-office success of *Rathi Nirvedham*, he was cast in a dozen films in which he was made to seduce and flatter women older than him. Maybe the women couldn't

produce the excitement among the audience like Jayabharathy did, maybe the audience waited for Krishnachander to grow up (he didn't). All these films, *F14 Vayasthe* included, failed at the boxoffice.

WHEN comedian Nagesh started hitting the bottle in a big way, a few years ago, his rivals said that he wouldn't last long. But something keeps Nagesh going. Despite many domestic problems, Nagesh has managed to continue to make people laugh.

Surulrajan and Thengai Srinivasan have benefited from Nagesh's personal problems. They have bagged many of his assignments. And yet the Nagesh fans are happy to see their favourite actor now and then. For, who down South, can so superbly blend pathos and humour? Nagesh even managed to get Telugu producer, Rama Naidu, to sponsor a film which he directed with Jayasudha as the heroine. The title of the film is *Murattadu* Naidu heard the outline of the story from Nagesh and gave him the green signal. The film wasn't a masterpiece, but it was

a welcome change from the routine Telugu melodramas and it turned out to be an average success. More offers came Nagesh's way but he was somehow not too keen on taking up another film for some time. "Give me good roles," he asked the producers. Some of them did. Yet one wonders if Nagesh can produce the kind of comedy he did in *Kathalka Naramillai*.

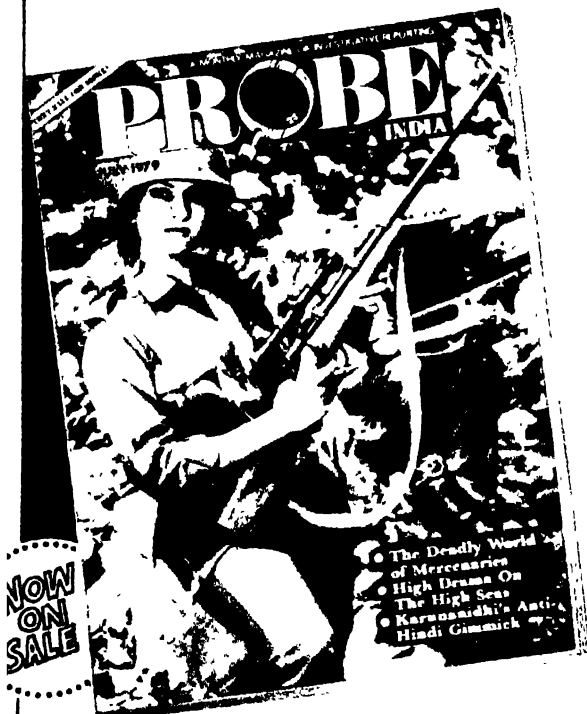
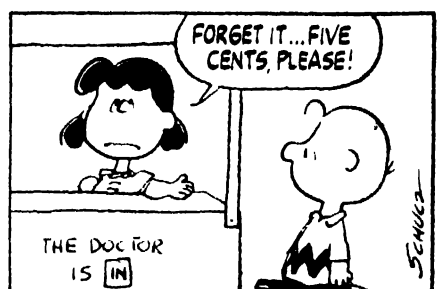
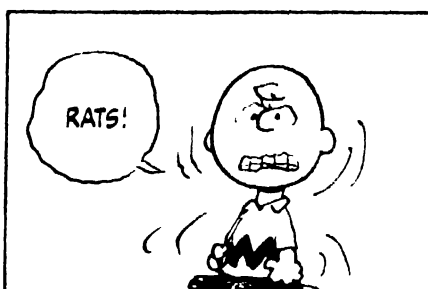
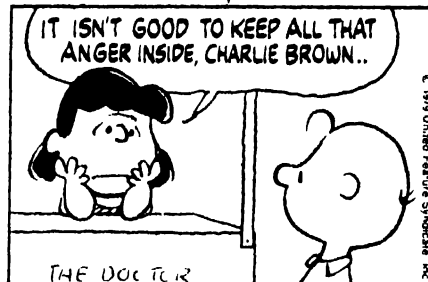
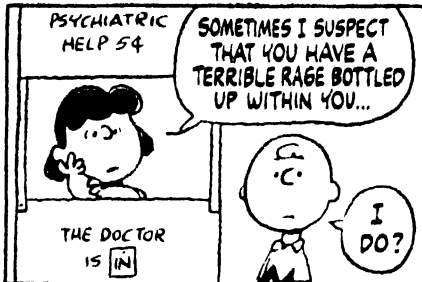
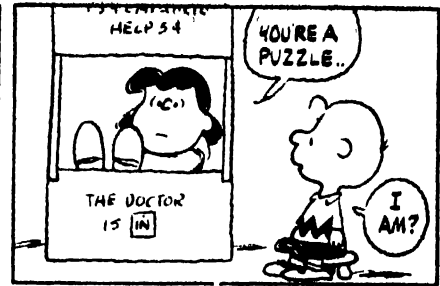
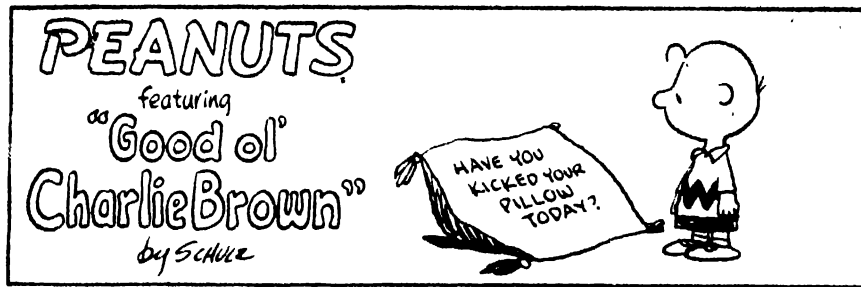
MADHU MALINI was featured in a small role in a Tamil film *Thayillamal Nanittai*. The advertisements proudly acclaimed that she was a Bombay "star"! Never mind the misleading ads, her sexy dance in the film was received with lusty wolf-whistles. And now she's busy stripping herself to glory, though some meaty, emotional roles are on her way.

IT's a pity that a smart actress like Raji hasn't gone places, but she seems to have made one good conquest. Upcoming actor Chakrapani's name is being increasingly linked with Raji's: the two met for the first time while working in a film being made by veteran actress Bhanumati. Soon assorted tongues started clattering about the impending marriage. No wedding bells have been heard, and a liberated Raji may not want a marriage so soon.

THEY called her the 'dark fluke'. They swore that she just won't click. And that her godfather, K. Balachander, would regret casting her in *Maro Charitra*. When the film turned out to be a golden jubilee hit, the so-called box-office pundits said, "Congratulate Kamalahasan, he's responsible for the super success".

But Sarika is going places. And how. This very 'plain' looking woman is now enjoying the success of two more films, *Vijaya* in Telugu and *Ponnu Oorukku Puduru* in Tamil. Taking keen interest in her is Kamalahasan, who believes that Sarika is one of the most intelligent actresses he has ever come across. And knowing the general IQ of actresses down South, one is inclined to believe Kamalahasan.

PIOUSJI



They kill for money

—The Deadly World of Mercenaries

They deal in death and destruction all the world over. Among them are also "Quick Run Girls." Who are these dealers in death?

High Drama on the High Seas off Madras

It was an 80-hour hell for all those aboard the S.S. United Vanguard caught in the ferocious cyclone on May 9, 1979. Where did the drama end?

Karunanidhi's Anti-Hindi Gimmick

Is it Karunanidhi's fight against Hindi or a handle for his political revival? A team of Probe correspondents unfold the drama behind the language war.

The Public Sector Pindaris

A shocking story of plunder of public money.

How much can a woman stand?

Dramatic story of Kesro who was discovered after 30 years on the roads of Poonch.

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Beginning July 8

This week the Sun alone is in Gemini, Jupiter and Mercury are conjoined in Cancer. Rahu and Saturn are in Leo and Uranus is in Libra. Neptune alone is in Scorpio, Kethu is in Aquarius and Mars is in Taurus. The Moon will be moving through Sagittarius, Capricorn and Aquarius from Scorpio.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) You are warned not to make sudden erratic changes. Watch finances carefully. Your success will be praised by your friends and relatives. Your health will improve. Some medical expenditure in the family is in the offing. Utilise your energy and initiative in your career. **Good dates:** 11, 12, 13 and 14. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 3. **Favourable direction:** West.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) The week is auspicious and a new friendship is in the offing. Guard against trickery and deception, especially in financial matters. Your affairs make good progress towards the middle of the week, although there might be some anxiety and annoyance from family members. Love and social activity is forecast. In general, this is a week of happiness. **Good dates:** 8, 9, 10 and 13. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 6. **Favourable direction:** North.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) Everything progresses on an even note this week. Health will need extra care. You might have to make some unfavourable decisions. Your own industry and initiative will help you gain fortune. You will not be successful in meeting people but you will be able to maintain your prestige with your juniors. **Good dates:** 9, 10, 12 and 14. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) This is going to be a week of mixed fortunes for you. An unexpected upheaval will result in financial gain. There might be chances of deception and misinterpretation from friends. Pending legal suits will cause you mental worry. Reply to letters immediately if they are concerned with love. **Good dates:** 8, 10, 12 and 13. **Lucky numbers:** 9 and 10. **Favourable direction:** East.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) Don't neglect your job. You will have to strive hard and in the process you will gain a little. You need not worry about your family. Everything proceeds on a normal course. You will have to spend money on yourself for medical treatment. Businessmen are advised to make decisions after careful consultation with partners. **Good dates:** 8, 10, 11 and 13. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) There will be many perplexing problems this week which you will have to overcome. There will be some sudden unexpected events beyond your control. Follow your intuition since this is a critical week for businessmen. Be careful before entering into new contracts. Some might be transferred. Take care of yourself since there is a possibility of a mild attack of cold. **Good dates:** 11, 12 and 14. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 10. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) Some fortune is in the offing. Businessmen are advised to take care in matters involving law and property. Meet your relatives and discuss alliances regarding marriage with them. Some will gain through speculation, lotteries and betting. A letter from a distant place will bring good news. **Good dates:** 8, 9, 11 and 13. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-east.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) In the beginning of the week there will be new opportunities and this will help you in gaining plenty of confidence. The end of the week sees a reversal of trends. You will have to spend some money in maintaining your status. Be ready to be a host at a social occasion. The end of the week will bring good news. Do not depend on others as regards speculation. **Good dates:** 8, 9, 11 and 13. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) Stellar portents indicate success and happiness which will come through young people. Elders will cause anxiety at times. The first three days of the week are bound to bring you some gains financially. This is good time for attempting new business ventures and finalising contracts. Romance proves fruitful. **Good dates:** 8, 9, 11 and 14. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 8. **Favourable direction:** East.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) The beginning of the week will see happiness and prosperity. New friends, successful changes and travel are foreseen. Your health will be good. This week is favourable for marriage and courtship. Children will be successful in their studies. Letters will bring in good news from far away. Sportsmen and technicians gain. **Good dates:** 9, 11, 12 and 14. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 5. **Favourable direction:** West.



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) Do not be afraid to adopt novel ideas in business. However, beware of arousing hostility by your impulsive actions. Concentrate on your vocation rather than on love and marriage, since some sort of disappointment is in the offing. An unexpected event will cause anxiety and expense in the middle of the week. **Good dates:** 9, 10, 11 and 13. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 5. **Favourable direction:** West.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) This week promises to be one of more than average good fortune. You will be able to complete some of your unfinished work. Beneficial changes in your professional career and travel are in the offing. Children will be successful in their studies. Businessmen are advised to acquire and stock new stores. **Good dates:** 8, 9, 12 and 14. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-west.

M. B. RAMAN

SUNDAY NEXT WEEK THE LAWLESS LAWMEN

The police-Government confrontation has assumed disastrous proportions. Has the Central Government become impotent? SAUMITRA BANNERJEE, from Bokaro, and AJAY BOSE, from Delhi, report on perhaps the most dangerous revolt in independent India.

NADIA: COMMUNAL DACOITS

Another spark of violence, and this time in West Bengal, which has not known a serious communal riot for years. SHYAMAL CHAKRABORTY describes another expression of mass insanity

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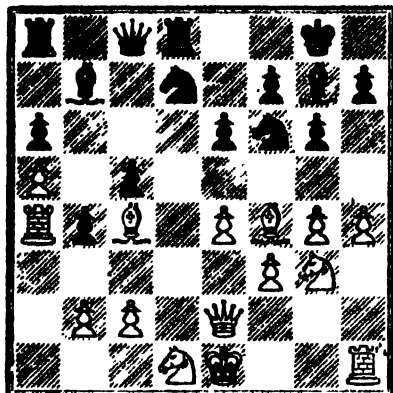
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A galaxy of grandmasters

Nunn (Black) to play



Letzelter (White)
Position after White's 18th move

By winning a strong International tournament in Budapest last summer John Nunn became the fourth English player to qualify for the title of Grandmaster in a period spanning not much more than two years John deserves great credit for his fine achievement. He is not only a leading chess-player but also one of the country's most promising young mathematicians. How he finds time to concentrate on both pursuits I shall never know

Why the sudden spate of English grandmasters? Until Tony Miles captured the title in 1978 England had never had a grandmaster in her history, yet since then we have produced more than the rest of Western Europe combined. Have we suddenly conceived a generation of bionic chessplayers, or is it the fluorine they put in our drinking-water? I think the explanation is rather simple. There always have been and always will be chessplayers of great potential in this country, but only recently have any serious efforts been made to develop their talents. A lot of people are doing a lot of work to provide strong, competitive tournaments for developing players and the results are almost inevitable. This is the first generation lucky enough to be given regular opportunities to compete against grandmasters and so acquire their special skills and techniques. There's no magic, just a simple question of practice making perfect.

The main quality of John Nunn's play is his incisiveness. The shortest distance between two points is a straight line and John will always find the most direct line of play. I give an example of his ferocious style taken from the Olympiad in Haifa 1976. Nunn's opponent is happily preparing his own attack when he is suddenly flattened by a series of tactical bombshells. A dazzling display

White: J. Letzelter (France). Black: J. Nunn (England). Haifa 1976. Pirc Defence

1. P-K4, P-KN3; 2. P-Q4, B-N2; 3. N-QB3, P-Q3; 4. B-K3, P-QR3; 5. Q-Q2, P-QN4; 6. P-B3, N-Q2; 7. P-QR4, P-N5; 8. N-Q1, R-N1; 9. P-R5, KN-B3; 10. R-R4, P-B4; 11. P-P, P-P; 12. B-KB4, R-R1; 13. B-QB4, O-O; 14. P-KN4, B-N2; 15. N-K2, Q-B1; 16. N-N3, R-Q1; 17. Q-K2, P-K3; 18. P-R4 (Diagram). White has successfully blocked the queenside and seems well set for a standard kingside attack with P-R5, but Nunn produces a devastating counter-attack out of a clear sky.

18. . . . N-Q4! For if 19 P-N, P-P the opening of the K-file is disastrous for White.

19. B-KN5, Q-B2! 20. B-R, R-B1! Deftly played! 20. Q-N+; 21. Q-B2 White succeeds in exchanging the queen. Black's onslaught bears the unmistakable signature of Tal.

21. P-N, P-P! White is now a rook ahead but his whole position is in flames.

22. N-K4. What else?

22. . . . P-N; 23. P-P, Q-N5+; 24. N-B2, B-Q5; 25. P-B3, P-P; 26. P-P, B-N+; 27. Q-B, Q-P+; 28. Q-Q2. Losing immediately. But there is of course no defence anyway.

28. . . . Q-Q+; 29. K-Q, N-N3+; 30. B-Q5, N-R; 31. K-B2, B-B; 32. P-B, R-P; 33. R-R1, R-Q5; 34. R-QN1, R-P; 35. R-N5+, K-N2; 36. R-QR5, P-B6; 37. R-P, R-N7+; 38. K-B1, N-B4, 39. R-B6, N-N5+ and White (belatedly) resigned

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

SOME 'equals' are not quite so equal as others. Would you think it could make any difference whether East, defending against Six Spades, played the King of clubs or the Jack on the opening lead?

Dealer, East N-S vulnerable

AK8642

A 10 5

10 3

9 4

7 3

Q 8 7 4 2

10 7 6 5 3 2

N

W

E

S

Q J 10 5

8 6 4 2

A K J

A Q

9

K Q J 9 7 3

9 6 5

K J 8

East, playing weak Two-bids, opened Two Hearts and the bidding continued

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
—	No	3♥	No
3♠	No	5♠	No
6♠	No	No	No

It was as well that North did not become the declarer, because the spade slam cannot be made after a heart lead and a ruff.

Against Six Spades by South, West led ♠ 7, following the current style of second best from weak suits. East played the King and South won. Deciding that East had already shown his ration for a weak Two-bid and that West must hold ♠ Q, South played for a loser-on-loser elimination, arriving at this end position:

AK864

10 5

—

—

—

Q 8 7

10 6 5

N

W

E

S

J 10

8 6 4

J

—

—

K Q J 7

9

J

South led ♠ J. West played the Queen and a heart was discarded from dummy, leaving West on play.

When a defender who holds K J can be certain that his partner has not underled the Ace it is usually good play to put in the Jack. For one thing, you discover who holds the Queen. Here the play gains in a different

way. If East plays ♠ J at trick 1 South may place West with the King of clubs and East with the Queen of diamonds. If he takes that view and finesse ♠ J he loses the contract.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



PIONEER Australian airmen are portrayed on four new stamps issued in Australia to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the first trans-Pacific flight. This one features Sir Charles Kingsford Smith and Southern Cross, the aeroplane in which he and Charles Ulm, with two American airmen, flew in 1928 from Oakland, California, via Hawaii and Fiji to Brisbane. The other stamps portray Ulm, Bert Hinkler and Harry Hawker. All four men died in different air crashes, three of them while still in their thirties and Hinkler at the age of 41. The new stamps are also available in a miniature sheet containing one of each value with a map of the flight and a commemorative inscription.

C.W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

- Where is the Airbus manufactured?
- What was the name of the Soviet pilot who flew in a MIG-25 into a Japanese airport?
- Who owns the French left-wing daily 'Liberation'?
- What is the meaning of the word 'Id-ul-Fitr'?
- What is the MIRV?
- Who was the first president of China?
- In printing terminology, what does an 'em' mean?
- In which year was the SALT-I agreement signed?
- How often is the Kumbha Mela held?
- Who is the only man before Bjorn Borg to have won the Wimbledon title thrice in a row?
- Where is the Orly airport?

- Paris.
- Fred Perry.
- Once in every 144 years.
- 1960.
- A measure of width of a column.
- Dr Sun Yat Sen.
- Re-entry Vehicle.
- Multiple independently-targeted and filr means aims.
- Id from Ida meaning holiday.
- Jean Paul Sartre.
- First Lieutenant Victor Belenko.
- In Toulouse, France.

ANSWERS

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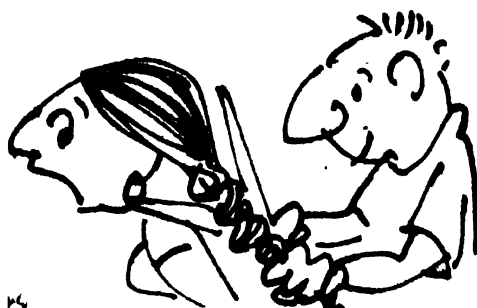
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SURAT: A young superstitious man landed in custody after being caught while carrying out his vow to cut the braids of as many as 120 young girls to propitiate the goddess "Khodiar". The man, a potty hawker, was caught while going for a 22nd braid. He was held while working his scissors on his victim in a State Transport bus in Amod, a taluka town in Broach district adjoining Surat. The Amod police produced him before a magistrate in Broach who sent him to judicial custody. The police said that the culprit had told them that had he succeeded in offering 120 braids to the goddess his mother would have "died" and he would have lived a "prosperous" life. Except three, all the 22 girls who lost their beautifying plaits of hair to him were unmarried, the police said.—*The Hindu* (S. Ignatius Mohan, Madras)

SIRSI: The change in name of two districts from North Kanara (Karwar) and South Kanara (Mangalore) to Uttara Kannada and Dakshina Kannada has caused confusion—at least to the postal authorities. Uttara Kannada is referred as U.K. in postal circles here. A letter written by the private secretary to the State Finance Minister to the Secretary of the Ankola Town Municipality last July travelled all the way to England and back here nearly after 10 months. The address was given as "Ankola, U.K."—*The Hindu* (GN. C. Sailesh, Bangalore)

CALCUTTA: Customs authorities at Calcutta Airport were baffled when an Indian national who came in an Air-India flight from Bangkok, persistently refused to open his folio bag. A custom officer was only allowed to feel the bag from outside. It was soft. "What is it?", he asked. "Halua", replied the man. Everyone around laughed but not the Custom man. He suddenly gave a pull at the zip fastener and "Hiss...ss..."—a live cobra. The man and his snake, which measured four feet but had its venomous sting removed, were handed over to the police but before that he had to pay a nominal fine of Rs 50 for violating aircraft rules.—*Hindustan Standard* (Pradip Kumar Datta, Calcutta)

TRIVANDRUM: Believe it or not they wrote together and passed together the pre-degree examination of the Kerala University this year: a 55-year-old mother and her 17-year-old daughter. While the mother, Mrs Annamma Patil made it in the first class her daughter Gloria had to be content with a second class pass. As for the mother who is now a grandma, it was the realisation of a 39-year-old dream. She received the happy news from her own journalist son while her ten-month-old grandson was on her lap playing with the granny.—*Indian Express* (I. K. A. Salam, Kerala)

TELLICHERRY: Four pieces of stone thrown to disturb a reception meeting organised by the Muslim Youth League, were auctioned for Rs 365. The function was held to felicitate Mr Ahammad Maniyur and others who had resigned from the Opposition Muslim Students' Federation. As the stone pieces were being auctioned the situation worsened when soda bottles were freely used. Police had to intervene and chase the miscreants and the meeting continued. The police have registered a case.—*The Hindu* (S. Issias, Trivandrum)

I HAVE seen enough, done enough, earned enough, wasted enough, so I thought let me do something for my country—Biju Patnaik

INDIRA "AMMA" (mother) finds an "Appa" (father) in Ura—Headline in *Blitz*

YOUR CONCEPT of command from above and implicit obedience from below, is a concept of the bygone ages—Devraj Urs to Mrs Gandhi

IN WEST Bengal, power shortage, like death, comes without any warning—G. D. Birla

JOHN PAUL II's not just a pop religious figure. He is a religious phenomenon for all seasons—A prelate quoted in *Newsweek*

WITHOUT Christ it is impossible to trace the history of Poland—Pope John Paul II

I SHALL return to Iran. I believe in Providence...I am a religious man—The exiled Shah of Iran

YOU CAN keep your technology, your problems and your evils, and we will just keep our oil—Colonel Gaddafi of Libya to an American interviewer

SALT II is not a favour we are doing for the Soviet Union—US President Jimmy Carter

WE COULD have had a good affair—Jane Fonda on her father Henry Fonda

humour in real life



A NEWSPAPER advertisement says: "Wanted a mad-servant for a mental hospital" — R. N. Senapati, Balasore

SIGNBOARD at a petrol station now reads — "EAT TYRES ... GIVES MORE MILEAGE — Kallikall Rahmu, Tellicherry

India abroad

LONDON: Three Indian children have become a problem of the British authorities. They are unwanted by their grandparents in India. They are too old to look after them. Home Office officials say their mother who is here, is also not interested in them. Jayesh, 16, Sajesh, 13, and Dipesh, 10, should have already been with their grandparents by now but for the fact that two of the brothers suddenly fell ill. So the authorities decided that the third should not also go. The two brothers have not recovered from illness. They may be sent back to India next week, depending upon the outcome of an appeal by the former Labour MP, Mr Robert Bean. Mrs Patel, mother of the children came to Britain in 1975 having left her husband in

Kenya and having sent the children to their grandparents in India. In March this year, the children came here to join their mother. Home Office officials are now sending them back because their mother could not look after them during the period. "This is not true," according to Mr Bean. He says, he has evidence to prove that Mrs Patel has been looking after them. Mrs Patel works for British rail. Mrs Patel came to Britain with an entry passport. Although she was able to stay in Britain the fact that her children came to the country in March makes the case complex. The children have Indian passports but are also registered on their mother's British passport. The Indian High Commission is looking into the case as well.—*Patriot*

EXPLOSIVE BUSINESS

THE Balasubramaniam raid case is giving Kanti Desai the jitters and his father some uneasy moments. The Union Finance Ministry is taking up the matter with the Prime Minister. And it is quite possible that the Minister in charge, Mr Charan Singh, will enter into a dialogue with Mr Desai on the issue. The famous Desai-Charan correspondence which ultimately led to his ouster from the Cabinet last year may be repeated all over again. Whatever the outcome, one thing is certain. Both sides are pretty cautious in launching moves and counter-moves, for this time there will not be any peacemakers and this will be a round which will be fought to the finish. Incidentally, the free Press has not exactly covered itself with glory by the way it has handled the Balasubramaniam story. It has generally refused to touch the case whose ramifications lead up to the doorsteps of the Prime Minister and treated it like the plague. The champions of Press freedom have been digging up the ghosts laid to rest long ago—the L. N. Mishra murder for one—but seem to have no time and patience for the shenanigans of the regime in power. An agency story put out from Madras following raids there in connection with the Balasubramaniam-Sanjay-Kanti axis was consigned to the dustbin by most newspapers and even when a single newspaper used it, the item was put on the back page among local titbits about stabbings and snatchings in the city.

CHAUDHURY : HOT, COLD OR LUKEWARM ?

SENIOR Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Charan Singh, is caught in a dilemma. His most vociferous supporters in the Janata want him to take a hawkish line and fight it out with the detractors of the former BLD, whereas the Chaudhury himself wants to take a more conciliatory approach and does not want to say or do anything that will plunge the Party into another crisis. Former Health Minister Raj Narain and about a score of MPs had virtually served notice on Charan Singh that if he does not scotch the attempts of the Jana Sangh-Congress(O)

Biswanaran Rakshit



BUREAUCRAT ILL-TREATS CM

ASSAM Chief Minister Golap Borbora made a formal complaint to the Prime Minister, Mr Morarji Desai, that despite repeated requests to the then Railway Board chairman, Mr Rajan did not increase the supply of wagons to

combine to knock out former BLD men from various positions of power in the Janata Government and Party organisation, they will walk out of Janata and form a separate group in Parliament. Now Mr Raj Narain has taken the plunge.

Mr Singh, aware of the incensed mood of his close followers, has decided to take the middle path: neither peace nor war. He would write a strong letter to Party President Chandrashekhar and also take up the issue with Mr Desai but would not go to the Press as he did last time when he made the famous "pack of impotents" statement. All in all, an ominous situation for the faction-ridden ruling Party. The Janata cookie seems to be crumbling once again. Meanwhile, Raj Narain is threatening to take the Balasubramaniam-Kanti scandal to the streets. One does not know how long Mr Singh will manage to keep the irrepressible former Health Minister on the leash.

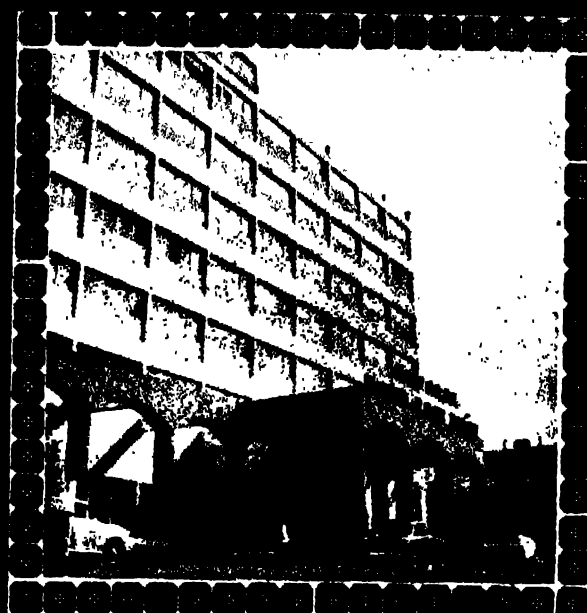
WESTWARD HO !

THE summer exodus of VIPs from Delhi is in full swing. It has made no difference that the Janata Government is at the helm of affairs. Ministers and officials have found

Assam and North Eastern Council States. He said that whenever he met Mr Rajan, he treated the Chief Minister as a subordinate. Mr Borbora told the PM, "How long shall I be treated like this?" After hearing this the PM personally called Mr Rajan and asked for an explanation. He found the explanation unsatisfactory and the ground for Rajan's removal was thus prepared.

some excuse or other to escape from the Delhi heat. Yet, there is an unfortunate senior official whose proposal to go abroad has been turned down by the Cabinet Secretariat. Prof. B. Nag, who joined the Department of Electronics as secretary and chairman of the Electronics Commission in December last year, had chalked out a programme to visit some European countries from the first week of July. But the proposal was turned down by none other than the Prime Minister who is in charge of the Electronics Department. The reason given is said to be that Prof. Nag's presence in the capital is necessary in view of the stormy Parliament session beginning July 11. It would not be proper for the secretary to go out of the country "at this time". The proposal has been withdrawn and the trip "postponed". But no such consideration prevented our Energy Minister, Mr P. Ramachandran, from going to Egypt to advise its Government on electricity matters or our Housing Minister, Mr Sikander Bakht from going to several countries to solve their housing problems. We wish Egypt and the countries Mr Bakht is visiting a speedy recovery from the Ministerial advice.

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SUNDAY

The Lawless Lawmen

Delhi, Bokaro, Trivandrum, Everywhere.
Police are even shooting at the Army.



Home Minister Patel

Is the Government Incompetent?

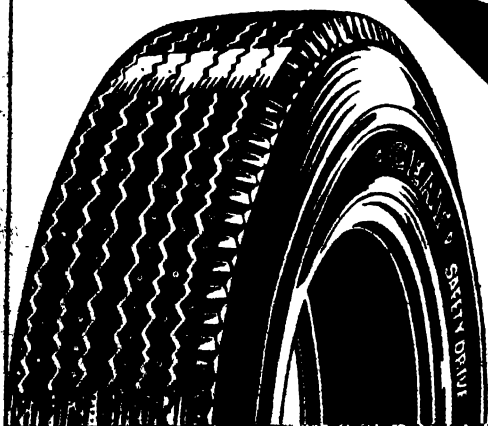
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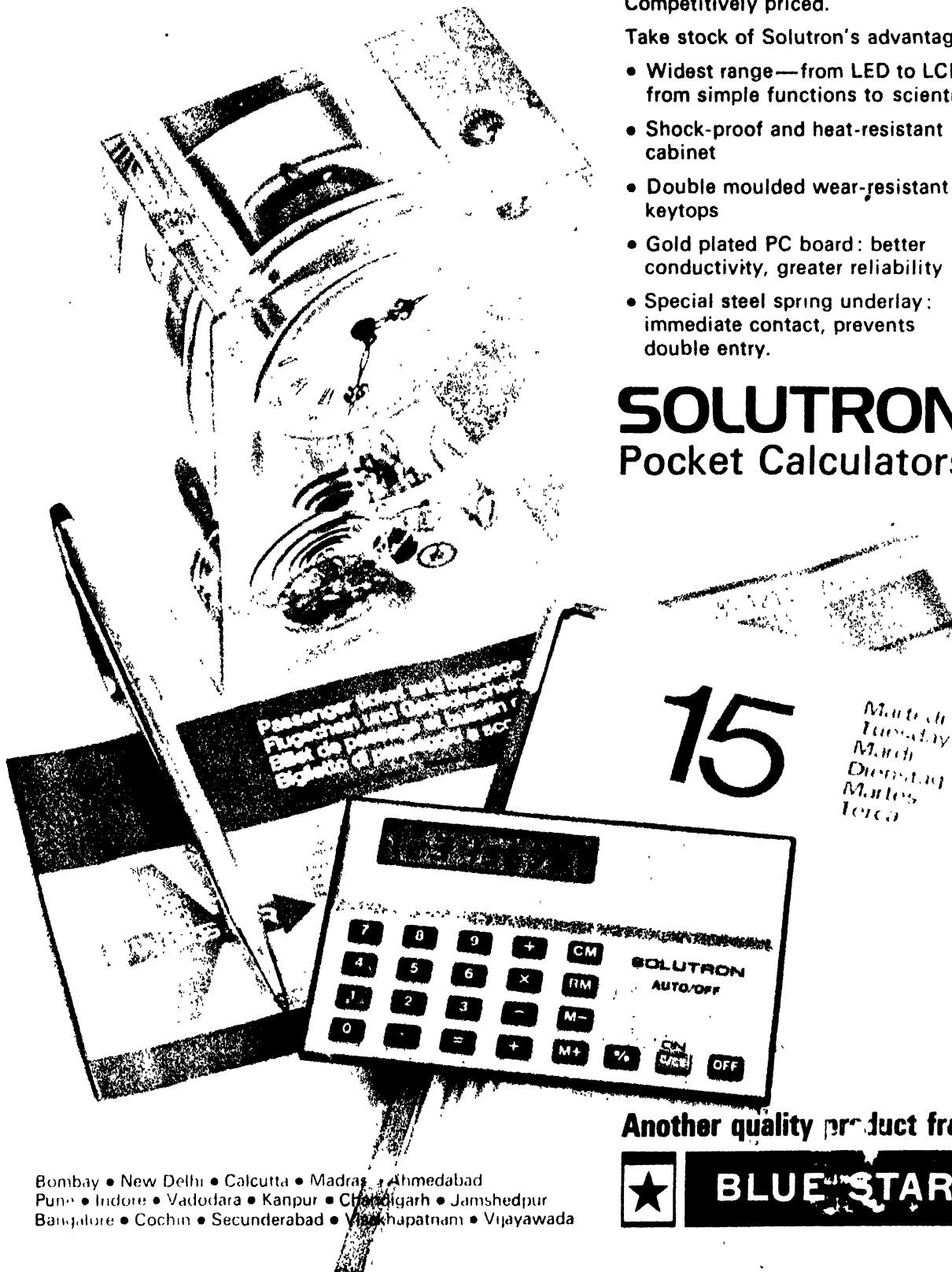
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A most dangerous phenomenon is taking place in the country. The police and the para-military forces have begun agitations, and the Government has resorted to the carrot and stick approach to deal with them. Both the carrot and the stick can have serious consequences. The pay hikes could fuel inflation; but much worse could follow from the Government's application of the stick, in the form of sending the Army into police and armed police barracks. It is learnt that the Government is toying with the idea of making the Army play a larger role in internal law and order functions. This would disturb the polity and the structure of our society. SAUMITRA BANERJEE reports from Bokaro and AJOY BOSE from Delhi.

Jeremy Thorpe was once considered one of the brightest stars in British politics. Then misfortune fell. He was accused of plotting the murder of a former male model Norman Scott who had become an embarrassment to him: for good

reason too, Thorpe had a homosexual affair with Scott. 'The trial of the century' is over now, and Thorpe has been acquitted. But, reports PHILLIP KNIGHTLEY from London many questions remain unanswered.

KEWAL VARMA went to Manila in May to cover the fifth UNCTAD and found striking parallels between the Philippines under Marcos' Martial Law and India under Mrs Gandhi's Emergency. Poignant memories of a free Philippines seen last in 1970 returned, sharpened by the discovery that a former journalist friend was now in jail.



Communal dacoits worked for a month to create an atmosphere of violence and tension which needed only the spark of a disputed inter-communal marriage to start the worst communal violence in West Bengal in a decade. SHYAMAL CHAKRABORTY toured the affected district of Nadia extensively to file his report.

After the police, BSF and CISF it is now the turn of the Intelligence Branch people to ask for more. A journalist who learnt of their first-ever trade union meeting catalogues their grievances.

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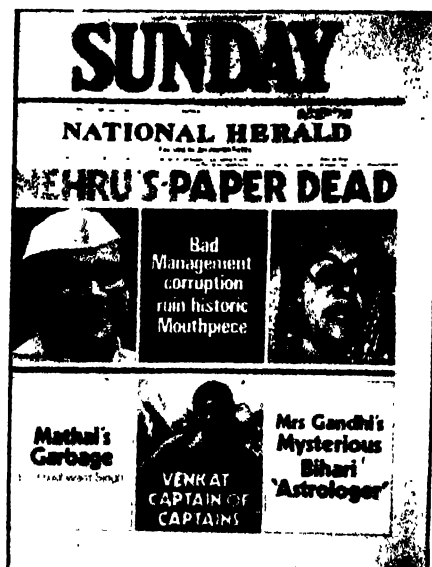
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Editor M. J. Akbar

Assistant Editor Subir Roy Editorial Staff Shubhabrata Bhattacharya,
Nirmal Mitra, David McMahon, Saumitra Banerjee, Tirthankar Ghosh,
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Herald of doom

AJOY BOSE's cover story "Nehru's paper dead" (June 17) was poignant. Corruption and bad management have undoubtedly ruined a historic mouthpiece. Since the lock-out was declared in Associated Journals Ltd on March 6 seven *Herald* workers have died of starvation and disease. The seventh casualty, Mr Jhamman, 50, an employee of the National Herald press at Lucknow

Clean out

IT was disappointing that SUNDAY should have come out with an article on India's prospects in the Prudential Cup ("Prudential predictions", June 17) at a time when she was already out of the tournament and had gone to the extent of losing to Sri Lanka. Anyway, India was never a favourite for winning the Cup.

Rajiv Shankar, Sindhri.

IN "Venkat: Captain of captains" (June 17) P. N. Sundaresan erroneously refers to India's current tour of England as a "three-Test series". It is a four-Test series that India is presently playing against England, the first at Edgbaston from July 12 to 17, the second at Lords from August 2 to 7, the third at Headingley from August 16 to 21 and the fourth at the Oval from August 30 to September 4.

Sudhendu Ranjan Pandey, Bhagalpur.

BEFORE the tournament, Venkat talked a lot about his team and victory in the Prudential Cup. But after the team's defeat at the hands of the West Indies, he went ahead to blame the umpiring. What would

had been ailing for some time. The Government must take necessary steps to ensure that the unfortunate workers of the ill-fated newspaper do not suffer to the point of death.

Nancy Koul, Jamnu Tawi

THE tragic end of a newspaper which can rightly boast of a glorious past is not only pathetic but deserves to be thoroughly probed. In the history of the newspaper industry publications have been hampered mostly due to workers' non-cooperation (for instance, in the case of *The Times* of London), but the *Herald* presents a shameful and grim picture of politicking and corruption by an inefficient management.

R. K. Gulati, Siliguri.

I AM ashamed to learn that Nehru had allowed an advertisement in the *National Herald* proclaiming Congress leaders as *goondas*, for the sake of advertisement revenue.

M. K. Damodaran, Cannanore.

AJOY BOSE has stated that *Navjivan* (Hindi) and *Qaumi Awaz* (Urdu) were started after 1957, after Mr Uma Shankar Dixit took over the management of the *Herald*. This is not correct. I have worked as a sub-editor with *Navjivan* from October 1953 to October 1955. Both the *Navjivan* and *Qaumi Awaz* were already being published regularly for a number of years before my joining the former.

S. P. Goel, Hyderabad.

he have to say about the defeat we suffered against Sri Lanka?

Bijoy Chakraborti, Calcutta.

WHILE our defeat at the hands of the mighty West Indies and the much-improved New Zealand teams was expected, our abject surrender to Sri Lanka, still clamouring for full-fledged membership of the ICC, was totally inconceivable.

Bairaj, Srinagar.

THE selection committee, along with the captain and all other players, excepting a few, are responsible for India's crushing defeat. The change of captaincy proved abortive, as Venkataraghavan failed both as a captain and as a bowler. The consistent failure of the opener Gaekwad, who was chosen at the expense of Chetan Chauhan because the former was thought to be a better batsman against pace bowling, and the selection of out-of-form spinner Bishan Bedi were two reasons for our poor showing. It is high time there was a protest against this kind of trial-and-error method of selection. In the meantime it would be worthwhile calling back the Indian team from England to save it from any further humiliation.

H. K. Dutta, Bokaro Steel City.

RSS the menace

THE news that the RSS is infiltrating the *Indian Express*, a widely circulated and popular daily newspaper, ("*Indian Express*: getting derailed?" June 17) is very disquieting. We know the RSS is encroaching upon all our Government offices, even the armed forces, universities, and industries. Communalism is the most deadly menace; its ravages are far-flung. All those who believe they own this land of ours, and the rest are their tenants will sink this great nation into medieval chaos and anarchy.

I.E.J. David, Nagpur.

Hitler was a great leader

EVER since the floating of SUNDAY one must have observed that willingly or unwillingly, it has led itself to be the mouthpiece of the anti-RSS group. And the article by Mr Madhu Limaye "The ambitions of the RSS" (June 10) is another "feather in the cap". Though the article is labelled "Sunday Special", I do not think many others will find in it anything special; it is just the routine with Mr Limaye (and also SUNDAY) to air stories against the RSS on every full moon. Now let me make it clear that I am not acting as a spokesman for the RSS but as an RSS sympathizer, and also enough always is enough. SUNDAY should give me a chance by printing my opinion, to try to prevent people from being misled by anti-RSS fanatics like Mr Limaye.

He has alleged that the RSS decided to take their war against him to the streets. Well the RSS is not a bunch of impotents and when provoked, they would not lag behind in teaching a lesson to anybody. In making it clear that the RSS people are taking cue from Washington he has, intentionally or unintentionally, disclosed that he is playing his Moscow card. And perhaps this is the only reason why he has started provoking the RSS. And it should be surprising, not only to me but also to a layman, that Mr A. B. Vajpayee should confide in none other than Mr Limaye about this so-called backstage game between Mr Nanaji Deshmukh and Dr Subramaniam Swamy. Mr Vajpayee's association with the Jana Sangh/RSS was/is lifelong while he "knows" Mr Limaye for only the last two years.

There seems to be a fear psychosis in Mr Limaye about Hitler and other Nazi leaders. Except for couple of misdeeds, Hitler was one of the greatest leaders Europe, if not the world, has ever produced. It was Hitler who from the brink of bankruptcy made his nation one of

the foremost in Europe and the world. And it won't be an exaggeration to say that West Germany enjoys the fruits of what Hitler sowed in his time. So one cannot understand what is wrong with Hitler being the idol of the RSS, as claimed by Mr Limaye.

Mr Limaye further adds that during assembly elections in 1977 and 1978, RSS men worked against the Janata and campaigned for RSS men. Well, the RSS is/was never a part of the Janata Party that they should work for it. They are entitled to campaign for anybody they like. On what ground did Mr Limaye expect RSS men to work for the Janata? However, if he is sure that RSS men are also Janata members, Mr Limaye, as a Party general secretary, was entitled to issue a show cause notice and/or expel them. Why did he not? Simply because he wanted the backing of RSS men to rise to the Ministerial level. But when he found them unobliging he started his tirade against them. Mr Limaye may deny this but then politics is a game of accusations,

counter-accusations and denials.

Mr Limaye has alleged that RSS men were behind the Aligarh and Jamshedpur riots. But it seems he has deliberately chosen to ignore the clean hit Mr Chandrashekhar gave the RSS for their role in Aligarh. Further on the Jamshedpur issue, Mr Limaye circulates a different story from what one has read in other newspapers. Perhaps for Mr Limaye it was sufficient that Mr Dinanath Pandey, who was leading the Ramnavmi procession, happened to be an ex-Jana Sanghi. (For Mr Limaye's kind information, one can be a Janata MLA or a Congress MLA, etc. but nothing like an RSS MLA, as he has described Mr Pandey, exists). Finally Mr Limaye has suggested that the Janata Party be clear about whether RSS men should either remain Janata men or leave the Party. Well, Mr Limaye could have asked the same question at a Janata Executive Committee meeting, instead of publicly airing his views, thereby making a mockery of Party democracy. *Satish Mehta, Calcutta.*

Classic lambaste

IN Khushwant Singh's review of M. O. Mathai's controversial book "Mathai's garbage" (June 17) his contempt for such trash is explicit. Mr Singh has reduced Mathai's commentary to nothingness by a mere stroke of his pen. His review boldly brings to light the contrast in their respective literary capabilities. *Mohan Krishnaswamy, Ranchi.*

KHUSHWANT SINGH is right in saying that Mathai is the "kind of viper who bites people after they are dead". One wonders what makes Mathai write such books. *Prafulla Kumar Sahu, Dhenkanal.*

SCHOPENHAUER had once said: "Vulgar people take huge delight in the faults and follies of great men". This is true of Mathai. *V. M. Parmar, Berhampur.*

MATHAI's attribution of the famous Johnsonian saying "Patriotism is the

last refuge of the scoundrel" to Carlyle reveals how ill-informed he is. Yet, works like *Reminiscences of the Nehru Age* are prescribed for the IAS examination. Mathai was no PR man, and his relations with his colleagues were far from satisfactory. He used his connections to give jobs to matriculate relatives in various private companies on the condition that nobody came to Delhi. Why is Mathai silent about his upbringing and parentage? He was educated by the Marthomma Church which even provided his tuition fees and clothing while he studied in UC College, Alwaye. He preferred the Government Guest house to his own house whenever he visited Kerala. His story is one of rags to riches. It is a surprise he did not say that the Chinese would not have dared to attack India had he remained with Nehru. His book *My days with Nehru* should have been entitled "Nehru's days with me". *Ipe Mathai, Secunderabad.*

Days With Nehru, as also Khushwant Singh's review of it. To confess, I have hated both; and ironically, for the same reasons. Mathai's book is a collection of trivia of no political importance. What he has done in fact is passed off insignificant personal tit-bits which convey no meaningful message. Khushwant Singh instead of attempting to persuade his readers about the trivia and frivolity of the book, has engaged in what in the language of logic is called an "argument of irrelevant conclusion": more than half of the review records his encounter with Shrada Devi to prove that Mathai is a namakharam. The rest of it is in the main calling him names. There is very little assessment of the book's merits. *Rakesh Duda, New Delhi.*

The scavenger?

RIGHT, Mr M. O. Mathai's book is garbage. But is not Khushwant Singh Mrs Indira Gandhi's scavenger? *P. K. Mandanan, Ambarnath.*

MATHAI might be a namakharam and his work might be in bad taste but Khushwant Singh's review has also shown bad taste. *K. Ramachandran, Visakhapatnam.*

NO ONE will take Khushwant Singh seriously for anything he says if one remembers what he had written on Sanjay Gandhi and Maruti in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* some years ago. *C. V. Francis, New Delhi.*

I HAVE read Mathai's book, *My*

Oldest affliction

ARUN RANJAN's 'investigation' in to "Mrs Gandhi's mysterious Bihari astrologer" (June 17) was shocking. He says it took him seven days to locate the soothsayer. I will remember that the next time I have to give an example of waste of time, money and energy. Astrology has been aptly described as the longest disease afflicting reason. It is sickening to see a magazine like SUNDAY devoting four pages to a virus. *Sanjay Havanur, Bombay.*

IN MY opinion astrologers do not deserve to be located and interviewed. Mr Ranjan's search, journey, encounter and interview with the astrologer took up four pages, but he could not trace the mystery behind the latter's meeting with Mrs Gandhi. There must be a large number of astrologers and sadhus who are interested in politics, and have the patronage of politicians. *Qamar Baleegh, Patna.*

Star-tled

VANAKKAM. The ideas expressed by astrologer P. T. Sundaram about me in SUNDAY ("Yes and No", June 10) are completely wrong. He used to meet me voluntarily and offer his ideas about the future prospects. I never called him personally or through somebody else. So far as I am concerned, I have no belief in astrology. Not only this, but the ideas expressed by Sundaram about Thiru K. Manoharan are also unbelievable. I have written my protest about this in the Tamil daily, *Murasoli*. *M. Karunanidhi, Madras.*

Tragic humour

WILL you please stop "Humour in real life" or shall I stop SUNDAY? I wept, at times developed a nausea, after reading the childish items published in the column. *Prabhakar Palwe, Pune.*

Cruel jibe

I DO not understand how O. V. Vijayan in Deadpan ("The case of the Oriya boy", June 17) found fun in his irritating article about an intelligent Oriya boy. The author must realise that the Oriya boy's fine performance in the IAS examination is not a study in blunders, but a praiseworthy feat. *S. N. Bhat, Cuttack.*

O. V. VIJAYAN should tender an unqualified apology for his article humiliating the Oriyas. *J. K. Misra, Cuttack.*

On June 25, the Army and the Central Industrial Security Force fought a pitched battle in the dark of the night. At least 19 people died. It was yet another case of Government's mismanagement of the country. The difference was that this outrage on the part of Delhi could have dangerous consequences for the future. SAUMITRA BANERJEE visited Bokaro to report



WAIT! Where are you going?" snaps the Army jawan at one of the three gates of the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) headquarters at Bokaro. We approach him and tell him that we want to meet the DIG, CISF, Mr B. R. Sur. He looks unimpressed. We say we are from the Press. He still looks unimpressed and says that we cannot enter. Obviously, he is obeying orders. We stand under a tree and wonder how to enter. Finally, we accost a CISF officer and send a note to the Commandant, Mr Ajay Kumar Singh. Shortly, the officer returns and while escorting us in, remarks, "Even we have to take the permission of the Army people here before entering. They don't let us in otherwise. You see, the Army is in command here."

This is evident. All three gates of the CISF security headquarters are heavily guarded by the Army. The walls of the headquarters are riddled with bullet marks and there are two gaping holes in the front of the armoury where two shots from a recoilless gun have been fired.



The CISF armoury. Encircled are the gaping

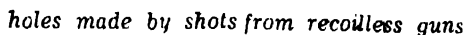
The Lawless

Even as I raise my camera, I am told not to take photographs, for reasons unknown. No notice has been circulated to that effect, nor is the security headquarters a protected area. Later, we are told by the SP, Mr A. R. Sinha, that "the Army would not allow it". Only 48 hours before, the security headquarters had been the scene of a gun battle between the CISF jawans and the Army, resulting in the death of 23 persons — 19 CISF men, one home guard, and one Major and two jawans from the Army, which had been called in to disarm the agitating CISF men and had, in the early hours of June 25, obtained their surrender.

The CISF agitation was not unexpected. As far back as February, this year some leaflets, which the CISF authorities believe were first printed at the CISF unit at Cochin, were distributed among the CISF jawans at Bokaro. The leaflets listed the grievances of the jawans and persuaded them about the need for better working conditions and among other things, mentioned that officers from other police forces should not be brought on deputation to the higher posts, which should be filled by officers promoted from the ranks. But little else happened till May 4, when at a meeting, the first of its kind, the CISF men decided to form an association under Rule 24 of the



Deserted now, but this was the venue for

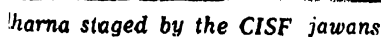


The May 4 meeting marked the watershed. From then onwards, the jawans started demonstrating — a method quite unheard of in the CISF and unacceptable to the authorities concerned. The Punjab police revolt became an inspiration to the CISF jawans. It was the lead they were looking for; they thought, if the police could do it, why couldn't they? Their condition was not very much better than that of the regular police. A security guard (equivalent to that

[illegible]

For the next couple of days the action shifted to Delhi. In preparation for the meeting with the Home Minister the representatives were told to meet the IG, CISF for what Mr Sur called a "rehearsal, to brief them and tell them how they should conduct themselves at the meeting". The representatives told the IG that they would meet the Home Minister in civvies, as they had not come to Delhi in connection with official work. The CISF top brass would not allow this as they felt "it would have amounted to permitting indiscipline." On hearing about the refusal of the Bokaro men to appear in uniform, the IG decided to select a new set of CISF representatives, picked from the CISF jawans of the North West Zone headquarters at

Photographs by Saumitra Banerjee



"Punjab ki jeet hamari jeet" With this cry, on May 27, the CISF jawans at Bokaro went on their first procession to the DIG's house. On reaching the DIG's house, they shouted slogans and Mr Sur, the DIG, threatened them with dismissal unless they returned to the lines. But the demonstration continued for four hours, at the end of which they dispersed. The following day, May 28, the CISF men took out another procession, this time in uniforms, and with shouts of "Vardi, vardi bhai bhai, leke rahenge pai pai" marched to the Bihar Military Police lines and tried to gather support.

Delhi and from among the employees at the CISF headquarters at Nehru Place.

This the representatives were in no mood to tolerate. They raised slogans and, on June 14 hired a truck and went on demonstration. At the Safdarjung flyover the truck was stopped and 27 of the CISF representatives who had come to meet the Home Minister from all over the country were arrested under section 18 of the CISF Act, Section 3 of the Police Act and Section 7 of the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act. Of the five men who had gone from Bokaro, four — R. D. Pande, K. N. Singh, S. N. Jha and N. K. Upadhyaya — were arrested here, while S. D. Maji managed to escape arrest. This was a stupid move which further aggravated a tense confrontation. Mr H. M. Patel was not able to justify this arrest at his Press conference on the CISF issue. More interesting, the daily crime bulletin issued by the Delhi Police did not mention the arrests. As a matter of fact, a senior CISF official at Bokaro commented: "I really don't understand why these arrests were made".



One of the victims of the gun battle: a CISF jawan

BACK at Bokaro on June 16, Maji reported the events that had taken place in Delhi and the impression gained ground that the trip to Delhi had merely been a conspiracy hatched by the DIG, Mr Sur, to take revenge for the demonstrations they had held. The initial demand for the recognition of their association and revision of pay scales faded into the background and the CISF men now started clamouring for the release of their representatives. This marked the beginning of the final phase of their agitation, what the DIG called the "violent phase".

The CISF jawans decided to go on dharna from June 16. The jawans also took out processions. But their protests were ignored, and they decided on a tougher line of action. On June 20 the DIG was gheraoed for

about seven hours. The following day the Commandant of the CISF Mr Ajay Kumar Singh, was gheraoed. At this point the DIG felt that "violence was in the air, and news had started filtering to this effect". He promptly stopped attending office.

The jawans felt betrayed and decided, since they could not get the sympathy of the officers, to take over the armoury and the vehicles. They distributed guard duties amongst themselves and the situation reached a point where, as the SP said, "The officers dared not give orders and the jawans refused to accept them. The leaders told me that if anyone tried to dislodge them from the armoury, they would fight". In other words, there was a total breakdown in communication between the officers and the force. As a jawan said, "We have lost faith in the officers. They be-

trayed us. Under such circumstances, why should we listen to them?" Interestingly, the CISF jawans did not neglect their duties while on agitation, and the incidence of theft at the plant did not go up. In fact Mr Sur said, "While they were agitating, they were very careful about their duties. They wanted to make sure that we could not complain on that score".

At this stage, the CISF authorities panicked and, bypassing the local administration, on orders from the Centre, the Army was called in. The Army arrived from Ranchi at 5 am on June 24 and camped at Chas on the outskirts of Bokaro. A preliminary survey was carried out by three Army officers of the area around the security headquarters. The CISF jawans soon became aware of the presence of the Army and took up positions on top of the barracks and on treetops. At 2 am on the morning of June 25, Bokaro was plunged into darkness and while the Steel City slept, the Army moved in and surrounded the security headquarters. They set up their command on top of the administrative building of BSL. Major Sukhdeo Singh, with a portable public address system in hand, started moving towards the CISF barracks, asking them to surrender peacefully. As he approached the barracks, a shot rang out and he slumped forward. The Army doctor, who rushed to attend to him was also hit by a bullet. Major Sukhdeo Singh died almost instantly. There was no holding back the Army after that. Two recoilless gun shots were fired at the armoury and a battle ensued. By 6.30 in the morning it was over, and the CISF jawans surrendered. Nineteen CISF jawans, one home guard, three Armymen including Major Singh, had died. The bodies of the CISF jawans were cremated the next day. The DIG was not present at the cremation.

The course of events

February: leaflets are distributed among CISF units

May 4: an association is formed, a charter of demands is submitted.

May 27: Procession to DIG's house

May 28: Demonstration in uniform; attempt by CISF jawans to instigate Bihar Military Police personnel.

June 13: Delhi negotiations begin.

June 14: CISF representatives arrested in Delhi.

June 16: Bokaro gets word of failure, dharna begins.

June 20: DIG gheraoed for seven hours. Jawans take over armoury.

June 24: Army called in on Delhi's orders.

June 25: The most dangerous battle between armed bodies of the nation takes place.

After the surrender 775 CISF jawans were arrested. At the time of writing, the total number of arrests amounts to 810. A large number of CISF jawans have been served dismissal orders, and charges of sedition, treason and murder have been filed against them.

COULD so much bloodshed have been avoided? Perhaps. The CISF agitation was not unexpected. For weeks the police all over the country had been agitating for better working conditions. Faced with the dimensions of this agitation, the Government had granted concessions on pay and working conditions. The CISF revolt represents the logical progress of this national dissent, based on legitimate demands. But the authorities let the pressure build up and only in the last moment did they decide to take any action. And when they did take action, it was harsh and perhaps stupid too. Mr H. M. Patel had said that "No government can countenance this kind of agitational methods for the redress of grievances by the uniformed forces. If any indiscipline continues and agitation persists, the Government will deal with these methods firmly and without hesitation." But for weeks before this tragic denouncement, the CISF men at Bokaro had been agitating. Could a settlement have been arrived at through negotiation? After all, the Government had conceded in other similar cases. Had negotiations been



DIG, CISF, Mr B. R. Sur

carried out with the representatives of the CISF jawans, the crisis could have been avoided. The arrest of the CISF men at Delhi on June 14, proved to be a provocation rather than a remedy. As a jawan said, "If our representatives had not been arrested, we would not have gheraoed the officers and the trouble would not have taken place."

The CISF was set up in 1969 under the CISF Act with the primary duty of guarding public sector undertakings. With 97 units spread all over India and a total strength of 40,000, the CISF had its largest concentration at Bokaro, with 1,870 men on guard duty at the Bokaro Steel Plant. The disarming of one uniformed force by another, especially as large a one as stationed at Bokaro, is itself a sensitive matter. As a CISF jawan mentioned, "We consider the entire act of disarming us as an insult. We know we were at fault by firing first. But what could we do? We could

not take an insult lying down." More recently, Janata leaders in Delhi have said that recourse to such action as calling in the army should come as the last alternative and not the first only after all negotiations have failed. But this did not happen at Bokaro.

The gun battle between the Army and the CISF is the first of its kind since the CISF was formed in 1969 to check the rising theft rate in public sector undertakings in India. But, the agitation of the CISF men was not unique to Bokaro. CISF men all over the country had been restive, especially in Eastern India — in Ranchi, Bokaro, Jharia and Durgapur, and all for the same reasons: higher pay, better working conditions, and the right to form an association. It was only natural that in the wake of the police revolt all over the country, the CISF men would follow suit, especially since the grievances of the regular police force and the CISF were similar. Surprisingly, the Home Ministry failed to anticipate this. It was only at the last moment, when the agitation had risen to a peak that the Home Minister decided on harsh measures. The difference between the CISF unit at Bokaro and the other CISF units was that it was the largest since the Bokaro Steel Plant, itself, is the largest in Asia. Perhaps, the Home Minister decided to use the stick on the largest unit of the CISF as a deterrent, but can he ever get their loyalty now?

"Why does this happen?"

SECTOR Nine, Bokaro Steel City. This is where the families of the Central Industrial Security Force jawans live, in concrete houses stretched out in rows. Outside their doors women stood looking sad and uncertain. Their men were missing. All the CISF jawans who had been in the barracks on the night of the battle with the Army were under arrest. But no one had bothered to inform the wives about the fate of the husbands — or, indeed, told the women whether their husbands were alive or dead. Rumour and fear had increased their tension and pain; many believed that hundreds of CISF jawans had been killed and wounded. Few wives there, even three days after the incident, knew if their husbands were alive or dead or badly wounded.

Sunayana Jha had returned from her village on June 22. Her husband was on duty at the barracks; she was to meet him on the 24th. But the *dharna* kept him away. She did not know whether she would ever meet him again. "I have not met him for such a long time. Why do such things happen? Can you tell me what has happen-



ed to him?" she asked us.

Satya Manjari Jena sat huddled in a corner, feeding milk to her child. She had come to know through her husband's friend that he was in hospital. She had gone to visit him and discovered that his leg had been amputated. The doctor had told her that he would need a lot of care. Milk and fruit had to be provided. But she did not have the money. "I have sold my bangles. I have to feed my baby also. But how can I get all the money? The amount I got from selling the bangles will not last me for very long. I have no money I don't even know if I will get my husband's pay," she told us.

Balika Rani Haldar was equally ignorant about the fate of her husband. He was in the barracks at the time of the incident. She was now alone with her two-year-old child and was at a complete loss about what to do. When she discovered that we were from Calcutta, she rushed upstairs and handed us her husband's diary. She did not know how to read. "My in-laws live in Calcutta. Could you find the address from the diary? Could you go and contact them and tell them what has happened?" she asked. We found the address and told her we would.

IT WAS shortly after midnight on 24 June. The first Army trucks drove in quietly into the huge campus of the Jharoda Kalan CRP centre which housed the First Signals Battalion, the headquarters of the 24 Battalion, the base hospital and other organisations of the force.

An Army captain got out in front of the entry outpost and asked the two CRP men stationed there to give him the keys of the inner main gate which leads to the armoury and the barracks. The two guards said that they did not have the keys which they said were in the possession of one of the leaders of the striking CRP men who had taken over the armoury and group centre for the past two days.

The two guards, who were carrying only batons, were taken quickly into custody, without much resistance, and the long Army convoy streamed into



the campus. Within an hour, hundreds of Army jawans in battle dress spread out in the quiet of the night along the entire perimeter of the campus. Barbed wire was cut at various strategic places and the jawans, all of whom belonged to the Sikh Light Infantry, took up positions. All were armed, and at least five trucks had recoilless guns mounted on them. It was a full scale invasion. All this while, the men of the CRP slept, quite oblivious, in their barracks. None of them had taken seriously the threat by the CRP Director General R. C. Gopal the day before: "If you don't give up your agitation, I'll blow you up with tanks". The CRP men had thought it to be simply bluster.

It was only after the Army had totally surrounded the barracks and the armoury that an Army major walked up to the main gate and over a loudspeaker broke the stillness of the night. "You are given 10 minutes to open the gate and surrender. We have come to take over".

Immediately there was confusion inside the barracks. Fierce arguments broke out between the CRP men over whether to open the gate but while they were debating the question, the Army had already decided to move in. It is still not clear whether the CRP

men had been given the full ten minutes or not, but according to eyewitness accounts, within five minutes a Very light soared high over the campus and almost simultaneously an Army truck smashed into the gate and broke the lock. While the CRP men rushed about, Army jawans streamed in through the gate. As the main convoy rolled in, the soldiers moved towards the armoury. While there is no clear proof that the Army fired first, according to a few CRP men who witnessed the drama the Army opened fire almost immediately after they entered through the main gate.

The first burst of fire felled the guard commander and two CRP jawans who were guarding the armoury on behalf of the strikers. Fire was returned by the CRP from the rooftop of the main office of the headquarters of the 24 Battalion, where some CRP men had stationed themselves. They were immediately showered with bullets from the Armymen who had taken up positions all around the headquarters. The firing continued for nearly half an hour, and within another 30 minutes the whole campus was under Army control.

By six in the morning the campus had been sealed. Except for a handful of CRP men who managed to escape in the cover of darkness, the entire garrison had been 'captured' and jawans with automatic weapons, and light artillery guarded the perimeter, the quarter guard and vital installations. The three-day-old CRP strike had been crushed.

The crucial decision to move in the Army at Jharoda Kalan was reportedly taken without the knowledge of either the Home Secretary T. C. Srinivasavardhan and Cabinet Secretary N. K. Mukherjee. Both were informed after the Army had actually taken over. Mr Srinivasavardhan and Mr Mukherjee had earlier suggested a soft line and asked the CRP authorities to try and persuade their men to give up their agitation.

The antagonism between the CRP Director General R. C. Gopal and the CRP jawans, however, made a soft line impossible. Almost all CRP jawans were agreed during the strike that they were not ready to even talk to Gopal who they accused of being "corrupt, authoritarian and unrealistic".

The CRP had revolted on the night of 22 June after their talks with their officers had failed miserably. The CRP jawans said that their officers were not even willing to hear their demands. There was almost unanimous agreement among the CRP men that only a direct agitation could serve their purpose. The jawans were also in touch with their colleagues in Trivandrum where the CRPF was also on strike demanding higher wages and better working conditions.

In fact, the agitation at Jharoda Kalan started after a telegram was received from Trivandrum on June 19. There were also a large number of sports teams of the CRP participating in the inter-range sports competition at Jharoda Kalan and this gave the men a chance to discuss the grievances of the CRP jawans in various States.

The main leadership of the strike at Jharoda Kalan, significantly, was in the hands of Keralites who comprise over 30 per cent of the total garrison strength. According to an Intelligence Bureau report which was later made on the police and CRP revolt, it was noted that Keralites were generally far better educated than men from the other States and perhaps therefore provided the leadership for the revolt. It would be wrong, however, to say that the revolt did not get the support of other sections in the CRP. Most jawans are extremely resentful of their service conditions and, according to a CRP officer, it was only a matter of time.

Jawans told newsmen who had gone to cover Jharoda Kalan that their lot "was much worse than that of both the police and the Army". According to them, there have been a number of suicides by CRP jawans in the past for what they described as "mental cruelty" by officers. They talked of the case of a young CRP jawan who had applied for leave to get married and after great difficulty got the leave. Just the day before he was to go, the leave orders were cancelled. The desperate jawan took his life a day later. There are a number of cases like this. One aggrieved jawan in the 25th Battalion shot an officer and then killed himself.

The orderly system is another grievance of the CRP men. According to one jawan, even though he has pleaded with his superior officers to give him action duty, he was deliberately kept back since a powerful officer wanted him as an orderly. Orderly duties include serving bed tea, fetching milk and vegetables, polishing brass and the shoes of officers, taking out the children for a walk and giving them a wash and sometimes even being forced to wash the soiled diapers of the officers' children. The CRP jawan is also badly paid, and there is hardly any chance for the lower ranks to get promoted.

After the firing at Jharoda Kalan, bitterness among the jawans has increased, and some of them in the other centres are quite ready to believe rumours that many more than three CRP jawans have died. There is also a sense of injustice among the CRP jawans now. Most of them cannot understand why the policemen were rewarded with pay hikes after their agitation, but they were fired upon for doing the same thing. The old euphoria and defiance of the CRP jawans while they were on strike, has, of course, gone, but it has given way to a quiet hostility and hatred of the Government and the authorities which could prove dangerous later.

AJOY BOSE

Bhubaneswar

IN THE early hours of June 25, the Army launched a perfect commando-type raid on the sprawling Central Reserve Police (CRP) camp at Bhubaneswar. Within a short time it managed to obtain the surrender of the 17th and 26th battalions of the CRP. The raid had been timely. The CRP men had been restive and in a mood to fight. Their grievances: poor pay and bad working conditions. The officers, sensing the mood of the jawans, had been anticipating trouble. They were relieved when the Army finally took over.

The first signs of the CRP agitation had become apparent on June 22, when the Orissa Government requisitioned the services of the 17th and 26th battalions of the CRP to maintain law and order for the ratha jatra festival, on June 26. With the civil police threatening to



go on strike on June 26, the State Government had been forced to ask for the assistance of the CRP. This gave the CRP men an opportunity to re-group and they started voicing their demands. The next morning, June 23, posters appeared all over the CRP camp. Their protests did not stop here. The CRP men, belonging mostly to the 17th battalion, insulted the senior officers and when asked by the authorities, including the IG eastern range, to surrender the armoury, they refused. At this the Orissa Government panicked and the Army was called in.

The Army moved into Bhubaneswar in trucks and buses. To keep their arrival a secret, they had set up their base far away from the CRP camp. But it was not long before the CRP men became aware of their presence and set up defensive positions. The Army, in turn, shortly after its arrival, started preparing for the raid.

First, they asked the State Government for a map of the CRP camp. This the authorities could not provide. The commander, then, entered the CRP camp in plain clothes, to secretly survey the scene. Some other Army officers went up to nearby buildings to get a bird's eyeview of the camp. They discovered that

near the main gates, the armoury, the JCO quarters, the stadium and the shooting range were situated. The entire camp was fenced by a 10 feet high barbed wire. The CRP had posted sentries at the three main gates and observation posts had been set up on the stadium.

The Army then took up positions across the road, between the two observation posts set up by the CRP. Fortunately for the Army, there were a number of empty tar drums, behind which the army men hid. To avoid suspicion, the traffic on the road was allowed to move. At 3 am the electricity was cut off and the CRP camp was plunged into darkness. Taking this as a cue, five Army men, four of whom were armed with LMGs and a fifth carrying a

wire-cutter, moved up to the wire fencing. They cut a hole in the fence and entered the camp. The rest of the Army unit followed.

The commander, who had set up his control station on top of the Tribal Research Centre, near the main gate, announced that the Army had taken up positions inside the camp and asked the CRP men to surrender. If they did not, he said, their quarters would be blasted with mortar fire. The ladies and the children in the family quarters, on hearing this, started wailing. The threat worked. Within minutes, the CRP men surrendered. The armoury was first taken over and then the CRP personnel were disarmed. The Army took charge of the CRP camp and a few days later handed it over to the BSF. Unlike Bokaro or Delhi, in Bhubaneswar not a single drop of blood was shed. The only casualty was the future.

SWARUP JENA

Trivandrum

Trivandrum city was fast asleep, as usual, on the night of June 21. But hectic preparations were in the final stages of completion for a showdown by the CRP jawans in their camps situated in the city and its outskirts. The inhabitants were awakened at dawn by the slogans of CRP men who organised a massive demonstration demanding better emoluments and service conditions. To the people of this city strikes and processions are nothing novel. The only difference this time was the timing.

The Kerala CRP men, spearheading the countrywide rebellion for higher pay scales and better service conditions, started from Pallipuram, a camp situated about 22 km from Trivandrum, at 3.00 a.m. Accompanied by their wives and children, they walked all the way to the city despite heavy rain and shrill shouting slogans in the national and regional languages to join their colleagues in Trivandrum camp. The agitation which was to have been simultaneously launched in Delhi, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Orissa and Gujarat was advanced by one day in Kerala as a sequel to the detention of their leaders while they were raising funds for their cause.

The agitating CRP personnel, emboldened by the meeting of their first demand — release of their detained leaders — marched through the streets to Raj Bhavan and later assembled in Chandra-sekharan Nair Stadium, situated next to their Trivandrum camp in the heart of the city. The gates of Raj Bhavan were closed at the behest of the top police officials by CRP men themselves who were



on duty there. Their representatives were later allowed to meet the Governor to whom they submitted a charter of demands. The 14-point charter of demands included the raising of the minimum salary to Rs. 600 fixing of 8-hour duty periods, scrapping of the orderly system, grant of weekly offs, the grant of freedom of association, better promotion opportunities and abolition of direct recruitment.

With the strike and indefinite stoppage of work the Army was asked to take over the CRP barracks at Pallipuram and Trivandrum on June 22. Since there were insufficient Army personnel in the State to meet the needs additional reinforcements were drawn from Hyderabad and Bangalore. The takeover was smooth and peaceful as the striking troops offered absolutely no resistance. There was a wartime air about the whole situation. Planes airlifted in army jawans who were then taken in convoys for deployment at strategic points.

MOLLY VARGHESE

Is the Government Impotent?

ASPECTRE is haunting the corridors of power in New Delhi today. The ghosts of anarchy and internal chaos that were conjured up by Mrs Gandhi to justify the imposition of the Emergency are no longer mere figments of the imagination but look only too real in the wake of the revolt by the police and paramilitary forces that has been sweeping the country for the past two months. The few hundred policemen who demonstrated at Patiala in early May, quite unknowingly, started what is perhaps the gravest crisis the country has faced since Independence. Like a strange tropical disease, the agitation fever spread from one State police force to the other, then proceeded to infect the paramilitary forces and has now even penetrated the secret confines of the Central Bureau of Investigation and Intelligence Bureau.

Faced with this mounting crisis, an increasingly paranoid Janata Government is now preoccupied with the nightmare of a revolt in the Defence forces as well. The package of pay, pension and promotion benefits for the Defence services which was hastily announced in the midst of the agitation by the paramilitary forces is only a blatant expression of the Government's secret fears.

Along with this attempt to placate the Army, has come an increasing dependence by the Government on the Defence forces to keep civil order. While the agitation by the police and paramilitary forces has temporarily died down, their relationship with the Government is no longer the same as before. The Government probably, with some

justification, cannot expect anymore unquestioned loyalty from the police forces. At the same time, however, the Government is still in urgent need of a sizable police force to control the law and order situation.

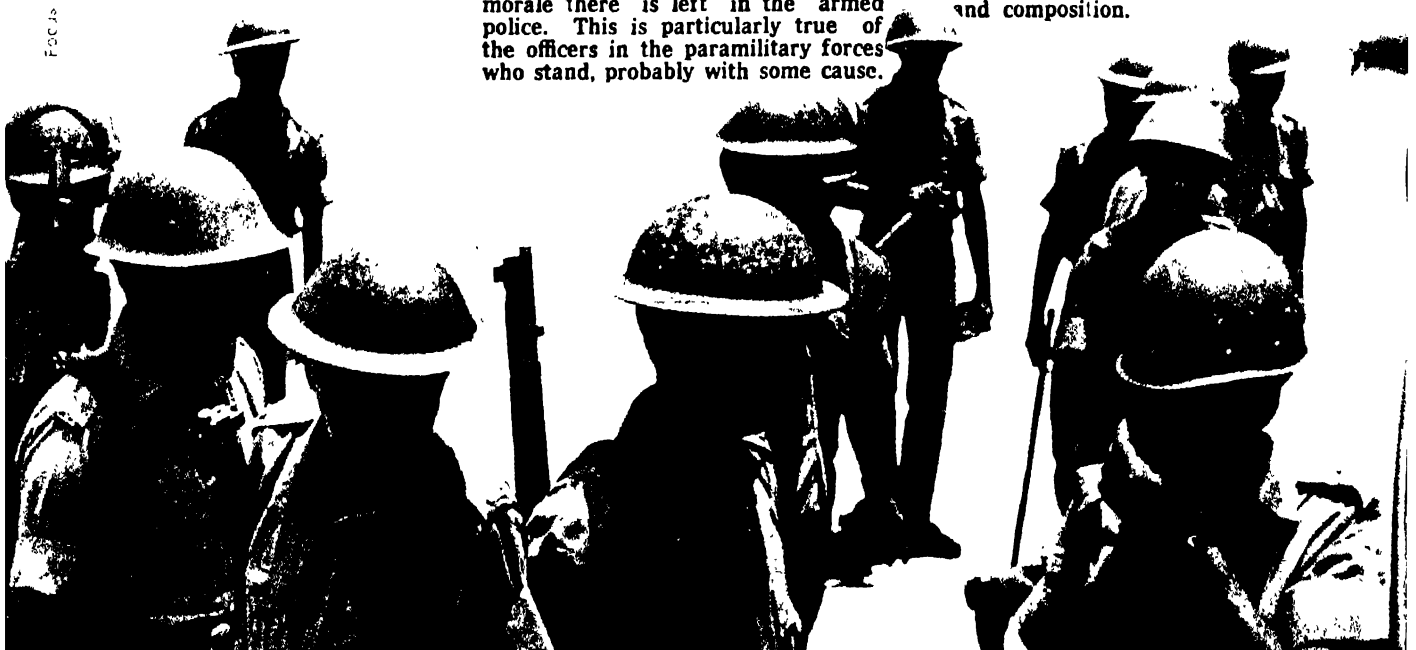
To counter this dilemma which the Government finds itself in now, two major steps are being contemplated. The first is a massive mobilisation of the Army to bring back to its ranks all able-bodied and capable ex-servicemen. This will inflate the size of the Army considerably and make it easier for it to police the country. This sort of massive mobilization has only two precedents — the 1962 war with China and the 1971 Bangladesh war.

The second step envisaged by the Government is apparently a clever bid to kill two birds with one stone. There are proposals to appoint Army majors, who are facing voluntary retirement, on deputation, as commandants in the Central Reserve Police and the Central Industrial Security Force. This, according to Government thinking, would at one stroke solve the problem of the immense promotion bottleneck which Army majors are facing today and at the same time keep Army control over forces which are now seen with suspicion and distrust by the authorities.

These two steps which the Government might find convenient at the moment, could, however, ultimately be disastrous. First, they would totally destroy whatever morale there is left in the armed police. This is particularly true of the officers in the paramilitary forces who stand, probably with some cause,

quite discredited and humiliated. If they are brought under the control of the Army, even though in an indirect way, it could lead to a total crisis in the force. It would also reopen the wounds of hostility and resentment in the police and paramilitary forces against the army—wounds which are now considerable, particularly after the Army opened fire on the forces in Ahmedabad, Delhi and Bokaro. To most policemen, the use of the Army to crush the police revolt was not justified and the use of superior firepower might have instilled fear but certainly not friendliness in the hearts of policemen. This could well lead to explosive situations when the Army is required to coordinate with the police forces to jointly control a law and order situation.

And finally, this dependence on the Army could give a psychological basis for an exaggerated self-importance to the Defence forces which might ultimately lead to precisely the situation the Government is trying to avoid. It would be extraordinarily naive of the Government to presume that the Army would remain as disciplined and incorruptible if it is used repeatedly to put down unrest in the country. It is this very function of the police that has rotted its foundations in the past few decades. The recent revolt in the police and paramilitary forces which the Government would like to dismiss as merely lack of discipline, actually stems from its very structure and composition.



Yes. And in its impotent rage it might be tempted to effectively destroy the free society promised by our Constitution, says AJOY BOSE.

MODELLED on the lines of a colonial police, the police forces had never been able to grow past its pre-Independence roots where a staff of white officers had controlled a mob of local men to enforce the dictates of the Crown on the masses. After Independence, the white officers left, but the chasm between the Indian officers who took their place and the men did not decrease. Neither did the rules change significantly to bring about a change in the character of the force, in its purpose of functioning and its methods.

In fact, the newly Independent Government put even more emphasis on a show of brute force by the police to keep peace in the country than the British ever did. The increasing reliance on the use of armed police to contain law and order problems and the neglect in building up an efficient civil police is an indication of the lopsided role the policeman has had to play.

The phenomenal growth of the armed police in the last 32 years is a point to ponder for the present Government which is so keen, now, to turn to the Army for firepower to keep the country from going up in flames. The accent on the armed police started soon after Independence when 13,000 policemen were hastily inducted into the armed police to crush the Communist uprising in Telengana. This was only the beginning, and as the Government failed to provide political solutions to the mounting problems, the number of armed policemen started going up in leaps and bounds. For instance, while the strength of the total police force rose from 5.19 lakhs in 1961 to 7.57 lakhs in 1978, the strength of the armed police force rose in the same period from less than 50,000 to 1.72 lakhs. The Central Reserve Police which had only 14 battalions in 1961 has increased nearly fourfold in only 18 years.

Scant attention was also paid to the quality of men inducted in the armed police forces. Discipline meant only a blind obedience to officers and efficiency lay only in the capacity of the armed police to instill fear in the hearts of the masses. It is only now when the guns of the police are turned on the Government itself, that the politicians have suddenly woken up to the fact that sections of the police forces can become criminals with licensed guns.

The armed police, particularly, was fostered as a force which had

little or no rapport with the people. At the same time the policemen were exposed to criminal and communal tendencies in the society which were bound to influence them. Commission after commission through the past few decades has warned the Government to change the basic structure of the police, but in vain. Every year innumerable cases of murder, rape and loot by policemen were reported from all corners of the country but once again with hardly any response from the Government.

While his function alienated him from the general mass of people, the armed policeman at the same time was disgusted with his own life and working conditions. Used as a strike force, the armed police were shunted from here to there at less than a day's notice and were denied any form of family or normal human life. They were also subjected to all sorts of political misuse and given little chance to develop into an impartial force.

The present police agitation must be seen in the context of this background. It was not a sudden eruption. Rumblings of discontent have been heard for the last 20 years — in Madras in 1950, Calcutta in 1955, Lucknow in 1957, Delhi in 1967, West Bengal in 1969, Uttar Pradesh in 1973 and Bihar in 1977. Unfortunately, instead of seeing it in its historical context and attempting to solve its root causes, the Government has merely sought temporary measures like pay hikes and more allowances to end the agitation.

At the same time, the escalation of the police revolt and its spread to the CRP and the CISF panicked the Government to go to the other extreme. While the civil police got quick benefits as a result of their strike, the paramilitary forces got bullets. The fact of the matter is that, although all of them demanded almost similar benefits, the latter, because of its more military organisation, posed a greater threat to the Government. The ruthless use of the Army has quelled the agitation for the moment, but in its wake has left behind an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion as the Government's contemplated measures of reducing armed police personnel indicate.

These measures find support from certain sections in the Army who feel that the armed police forces have been built up by the Government as a counter poise to the Defence forces. In fact, a retired Lieutenant General, recently concluded his article on the police agitation in a national daily with the following

lines : "The agitation and insubordination of the armed police forces and the ease with which the Army has dealt with them, it is hoped, will convince the powers that be of the wrongness of their theory of building up armed forces as a counterpoise to Defence forces." This has been a long standing grouse of many Army officers. In the present situation, however, the Government has allowed itself to be more dependent than ever on the Army to keep order in the country, and this is bound to influence Government policy.

Replacing the armed police forces with the Army might lead to even a worse crisis than the recent police revolt. This is because of precisely the same reasons that the revolt in the paramilitary forces was more dangerous than the revolt in the civil police. The military character of the Army and the fact that it carries far superior firepower than any force in the country gives it a certain vantage position which, if it chooses to use against the Government, might prove impossible to contain.

While it is true that the disaffection in the Army is not as widespread as in the armed police forces, it is not that it is non-existent. The Army jawan has been watching, closely, the agitation in the police and paramilitary forces. The fact that the agitation has helped the policeman to get better working conditions will not have escaped the jawan. Nor will the fact that the orderly system, of which he is still a victim, has been taken off the shoulders of the constable, go unnoticed by the soldier. There has already been an agitation in the Army, in the late Sixties, against the misuse of the orderly system by Army officers. Matters had reached a head when the case of an Army officer's wife beating up a jawan orderly was reported. In spite of the fact that the then Chief of Army Staff, Sam Manekshaw, had temporarily abolished the orderly system, it has again crept back.

The ethnic roots of the Army jawan, the CRP sepoy and the police constable are the same. They all come from 'semi-martial' castes of the rural peasantry of India. It would be extremely naive, therefore, to presume that because of the fact that he wears a military uniform, the Army jawan would be indifferent to the changing times. The same reasons of higher education and prevailing social climate which has brought greater awareness of their rights among the ranks of the police and paramilitary forces applies to the Army jawan as well.

What has kept the army men from reaching the state of disaffection which is there in the police forces is that his function of defending the borders keeps him partially isolated from the general mainstream of Indian society. If the Government uses the Army increasingly to control a corrupt civil society, as it is planning to do, it might not be very long before the rot also sets into the Army.

The Revolt Spreads to the IB

And now, members of the Intelligence Bureau are also demanding that their grievances be redressed. On June 23, a secret meeting was held at which a trade union of sorts was formed by IB personnel. Only one journalist managed to slip through the tight security and witness what happened when the first trade union of intelligence men, the IB Employees Association, was formed. A Correspondent reports.

THE evening of June 23. An unusual crowd has assembled on the lawns of 7, Man Singh Road in the heart of New Delhi. Their appearance betrays neither their identity nor the purpose of the meeting. Most of them resemble Delhi's innumerable officegoers. Few of them know each other, but their presence there on that evening is confirmation for each that the others are his colleagues—fellow sleuths in the country's oldest and most sensitive secret organisation, the Intelligence Bureau. These men have gathered to give birth to the first trade union of intelligence personnel.

Representatives of the IB staff came from all parts of the country and included men from all ranks—from the constable up to the Deputy SP. In fact, they had been summoned to Delhi by their bosses for an entirely different official exercise: the formation of a phantom staff council and an audience with India's Home Minister H. M. Patel.

Ever since the May revolt of the Punjab police, the IB authorities were on the lookout for rumblings of rebellion in the organization's ranks. The police agitation was snowballing and each passing day brought reports of new sections of the police and security forces raising their banners. Newspaper reports about officials of the SAB and ARC (two of the country's sensitive intelligence networks) had literally set North Block ablaze. But the Home Ministry was worried most by the possibility of a revolt in the IB, if the Government lost the help and use of the IB there would be chaos.

The IB bosses worked out a scheme to prevent a revolt. Director of the IB Mr S. N. Mathur ordered that his organisation should have a "staff council" where grievances could be aired. There was, in any case, pressure on him. The Home Ministry had issued a circular to all police organisations to constitute such councils. H. M. Patel was worried, and was discussing the police agitation with the State Chief Ministers in New Delhi. In a frantic effort, the IB authorities managed to gather together some of the IB's staff members on June 1, and announced the formation of the apex body of the staff council. The June 1 meeting, which included as many nominated representatives as elected was not a success. Some of the staff representatives charged that the council was unrepresentative and the meeting dispersed with the DIB announcing that a staff council with elected representatives from all over the country would meet soon.

Two weeks later, North Block was active again. A full-fledged staff council was to be presented to the Home Minister on June 23. Telex messages went to the State units asking staff representatives to be sent post haste to Delhi. By the evening of the 22nd, a good number of IB personnel had arrived in the capital. They, along with the members of the initial apex body, were called for a closed-door meeting with the IB bosses. Present at the meeting were two joint directors Nagarkar and R. K. Khandelwal—the latter considered by many in the capital

as the IB's de-facto director. The effort at this meeting was to tutor the staff representatives to 'behave' at the meeting with the Home Minister. The representatives were asked to submit the grievances they would like the Home Minister to hear: this was a ploy to pre-empt the demands of the IB personnel. Every demand the representatives submitted was rejected as unfit for inclusion in the agenda for the next day's meeting with the Home Minister. The representatives began to despair. After much talk, it was agreed that the representatives would discuss specific problems with the Home Minister.

On the morning of June 23, something unprecedented in the history of the organisation happened. Mr Mathur, Mr Khandelwal and some other IB bosses were coming out of their North Block office to proceed to the Home Minister's cabin, when a group of angry IB staffers converged on them. The mock exercises of the previous evening have raised serious doubts among the IB men about the sincerity of the negotiations. The mode of the selection of representatives was felt to be dubious. There was also apprehension that at the last moment the IB authorities would prevent some staff leaders and activists from attending the meeting with the Home Minister. A wordy duel ensued between the senior officers and the staff. The Director and his lieutenants were virtually under gherao. The DIB adopted a low profile but Mr Khandelwal was stern. But luckily, tempers cooled.

The meeting with the Home Minister solved nothing. Seated with Mr Patel were the Home Secretary, the Joint Secretary from the Political Department and an adviser from the Finance Ministry. Besides Mathur and Nagarkar, who is in charge of IB administration, a Deputy Director was present from the IB side. More than 30 staff representatives were to speak in the two hours, but the meeting went off track.

After the abortive meeting the die was cast as far as the IB staffers were concerned. They decided to form an independent association to champion their causes. Any hope that the staff council would deliver the goods had vanished. Word went round among IB offices in the capital that the first general meeting of the staff members would be held on the lawns of one of the IB offices—on Man Singh Road. More than 200 staff members trekked to the meeting place. The professional efficiency of the country's top Intelligence organisation was in evidence as they went about forming their first trade union—the IB Employees Association. The lone "outsider" witness to this drama was a reporter who had found his way in spite of tight security checks.



The police revolt is affecting the IB

A crisis of confidence

THE Intelligence Bureau is facing a crisis of confidence. Its proven professional competence is not reflected in the morale of its staff. The tremors rocking the country's oldest secret service organisation have caused running deeper than the newfound sense of rights among the country's police and security staff. Till 1949 the IB remained essentially a policemen's organisation. Under its first Director, B. N. Mullick, efforts were made in the Fifties to give the organisation an independent status with a permanent staff and separate cadre. But this original plan went off the rails somewhere and this is the main reason for the present crisis. In particular, the phenomenal growth of the intelligence apparatus in the last two decades demands far greater organisational cohesion than exists. Mullick had visualised this problem.

It is estimated that the IB has a field staff of approximately 10,000 with a matching administrative superstructure. The IB network is spread all over the country with the accent on sensitive border areas and politically "trouble-prone" States. It is understood that the organisational executive strength is the highest in Kerala and West Bengal. The most powerful arm of the IB is its ex-

ecutive staff. Each district is headed by an officer of the rank of a Deputy SP with officers in the rank of CI, SI and an ASI under him. The constables form the lowest field staff category. The State units of the IB are headed by the Deputy Directors, higher up in the pyramid are the Joint Directors who are in charge of different wings. The Director of the IB is, protocolwise, the highest-ranking police officer in the country.

The wireless wing of the IB, started in the Sixties to facilitate intelligence communication, has also a countrywide network. But with RAW increasingly taking over wireless duties in the plains, the IB's operations are getting more and more confined to the borders and hill areas. During Mullick's stewardship, the IB hunted for the best talent in the country. First class graduates and post-graduates were sought for direct recruitment as SIs. The politics of the candidates was screened, and they had to qualify in tough written tests and interviews before selection. After selection they underwent a rigorous training of three years which included a one-year stint in the border areas. The IB recruits were trained in all aspects of intelligence gathering, monitoring and in the use of firearms. In the early years, when

What are the sleuths demanding?

1: The main problem is the lack of a cadre and cadre rules. The IB has become a permanent institution with its own staff and the sleuths want the deputations of IPS officers whose permanent interests are elsewhere in the States, to be stopped. Instead they may be allotted to the department to work permanently in the organisation, leaving at least 50 per cent of the vacancies to be filled up by promotion of the departmental officers. Unless and until this is accepted and implemented, the functioning of the IB will not be improved, say IB employees.

2: The IB wants a recognised forum to ventilate grievances: hence no vindictive measures must be taken against the employees who try to form a welfare association of IB employees.

3: The main problem of the executive branch is the stagnation at all levels, which can be solved by creating Selection Grade Posts for the rank of Deputy Central Intelligence Officers, and by earmarking 50 per cent of the posts in the ranks of AD/DD to provide promotion avenues for DCIOs. IB people point out that when all ranks of the executive cadre are entitled for the special pay with effect from January 1, 1973, the DCIOs are not given the benefit: this anomaly may be rectified.

4: Many problems of the Ministerial staff can be solved by their conversion into an executive with a separate seniority list of their own. Stagnation in a particular rank can be avoided by either giving selection grade or by introducing a sliding scale.

5: The issues facing the scientific branch consisting of wireless and technical personnel are very serious, manifold and complicated. This section is the worst sufferer in the IB. There is terrible stagnation, and promotions are made on the basis of additional qualifications supposed to have been obtained after enlisting into the department—which is unheard of in any of the services. Moreover, these poor people have to spend more than three-fourths of their careers on the borders, thus being separated from their families.

The poorest of the poor

ONE can call them IB's casual labourers. They are on the organisation payroll but do not belong to it. They are known as "fielders" in the IB jargon. They act as the ear of the IB at the grassroot level, reporting movements and passing on similar information. They are the lowest-paid in the organisation, getting a consolidated salary of a mere Rs 250 per month. The job market being what it is, even graduates are working as fielders, though it is an unskilled job. The fielders have no security of service. The rule that after three years of service an employee should be confirmed does not apply to them. More over, they do the spying at their own risk. An incident during the Emergency in which a snooping IB man was caught red-handed by the personal staff of

West Bengal's former Chief Minister Siddhartha Shankar Ray received the attention of the Press. But few people knew that the man was an IB 'fielder'. The Home Ministry had no problems disowning him.

FOR one poor constable in the IB the staff council exercise proved an once-in-a-lifetime experience. The IB authorities in New Delhi wanted staff representatives from the States to be rushed to the capital for the staff council meeting with the Home Minister. The unit heads in the States were sent telex messages to this effect. One constable from the South, who finds it difficult to make both ends meet, was flown all the way to the capital—a privilege he could never have dreamed of.

quite a number of qualified young men joined its ranks, they were encouraged by quick promotions. Mullick had promised them confirmation in the IPS cadre within a span of 20 years. Alternatively, there was the hope of the IB staff constituting a separate cadre of its own.

But these hopes were soon belied. The higher echelons of the organisation were being packed with members of the IPS, who were deputed to the

IB at the level of DSPs and DCIOs. These deputationists were eligible for deputation allowance, special pay and other fringe benefits. They also came in the way of the promotion of direct officers. Further, the deputationists quite often brought along with them junior policemen from the States, adding to the woes of the IB's personnel. Discontent was building up, but there was little the IB men could do.

CISF jawans assembled outside their officers' mess at Bokaro in response to the DIG's call for a meeting three days after the surrender. Will the 'plainclothesmen' among them deliver the goods for long?



The Indian IB prides itself on having the lowest "defection rate" among the intelligence set-ups in the world. But behind this record is also the near impossibility of an intelligence officer being able to leave the organisation on his own. It is difficult for an IB sleuth to look for a career outside while he is on the organisation's payroll. Resignation is not easy, and alternative jobs are difficult to come across, since the IB's long arm can reach out to any potential employer. Many of the officers would like to get out but have little chance, and so they have decided to stay and fight.

Life has also become difficult for the staff representatives who are in the forefront of the struggle for better working conditions. It is reported that they are themselves under strict surveillance by the IB's trusted sleuths. A special cell has reportedly been formed to monitor information on the IB's staff trade union activities. This cell is believed to be functioning from one of the IB offices in the posh Nizamuddin area of New Delhi.

A fallout of the IB men's agitation has been the exposure of corruption and nepotism in high places in the organisation. Many trace the roots of this to the "deputationists' raj" in the IB. It is alleged that the IB has become an asylum for top police officers who are either incompetent to man the police force in the States or are under a cloud of corruption charges. A major source of corruption is the operational secret fund, to which the high-ranking officers have exclusive access. The money spent from the fund is not subject to external auditing. It is learnt that the IB's top brass write off huge sums under this head; and these very officers are said to underspend allocated funds for staff welfare to enhance their image as efficient managers. An interesting case of nepotism involves a joint director in the bureau. An illiterate domestic servant in the officer's household has secured appointment in the IB as a junior intelligence officer. Another way of rewarding favourites is to find berths for them in the most sensitive "No-going-out cell" where the staff is eligible for special pay.

The IB headquarters in Delhi has a fleet of cars for special operations. Usually, junior officers are deputed to carry on such operations, which include V.I.P. security. But a national daily recently reported the case of an IB high-up who used the staff car for private safaris under the name of special operations. What the gentleman used to do was to make a junior officer accompany him on his private trip.

The IB bosses usually survive the fluctuations of ministerial fortunes. It has been reported that one of the present joint directors has been a key figure in the masterminding of George Fernandes' arrest and ill-treatment in custody. The present Director is believed to enjoy the patronage of no less a person than V. Shankar of the PM's secretariat. ■

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NADIA: COMMUNAL DACOITS

West Bengal has been free from the communal problem for over a decade now. But the horrible violence at Nadia shattered this proud record. SHYAMAL KUMAR CHAKRABORTY visited the sensitive border district to file this report.

ON June 2 Banamali Dafadar, a 26-year-old Muslim of Chapra, was returning home to his village from the district headquarters of Krishnagar with his 21-year-old wife Kalpana. He was feeling happy; he had just been discharged by the courts in one of the two cases of abduction and forcible marriage that had been filed against him on the complaint of his wife's relatives. For Kalpana Dafadar (nee Ghosh) came from a Hindu family of *goalas* who belonged to the Yadav community. With Banamali Dafadar was his elder brother, Asman (28), and they took the bus from Krishnagar town down the road that went past Paninala village where Banamali lived. But on the way, Banamali's homecoming turned bitter. A group of Hindus from the Yadav community stopped the bus and dragged down the two brothers and Kalpana.

Later, a short distance away, the bodies of Banamali and his brother were found in a field. Kalpana,



Jyoti Basu inspecting the damage

since then has not been traced. Police have arrested a maternal uncle of Kalpana on the charge of murdering the two brothers. And since then, this border district of West Bengal has witnessed unprecedented communal tension, on a scale the State has not known in a decade. There has been large scale looting and assault along communal lines that has taken a devastating toll of 31 lives, left several hundred injured, and many more houses gutted. The tragic irony is that just a day before the news of the deaths shocked Bengal, the Left Front Government had released one of a series of advertisements which took credit for the island of communal harmony that the State represented in the strife-torn country. It was, in fact, a claim that the State could rightly make. But Nadia shattered that proud record.

Kalpana lived at Maheshnagar in Chapra with her widowed mother in the house of her maternal uncle. The allegation against Banamali is that he abducted the girl during a *jatra* performance in nearby Bethuadahori. He is then supposed to have hidden her in Bangladesh for some time. Thereafter he allegedly took her to a mosque in Calcutta where their marriage was solemnised. After this the couple returned to Hatra, a village in the Chapra thana area. In the meantime, Kalpana's mother and uncle had registered two complaints with the Nakasipara and Chapra thanas, alleging abduction. As the two complaints were identical the court dispensed with one case, and it is after this decision that Banamali was going home to his village with his wife on June 2.

Chapra, near the Bangladesh border, is about 130 km from Calcutta





and 20 km from the district headquarters of Krishnagar. The communal violence that swept Krishnagar and Chapra, with particular ferocious intensity between June 21 and 25, owes its immediate origin, among other things, to this alleged abduction and the murder of the two brothers, believe the State Intelligence officials.

Hindus, Muslims and Christians have lived in a truce in Nadia district for a long time now. It is not that the area has not known violence but that violence has never been communal in nature. Violence had raised its head during the freedom movement, the agitation in 1966 and again during the days of the Naxalite uprising. But the widespread nature of the present conflict has left people shaken. About 15,000 people living in 70 villages in the Krishnagar and Chapra thana areas have been affected in one way or the other. In trying to quell the disturbances the police have fired 50 rounds in which six people have died. The 25 others who died were killed by communal bands. Several crores worth of property and grain have been looted and destroyed. Some women from both the communities have been molested. Several thousand Muslims had fled to Bangladesh in fear, but by early July over 8,000 of them had returned. The population of the area is composed mainly of Hindu and Muslim peasants, and some *goalas* of the *baday* community who supply milk and milk products to Krishnagar town.

But there has been a tension in this border area for some time, and the existence of the border was one reason for the theft of cattle from across the border is a regular feature. Raising a stud bull is a *goala* in the area stolen

Bangladeshis from across the border. With the efforts of the BSF one of them was brought back, but the other could not be found, and the rumour spread that the missing bull had been slaughtered and eaten in Bangladesh. This angered the *goalas*, who transferred their wrath on to Muslims. This problem of cattle lifting is one of the important causes of the recent violence.

Another cause of tension is Operation Barga of the West Bengal Government under which registration certificates are being distributed to the share-croppers. Landowners are, naturally, unhappy and determined to foment trouble. But perhaps the most important cause of the communal violence is the serious rise in dacoity in the area in recent times. A month before the actual disturbances began, there were as many as 50 dacoities in the area. Both Hindus and Muslims were affected. Recently, in the nearby town of Palassy, a Congress (I) leader was murdered and this led to several cases of arson. The Intelligence people had apprehended that these separate incidents might lead to communal violence, but it appears that the district adminis-

tration failed to act in time on the basis of this information, and hence the flare-up.

The truth is that there have been any number of inter-communal marriages in Nadia in the past. These marriages have led to problems, and there have even been court cases. But past tensions have always been momentary, and have soon been forgotten. There are any number of instances of Hindu girls living happily with their Muslim husbands in Nadia. In the ultimate analysis it seems that the climate of dacoity and looting was the real culprit; the marriage of Banamali and Kalpana was only the provocation, the spark which lit the flame. The police, also, do not have any information of the RSS or the Ananda Marg being active in the area.

Dacoities are a common feature here. On the way from Krishnagar to Chapra one passes the Jhanjhani maidan where now the BSF has set up a base. Not too long ago, dacoities were committed here in broad daylight. It would not be too melodramatic to say that the quick blood and the sharp temper of the dacoits courses through many a vein here.





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and occasionally the old urge of violence, with all its dangerous excitement, gets the better of the people.

THE Chapra-Krishnagar area is politically pro-CPI(M), though the Janata and the Congress (I) also have some influence. Sahabuddin is the CPI(M) MLA from Chapra. The seat was formerly held by Giasuddin, now in the Congress (I). The important and influential Janata leader of the area is Safiuddin. That the political influence of these leaders was not able to prevent the violence must be held against them. Worse, there are even some eye-witness accounts of panchayat members indulging in arson. The tragedy is that all the leaders of the various political Parties belonging to both the communities are responsible, even the Naxalites. Once, in some areas, they held great sway, and they too have contributed to the tradition of violence in the area.

Investigations revealed that when the violence broke out, the district administration and the police had become quite helpless. For the first two days they could do nothing. The situation was brought partially under control only on the third day. The general impression is that the district magistrate, being new, could not gauge the seriousness of the situation in time. Such faith the local people have in the efficiency of the previous DM, Mrs Ranu Ghosh, that they say that if she was here then the whole thing might not have happened. Such was the lack of judgment on the administration's part that the district superintendent of police was on leave when the violence broke out. He rejoined only after the trouble had intensified. His presence on the spot in the initial days may have made a difference.

The West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, paid a visit to the area on the fourth day after the violence had erupted. By then senior officials had arrived from Calcutta. The Border Security Force and the Eastern Frontier Rifles were also

lending a helping hand to calm things down and ensure some order. But the very day after the CM left Nadia, sporadic violence resurfaced in Krishnagar. A man was stabbed. If the police had been more alert



then perhaps this would not have happened.

Mrs Indira Gandhi visited the riot-torn district on the seventh day after the disturbances began. Her tour was organised by the State Congress (I) leader Subrata Mukherjee. Her visit did have a beneficial effect on the mood of the local people who turned out in large numbers to listen to her. Various State leaders like Kashikanta Moitra (leader of the Opposition), Priyaranjan Das Munshi and Bholanath Sen (both Congress-S) visited the area and demanded that the Army be called out. For obvious reasons, and having the credibility of his Government in mind, Mr Basu did not agree. But had he done so, the new flare-up could perhaps have been avoided.

Today, the violence has ceased. The State Government is again in full control of the situation. Relief and administrative measures have been taken up in an elaborate way. All the major political Parties in the State and newspapers have played a very responsible role, and all this helped calm things down. Most important, the trouble remained local and never spread more than 10 miles beyond the Chapra-Krishnagar area. For this at least, the people of West Bengal can take credit: in fact a non-Bengalee IAS officer told me this while we were talking in the Chapra thana. Without any help from the police, countless Muslims and Hindus gave shelter to each other; had this not been so, the human and material loss would have been far greater than it was. The main cause of the violence was the role of some communal and anti-social elements. The West Bengal Government should now rise above Party considerations and bring them to book, otherwise this sort of violence can easily recur in any border area of the State. The border with Bangladesh must also be very rigorously policed. In many places the victims told journalists that unknown people came and looted their homes. Who they are, the State Government must find out.

JEREMY THORPE**NOT (VERY) GUILTY**

The homosexual British Liberal politician, darling of the English elite, who was accused of conspiring to murder a former male lover who had become an embarrassment, has been declared 'not guilty' after a lengthy and sensational trial. But PHILLIP KNIGHTLEY points out that the judgement leaves many questions unanswered.

THE trial of the British politician, Jeremy Thorpe, on the most serious charges any MP has ever faced, — conspiracy and incitement to murder — ended in the famous Old Bailey in mid-June with the verdict: Not Guilty. But this is by no means the end of what has come to be called "The Thorpe Affair", for the 29-day trial has left in its wake an aura of mystery, unresolved issues, questionable practices, and legal problems that threaten to continue for some time to come. What happened to £20,000? Who has seen the Secret Service file on Thorpe? Why did Thorpe decline to go into the witness box? Will Norman Scott, the man Thorpe was accused of conspiring to murder, now go to Tibet? Does the criminal law on cases like this need reform? Should the Press be curbed? Do British judges have too much power? These, and other questions, are being asked as the principals in the case — Thorpe, 50, a brilliant politician and one-time leader of the small but influential Liberal Party; and Scott, 39, self-confessed homosexual and one-time male model—try to pick up the

threads of lives shattered by the emotional, financial, and physical strains of a 17-year-long investigation and 11 months of legal proceedings.

In the light of what the answers reveal, the prosecution case at the Old Bailey, sensational though it was, may turn out to be only a part of the Thorpe Affair. The case was based on Scott's own story, one which, since 1962, he has told with minor variations to virtually anyone who would listen. Trimmed of its irrelevancies, it goes like this: Scott, born Norman Valentine Josiffe, the son of working class parents from Bromley, Kent, went to work after leaving school at stables in Oxfordshire owned by a friend of Thorpe. It was there that Scott and Thorpe first met. Thorpe, as admitted by his lawyer during the Old Bailey trial, had at that time homosexual tendencies. Scott claims that he and Thorpe had a homosexual affair, at that period a criminal offence. (The law has since been changed to make homosexuality between consenting adults no longer against the law.) Thorpe denied that there had been

an affair but did not deny buying clothes for Scott, taking him to dinner in fashionable London restaurants, and writing him letters in which he called him "Bunnies".

Scott says that the affair continued during the early sixties and then died. Scott then fell on hard times, brought about, he says, by his inability to get a job because Thorpe had kept his National Insurance Cards and no one would employ him without them. He says he repeatedly asked Thorpe for help before writing in desperation to Thorpe's mother, a formidable lady said to be the first British debutante to get married wearing a monocle. Mrs Thorpe ignored Scott. Scott's determination after this to get the matter into the public eye is best told in diary form.

1972, May 4: Scott, at an inquest in North Wales on a widow who had befriended him, is asked if he had been Thorpe's political agent. Scott says, "No, I lived with him for six years...in a homosexual relationship". This allegation can



be reported because it is part of legal proceedings, but every editor in Britain decides that since Scott's claim is unsubstantiated it would be unfair to Thorpe to print it.

1975, October 24: Scott's Great Dane dog is shot on Exmoor and a former airline pilot, Andrew Newton, is arrested. When he appears in court he is charged with having a pistol and ammunition with intent to endanger life and is committed for trial.

1976, January 29: Scott appears in court at Barnstaple, Devon, and pleads guilty to Social Security frauds. In his evidence he says, "I am being hounded all the time just because of my sexual relationship with Jeremy Thorpe."

1976, February: The newspapers now publish Scott's allegations and a reply from Thorpe saying, "It is well over 12 years since I last saw or spoke to Mr Scott. There is no truth in his wild allegations." Scott retaliates by telling the Press that he received weekly payments from Peter Bessell, then a Liberal MP, between 1967 and 1969 and that in 1974 a Liberal supporter paid him £2,500 for some letters.

1976, March 14: Thorpe makes a statement to *The Sunday Times* in which he again denies Scott's allegation. It was only when he found Scott to be "an incorrigible liar", says Thorpe, that he refused him further help.

1976, March 19: After a three day trial at Exeter Crown Court, Newton is jailed for two years. Scott says in evidence that he thought that Newton was a hired gunman sent to shut him up. Newton says Scott was blackmailing him so he killed the dog to frighten him.

1976, May 10: Thorpe suddenly resigns as Liberal Party leader.

1977, October 19: Newton, recently released from jail, now changes his story and tells the Press that a leading Liberal did hire him as a "hit man" with a £5,000 contract to murder Scott. Later Thorpe holds a Press conference and denies he has any knowledge of a plot to kill Scott.

1977, November 15: South Wales gaming boss George Deakin admits he suggested to Newton that he should "frighten off" a blackmailer.

1977, November 20: Carpet firm boss, John Le Mesurier, is named by Deakin as the man who handed the £5,000 to Newton.

1978, August 5: Thorpe, his close friend and Liberal Party supporter, David Holme, Le Mesurier, and Deakin, are accused at Minehead Magistrates Court of conspiracy to murder Scott. Thorpe faces another charge of inciting Holmes to murder Scott. After a trial lasting four months, the four men are committed for trial at the Old Bailey.

1978, May 3: Thorpe loses the North Devon seat in the General Election after holding it for 20

years, and five days later goes on trial at the Old Bailey.

FROM THE BEGINNING of the trial, the prosecution faced a major difficulty: the credibility of its principal witnesses. Scott made a poor impression, and the judge described him in the summing up as: "a crook, sponger, parasite, and whiner". Newton, the so-called "hit man", was a self-confessed liar. Bessell, the former Liberal MP, had signed a contract with a British newspaper to write his story. The contract provided that he would get £25,000 for the story if Thorpe were to be acquitted and £50,000 if he were to be found guilty. This, the defence said, might make him slant his evidence.

But the evidence of two witnesses of impeccable character has left, even after the acquittal of all four accused, a major mystery. Jack Hayward, a Bahamas-based millionaire, a Liberal Party benefactor, told the court that he had sent at Thorpe's request £20,000 "for Liberal Party funds". Again at Thorpe's request this money was paid to Parsee businessman Nadir Dinshaw who lives in the Channel Islands. Dinshaw gave evidence that he, in turn, had passed the money to Thorpe and Holmes.

Where did the money go? The prosecution suggested that it had been used to pay Newton, the "hit man", but, presumably, the jury did not believe this. Thorpe did not go into the witness box so could not be cross-examined about this. The judge said Thorpe had given a number of explanations about where the money went, "not all of which could be true". What is certain is that it did not find its way into the Party funds, so even though Hayward or the Liberal Party are unlikely to want to revive the sad affair by taking legal action against Thorpe for recovery of the money, they will certainly press Thorpe to clear this matter up, perhaps with an inquiry into the whole of Liberal Party finances.

The Secret Service file is equally mysterious. M15 is that branch of British Secret Service that deals with counter-espionage in Britain. Its job is to catch foreign spies operating in Britain and to keep an eye on British nationals who might be security risks. Yet the *Daily Mirror* says that M15 has a security file on Thorpe, started 20 years ago and holding "a mass of information." The *Mirror* says that the Thorpe file was assembled by Scotland Yard's special branch and passed on to M15. The file was started after police had questioned Scott in Thorpe's office about the theft of a coat. The detective doing the questioning noted Thorpe's friendship with Scott in his report. Did M15 believe this friendship constituted a security risk?

It is probable that it was to avoid being cross-examined about matters like this that Thorpe decided not to go into the witness box. Two of the other three defendants also decided not to give evidence on their own behalf. This has highlighted the pre-

sent controversial right of an accused person to stay silent and not to give an explanation for his conduct. The Act that gives an accused this right specifically prohibits the prosecution from commenting to the jury on the person's failure to give evidence. The judge can comment on it but is not allowed to say anything that might make the jury interpret the accused's failure to give evidence as an inference of guilt. There are now moves to change this.

There are also moves to limit a judge's powers to demand from a jury a unanimous verdict. In the Thorpe trial the judge made it clear that he wanted all 12 men and women on the jury to agree on the verdict and that he was prepared to wait as long as such unanimous agreement would take. Those pressing for reform say that a simple majority verdict would be quicker and would remove from jury verdicts factors like a juror's reluctance to spend days locked up, and the persuasion that more powerful personalities could work on the more timid members of a jury.

The Press Council has already taken up ethical considerations about newspapers and their relationship with witnesses in criminal trials. The Thorpe trial judge was scathing on deals that newspaper and television companies had made with people like Bessell and Newton. The Press Council is examining the judge's remarks and has said that as a matter of practice, no newspaper should pay any person known (or reasonably expected) to be a witness in criminal proceedings for his or her story. The newspaper should wait until the trial is over, the Press Council says.

While all these points are thrashed out, what will become of the principals in the trial of the century? Scott has had further bad luck in his life since the Thorpe Affair began. A girl he had lived with and by whom he had a daughter has left him and taken the child with her. Scott says that the girl and his daughter have joined the Divine Light Mission: "This means that I will never see my daughter again and this is really quite horrible." Scott's immediate priorities are to earn enough to maintain his animals — three horses, four dogs, and an assortment of guinea fowl, ducks and chickens—and to finance a trip to Tibet later this year. "I need to get away from everything", he says. "Some friends are going and its somewhere I've always wanted to go."

Thorpe says he wants a short period of rest away from the glare of publicity before considering his future. Those who know him say he will be unable to stay out of public life and will try to re-enter parliament. But the new Liberal leader, David Steel, has made it clear he does not want him back and it very much looks as if — despite the jury verdict of innocent — his public verdict on Thorpe is the one open to Scottish juries — "Not Proven" — and that as a result his political career is finished.

It takes two to blend.
Two of a mind.

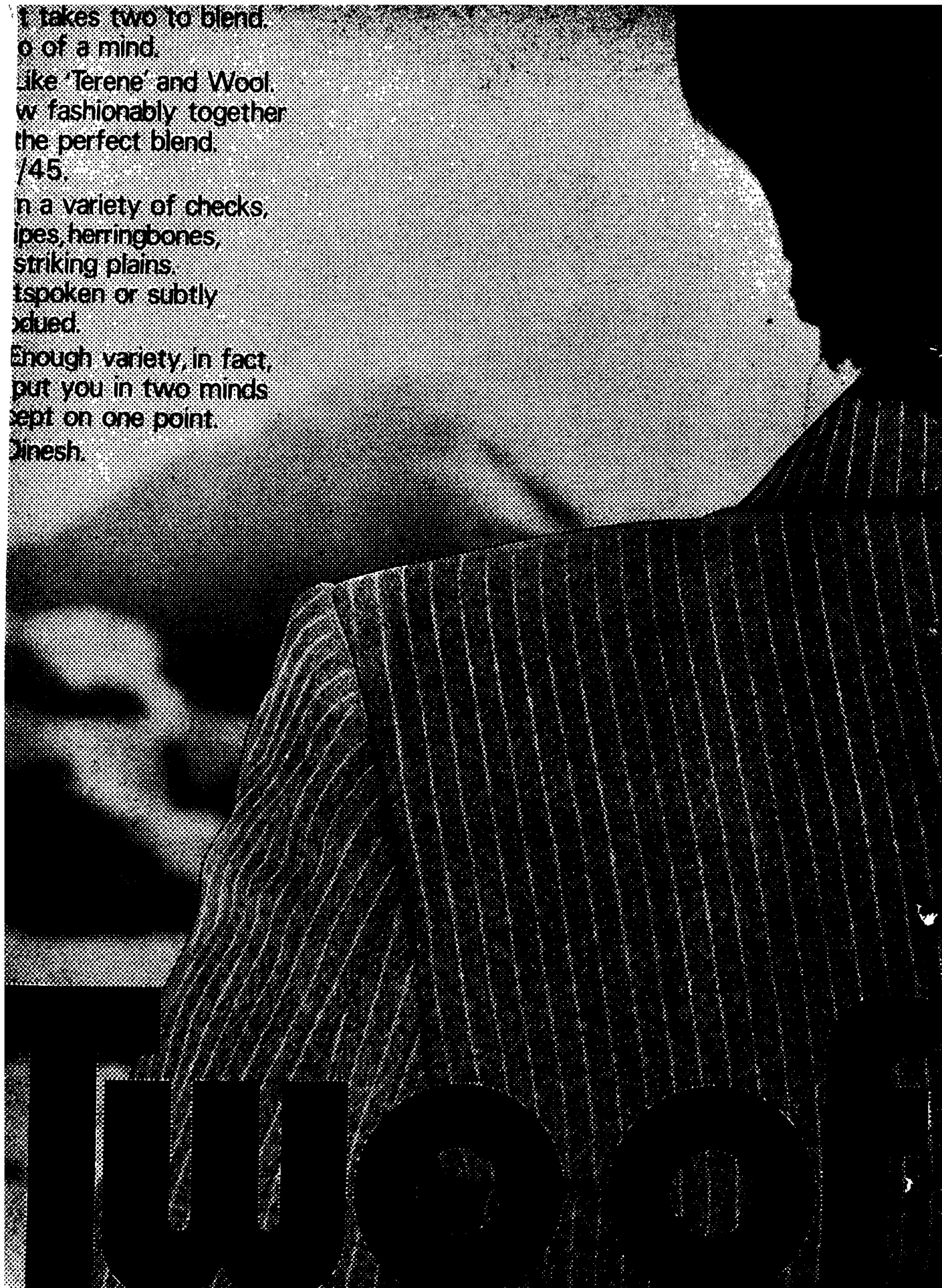
Like 'Terene' and Wool.
Wool fashionably together
the perfect blend.

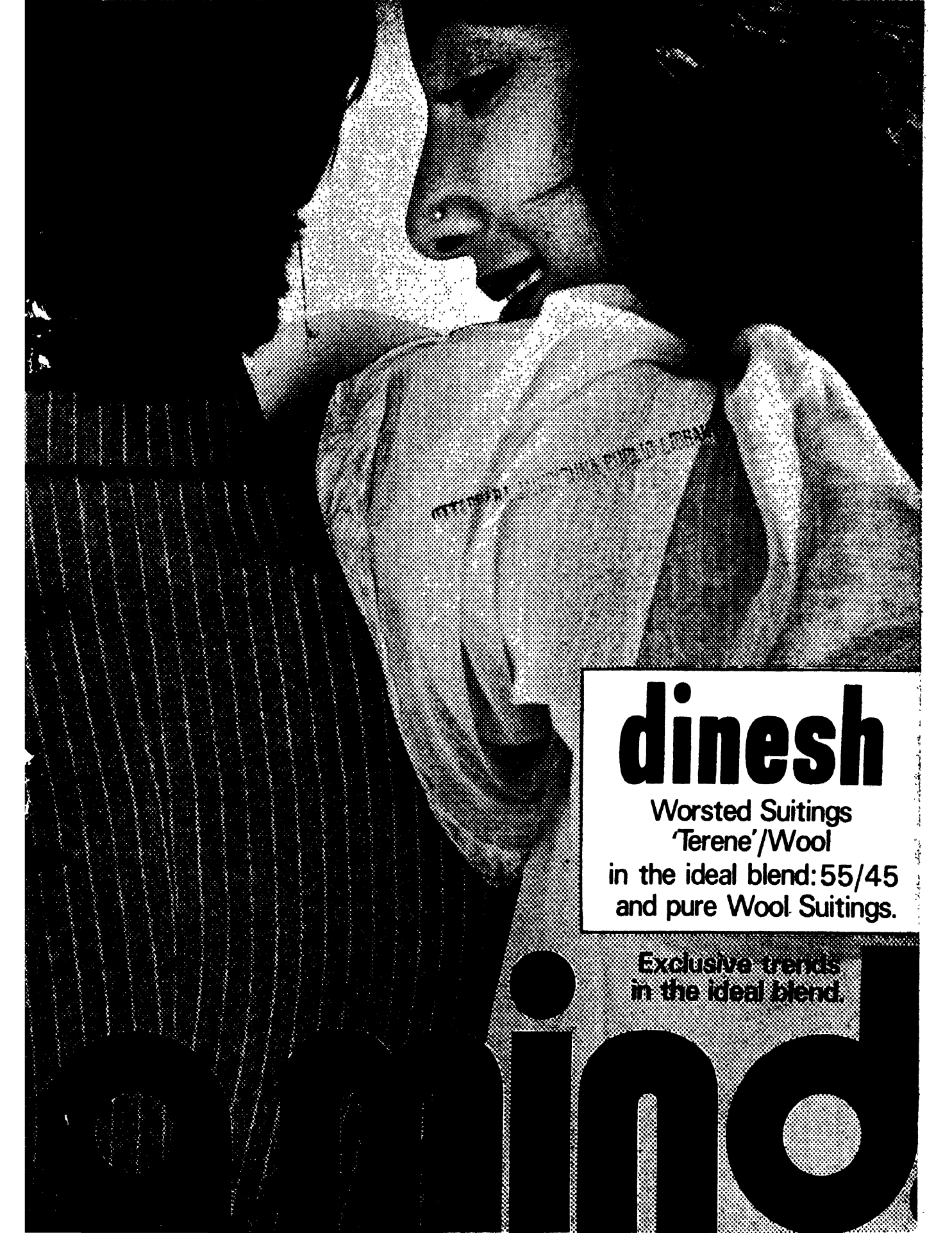
1/45.

In a variety of checks,
stripes, herringbones,
striking plains.
Spoken or subtly
suggested.

Enough variety, in fact,
to put you in two minds
about one point.

Dinesh.





dinesh

Worsted Suitings
'Terene'/Wool
in the ideal blend: 55/45
and pure Wool Suitings.

Exclusive trends
in the ideal blend.

mind

Mrs Gandhi's only Chief Minister

And now dissidents are after Channa Reddy's blood. Over 60 Congress (I) MLAs are demanding his resignation. Will Mrs Gandhi lose Andhra Pradesh too?

ARTHUR PAIS went to Hyderabad to find out.

"HYDERABAD still has a touch of the nawabs, though the nawabs disappeared long ago", said Mr Aziz Sait, the Karnataka Industry Minister, who camped in Hyderabad during the last week of June, trying to muster the support of dissident Congress (I) members and Congress legislators to attend a convention convened by Mr Devaraj Urs in Bangalore. Though the former Chief Minister, Mr Vengal Rao, a thoroughly spent force, reacted with moderate enthusiasm to the proposal, the Congress (I) dissidents refused to embrace Mr Aziz Sait. The peculiar situation in Andhra is that the dissidents are loyal to Mrs Indira Gandhi—their sole aim is to pull down the "feudal, authoritarian regime" of Dr Channa Reddy.

Dr Reddy, 16 months in office, seems confident of handling the situation. He has accused Mr Devaraj Urs of meddling in Andhra affairs and yet he believes he will continue to be the torch-bearer of Mrs Gandhi's "progressive policies". Andhra Pradesh is the only State now under the rule of Congress (I).

A dissident leader, Mr K. Kesava Rao, MLC, said, "at least 65 dissidents are prepared to join hands for overthrowing the feudal, corrupt, anti-people regime of Dr Channa Reddy. But our loyalty to Mrs Indira Gandhi is assured. We have sought to impress on her the need for speedy action to replace this obnoxious regime. Either she imposes on us another leader who's acceptable to us or the dissidents will continue fighting Dr Reddy."

Mr Kesava Rao does not want to consider the possibility of joining hands with Mr Vengal Rao and the Janata Party (which has 50 MLAs). "If we are driven against the wall, maybe, we may just think of such an alliance but at the moment, our goal is clear—down with Dr Channa Reddy". The dissidents are not interested in espousing the cause of Mr Sanjay Gandhi either. "We have made it very clear—our support is for the progressive policies initiated by Mrs Gandhi, which have been negated by Dr Reddy during the last 16 months." Mr Rao says that during his recent

Central Newsphoto Service



Dr Channa Reddy

visit to New Delhi, Mr Sanjay Gandhi sarcastically inquired how he (Kesava Rao) makes so many trips to New Delhi. "I told Mr Gandhi, I pay as income-tax (an amount) which you earn throughout the year. My friends and I continue in business so that we can spare some time for politics without worrying about money. But you are in politics to continue your business activities."

The suave and witty Dr Channa

Reddy, who can assail his critics in Telugu, Urdu and English, with the same flourish does not seem to be worried by the challenge posed by the dissidents. When Mr Goka Ramaswami (former Minister of Fisheries) resigned from the Cabinet and on the floor of the Assembly criticised Dr Reddy's "personal and political life style...his dictatorial approach and the hegemony of his family members, particularly his son, Mr Ravindra Reddy and the second daughter-in-law in the administration of the State", Dr Channa Reddy hit back at Mr Ramaswami, whose statements, he emphasised, "abound in such false, frivolous and flippant allegations that it would have been best ignored". But since the allegations were made in the Assembly, Dr Reddy repudiated them without any reservation and accused Mr Ramaswami of resigning with a view to preempting any action which may have been taken against him pending an enquiry regarding certain transactions by a co-operative house building society of which Mr Goka Ramaswami was the chairman before he became the Minister.

The allegations made by Mr Goka Ramaswami and the Opposition members were submitted to Mrs Gandhi by the dissidents recently. "She showed very little interest in them", says Mr Keshava Rao. "Maybe she didn't want to disturb the only State leader belonging to the Congress (I). But if this authoritarian regime continues, I am afraid we will lose this State too".

Mr Kesava Rao continued: "Once I told him (Dr Reddy), sir, I am not saying that you are corrupt but you've a corrupt mind. What's your credibility today? When the windows of your car are closed, people at once think there's some woman in your car. If somebody is seen going into your room with a briefcase, at once sniggering remarks are heard".

Dr Reddy is certain that none of the allegations are going to hurt his political career, nor would the happenings in the neighbouring Karnataka disturb his position. "The Opposition is unprincipled," he points out. "Imagine the Janata, the Congress, the CPI and the CPI (M) joining hands to sponsor a no-trust mo-

tion", he says and laughs. But of late the derisive laughter cannot be spontaneous. From the visitors' gallery in the Assembly and the Council, you can see not only the Opposition but also the dissident Congress (I) members heckling and passing rude remarks about the functioning of the Government.

ON June 27, the Speaker, Mr Divi Kondiah Chowdhary, directed the Press not to report a certain statement made by the Minister of Co-operation, Mr N. Amarnatha Reddi, against a Congress (I) member, Mr B. T. L. Chowdhary, though it was not expunged from the records. The Minister's statement was made when Mr Chowdhary raised the issue of the high-handed behaviour of the employees of an agricultural bank in the Anantapur district. "Members are being blackmailed so that they do not raise their voice in the Assembly", commented the Janata member, Mr Venkatiah Naidu.

The residence of Mr Kesava Rao, situated in the picturesque Banjara Hills on the periphery of the city, is the favourite place for the dinner-conspiracies. "The very name of Kesava Rao gives nightmares to Dr Reddy though he won't admit it", said a local journalist. "Seven Ministers were sacked recently because Dr Reddy came to know that they were conspiring with Kesava Rao".

"As long as he does not announce the names of eight more Ministers, he's safe", comments Mr Vengal Rao, the ex-Chief Minister. "After the eight Ministers are inducted, more dissidents will show their fangs". The soft-spoken Mr Vengal Rao can be caustic when he talks about the "dictatorial, arrogant and corrupt games" played by Dr Reddy and his men. Mr Vengal Rao does not seem to think much about Dr Reddy's loyalty to Mrs Gandhi. "Wasn't he responsible for the Telengana agitations? Didn't he say some very

harsh things against the Nehrus, including Mrs Gandhi, at that time? Didn't Dr Channa Reddy hope to get some position in the Janata hierarchy soon after he gave up the post of U.P. Governor to rejoin active politics?"

"Dr Reddy's regime is nothing but a tragedy of errors", commented the Janata leader, Mr Jayapala Reddy, in the Assembly while discussing a most controversial fiat by the Reddy Government which has changed the working hours in all Government institutions. The new working hours are between 7.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. The Government claims that the opinion of the employees was sought through an opinion poll ("fake poll", alleges the Opposition) and the scheme is implemented so that work begins when the "body and mind are fresh". The veteran CPI(M) leader, Mr P. Sundarayya, quipped: "Fresh mind and body at 7.30 in the morning? It depends on what one did the previous night!" The popular

Godmen have a field day

IF you wear saffron robes and put a rudraksha around your neck and stand outside Dr Channa Reddy's house, you're bound to be welcomed. This is the talk of the town in Hyderabad. The Telugu people, who exhibit unlimited enthusiasm for gods and godmen, be it the Thirumala-Tirupati temple or Sai Baba (who incidentally is a Telugu), are somewhat baffled by their Chief Minister's great love for godmen, miracle-men, soothsayers and astrologers. "It seems as if Andhra Pradesh today is governed by these men", observes the ex-CM, Mr. Vengal Rao. "The Chief Minister seems to have faith in only astrologers and godmen, not in the people".

The city is full of photographs showing Dr Reddy in the company of holy men. There's a holy woman too. Simply called the "Kakinada Maitha", she's supposed to bless you when you place your hands on her bosom. Dr Reddy is unruffled by the criticism. "Whether you believe in God or not, I do", he says. The famous stick he carries with him is supposed to have been blessed by some mysterious tantric in UP. It's capable of warding off evil spirits.

Holy men had a grand time when Dr Reddy's shashyabdipoorthi (completion of 60 years) was celebrated on an unprecedented scale. This religious-cum-social celebration is, strictly speaking, a private affair, customarily observed with the observation of "homams" for the longevity, health and prosperity of the person. But in Dr Reddy's case the celebration lasted for nearly a week, cash and kind contribu-

tions poured in "voluntarily" from all directions (with the declared purpose of spending it for public welfare) and religious functions were held all over the State. "Vulgar show of authority with attendant feudal splendour", the critics within Congress (I) charged. Another dissident legislator said, "It was the ugliest, most extravagant exercise in narcissism... Ministers vied with each other in procuring advertisements for the souvenir and prompting industrialists to donate cash contributions..." Dr Reddy even went through a second marriage celebration as he tied "thali" around his wife. And one of the high priests who attended the religious function came from Sri Raghuvendra temple, Matralaya. It is interesting to note that sometime back a Harijan MLA, Mr Masala Eranna, alleged that he was not allowed to enter the sanctum sanctorum of this temple. The temple authorities have denied that discrimination exists. And Dr Reddy appointed a House Committee to look into Mr Eranna's allegations. "But you know the Sujaveendra Swami of Mantralaya is very close to Dr Reddy. Who can afford to ignore the sentiment of the swami?" a legislator asked.

And gifts unlimited were offered. Dr Channa Reddy has justified the State-wide celebrations as a voluntary expression of high esteem people hold him in and rejected the charge that every village and taluk was forced to give money. It is not that people just kept quiet. In some pockets of West Godavari district there were open protests when people

were asked to contribute "voluntarily", says Mr Vengal Rao. The birthday extravaganza was also criticised by dissident members of the ruling Party like Mr Rajamullu, Mr C. Jagannath Rao and Mr S. R. Venkatasham.

"In many parts of Andhra, the ravages of the 1977 cyclone can still be seen. Just imagine, such people were made to contribute "voluntarily" in Dr Reddy's shastipurthi celebrations", adds Mr Rama Rao, a Janata leader.

Dr Reddy's critics argue that the influence of priests, many of whom are blatant sycophants, has emboldened the Chief Minister and has made him feel that he's invincible. "The Russian Tsar had only one Rasputin, but Dr Channa Reddy has several Rasputins", one of them added wryly. The tragedy is that the dissidents and those opposed to Dr Reddy too are enamoured of godmen and miracle-men.

There's no court astrologer in evidence but any number of future readers are prepared to predict Dr Reddy's future. "Practical astrologer", Mr K. M. S. Ayyangar, whom Dr Reddy met for the first time 25 years ago, says: "Born in Simha "lagna" on 13 January 1919 at 10.05 p.m. He'll have Mercury "dasha" for a period of 15 years. His "chandra" is exalted and his "guru dasha" is good. Whether he stands by Mrs Gandhi, or alone, he's bound to prosper". The dissidents also claim that another astrologer, who wants to remain anonymous, who had also predicted Dr Reddy's rise to power, has predicted that he'll be out in the wilderness within six months.

A. P.

allegation against the scheme is that hoteliers and cinema theatre owners are behind it. "Who can keep the breakfast ready so early in the morning?" asks Mrs Laxmikantamma, a Janata legislator. "Does the Chief Minister want the women not to go to work? Does he think this is Iran where women are discouraged from participating in public activities". After the scheme was implemented recently, the box office collection in movie houses has shot up, claims Mr Kesava Rao. "Tell me, who likes to return home at three in the afternoon?" Dr Reddy's colleagues argue that this is the best thing he has done for the Government employees. "Nowhere else in the country has there been a more progressive measure than this one", Dr Reddy's supporters assert.

But Dr Reddy's ex-colleague and ex-friend, Mr G. V. Sudhakar Rao, who was one of the seven Ministers sacked on May 7, describes Dr Reddy as a victim of megalomania. Mr Sudhakar Rao agrees with dissidents that there should be a judicial study of the alleged misdeeds of the Chief Minister. "Whatever good that was there in the 20-Point Programme, the Chief Minister has repudiated it by his callous action", complains Mr Kesava Rao. "He's least interested in land reforms. Not long ago he told in Medchal, his constituency, that land reform issue and the ceiling Act needs to be viewed from a humane perspective. Without a change of heart, one could not ex-

pect a person to part with his land which is like mother to him. Now if such an attitude has to be encouraged we might as well ask Vinoba Bhave to rule this State."

Other charges against Dr Reddy include favouritism shown to the Reddy community. "Sometime back the Reddy Association felicitated him and Mr O. Pulla Reddy, a former Chief Secretary, piloted a resolution stating that Dr Channa Reddy's election as the Chief Minister would help the revival of the Palnata Reddy regime. The Chief Minister sat through the function, obviously too pleased", the dissidents said.

"Casteism was always the curse of Andhra politics. It has become a greater evil now". Why was an Ordinance issued increasing motor vehicle tax by more than 100 per cent? And why was it kept in abeyance when the operators pleaded for a dialogue? Why was the tax substantially reduced when the Bill was introduced? "Clearly slush money played an important part", says Mr Kesava Rao. The dissidents claim that Dr Channa Reddy doesn't seem to have faith in the Congress philosophy that the public sector should have an increasing role to play in the economy.

"At one moment Dr Reddy speaks in the language of kulaks. And the next moment, he declares that Socialism is profitability. The prestigious Indo-Nippon, a State undertaking, is inviting collaboration from private outfits. When Dr Reddy had

begun his separate Telengana agitation years ago, it was suspected that a big industrialist was behind it. Had it worked, Dr Reddy and the industrialist concerned would've had 'their' private enterprise ruling the Telengana State", alleged Mr Kesava Rao. "Even today the Chief Minister goes out of his way to facilitate the big industrialists whereas he has no genuine concern for the continuing plight of bonded labour. A conscientious IAS officer who was the Secretary in the Social Welfare Department was given rough treatment by the Government when he pointed out the plight of the bonded labour in Telengana. In no time he was dubbed a Naxalite sympathiser. Disgusted with the petty vicious local politics, the IAS officer asked for a posting in New Delhi. In the towns of Telengana, particularly in Mehaboobnagar, women are still used as bonded mistresses: they are known as *chinna doraswami* (little mistress)..."

As a shrewd politician, Dr Channa Reddy cannot allow the dissidents to go on criticising him. Unfortunately for him, the dissidents swear as much by Mrs Gandhi as he does. "This would perhaps drive him closer to Mr Sanjay Gandhi," one dissident said. "Since the dissidents are not enamoured with Mr Sanjay Gandhi at all, Dr Channa Reddy will try to woo both the mother and the son, only time will tell whether this gambit will be of any use", a local journalist said.

**Myths
in Marble...**



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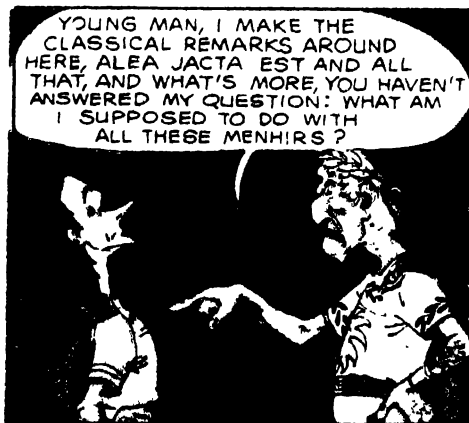
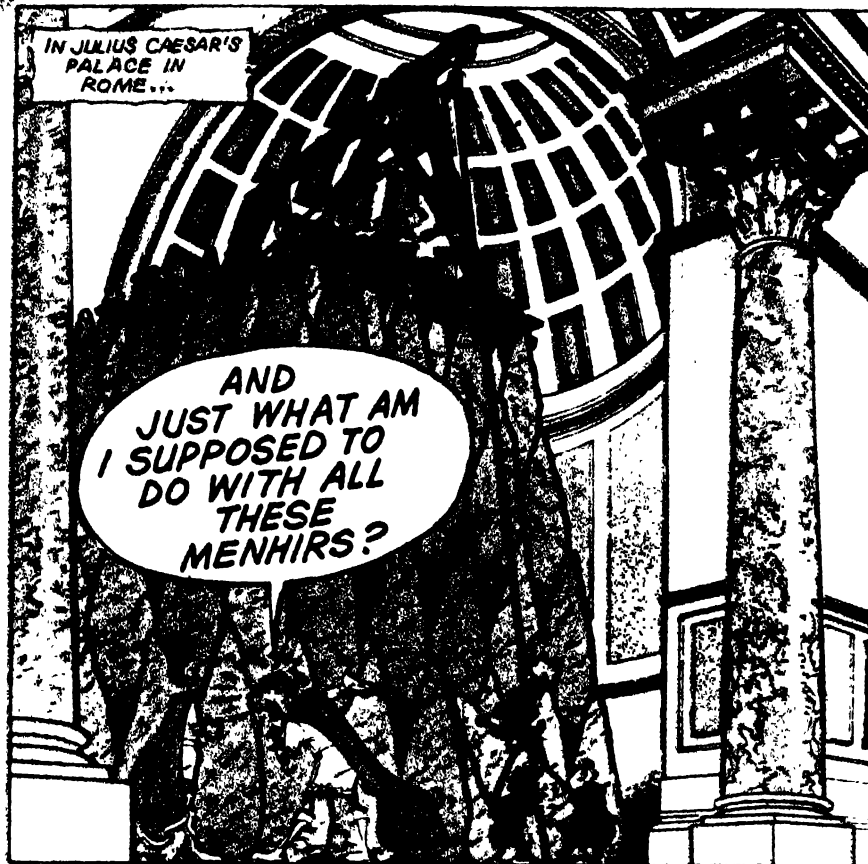


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Marcos' Permanent Emergency

By KEWAL VARMA



Police beating up would-be demonstrators

I EXPERIENCED the Emergency all over again in Manila. The First Lady, Mrs Imelda Marcos, was scheduled to address the opening UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) session. Her speech was given a massive advance buildup and busloads of people were transported to the venue of the conference. When she arrived, she was greeted with all the trappings of protocol generally reserved for a Head of State. The atmosphere reminded me of the Gauhati session of the AICC in November 1976, when Mrs Gandhi, bedecked and complete with makeup, looked as if she was participating in a beauty contest. So did Mrs Marcos.

But not everything was peaceful. The Church had organised a demonstration in front of the conference venue but the police beat up the demonstrators mercilessly and arrested quite a number of them. It was all reminiscent of the Commonwealth Parliament Union

meeting in Delhi during the Emergency when a number of young men were arrested for distributing handbills and Virendra Kapoor — a journalist colleague of mine — was implicated in the proceedings. I decided to renew an old acquaintance with a young Filipino journalist, Satur Ocampo, but discovered that he has been a guest of President Marcos for over three years: in a Manila jail. When I made an appointment with a very senior professor of the prestigious University of Philippines over the telephone, he agreed to meet me at a coffee shop. Some time after we met he pointed out a man drinking beer at the adjoining table and whispered: "He is Marcos' security man. My telephone is tapped. Let's talk in whispers".

I was in Manila for 17 days and every day without fail either Marcos or his wife figured in the lead stories in the Press, referred to as FM (First Man) and FL (First Lady) respectively. One day a photograph of their daughter Imee, chairman of the youth body, featured on the front page. Everywhere people asked how they could restore democracy, although there was open criticism for India at the same time. One top Philippine leader told me: "You Indians are our enemies. After Mrs Gandhi's experience, Marcos can never be led to believe that he is very popular. He will never hold fair and free elections." To the Filipinos, seven years of Martial Law have been a long, dark time and they do not see any relief in the near future. Unlike us, they may not be able to shrug off the mantle of dictatorship so easily.

The Philippines is a young nation with a population of 45 million. It finds it difficult to trace its history further back than 400 years. The formation of the nation itself actually began after the Spanish invasion in the late sixteenth century. Ethnically they are of Malay stock although they inter-married freely with the Spanish, Americans and, to some extent, the Chinese. This cross-breeding has produced some of the most beautiful people in Asia. Filipino girls are friendly, open and suffer no inhibitions though they still radiate the warmth that typifies Asians. The country is more prosperous, relatively speaking, than India, with a per capita income three times that of the latter. However, there are no social and cultural inequalities and there is more or less 100 per cent literacy among persons below 40. There is no language barrier either: everyone understands English. Manila's sea front is a replica of Bombay's Marine Drive and its Queen's Necklace; the only difference is that there are more sky-scrapers, more hotels, more night clubs, more cars and more massage parlours.

But these fun-loving people were struck with a heavy hand on September 24, 1972 when President Marcos declared Martial Law. It would seem that all acts of sin are committed at night, under cover of darkness. Our own Emergency was declared at midnight on June 25, 1975. There are other parallels, too.

Our leaders were rounded up in the early hours of the morning, as were their Filipino counterparts. Power supply to our newspaper offices was cut off the following day, while Marcos chose instead to put locks on the newspaper offices. His motives were the same as those which prompted Mrs Gandhi's actions — to perpetuate personal power. Marcos's problem was that his second term of office was coming to an end in 1973 and under the Constitution of the Philippines, he could not get elected for a third term. I had visited Manila in 1970. Those were the days of noisy demonstrations, when the Opposition's rhetoric was not matched by organisational strength. But even that was enough to frighten the Establishment and its American patrons and Marcos began doubting that he could get his wife elected as the next President. So he clamped down Martial Law before his term ended and the Opposition, lacking in organisational capabilities as it was, could put forward no meaningful protest. Martial Law silenced effective dissent and people had to suffer the humiliation in silence as Indians had too.

Even Marcos's broadcast to his people on September 25, 1972, had an echo in Mrs Gandhi's utterances on the morning of June 26, 1975. "I have to use powers in order to (protect) our civil rights", he declared, adding that the imposition of martial law was a measure to save the country and establish "a new society without the interference of habitual hecklers." According to him, his country was at the centre of an international conspiracy. Later, however, he shifted his stand, first charging the Left by pointing an accusing finger at China and later talking of a "Rightist plot against me by rich men, warlords and retired military officers". While imposing Martial Law, he explained that his decision had been clinched by an assassination attempt on Defence Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile. Later he seemed to have forgotten the sequence and admitted that he had in fact been "guided by God" and had actually prepared the Martial Law decree a full four days before the assassination attempt. Even Mrs Gandhi had said more or less the same thing: She claimed that her decision regarding the Emergency had been prompted by JP's call for civil disobedience. Later, the Shah Commission revealed that the Emergency proclamation had actually been prepared two days before JP's call.

After imposing Martial Law, the first order issued by President Marcos was: "I shall govern the nation and direct the operation of the entire Government". Under the provision made for Martial Law, Marcos has become Prime Minister for life although he continues to speak of himself as the President. He made his wife (a former beauty queen who was once Miss Manila) the Governor of Metro Manila and later Minister for Human Settlement which means that all the municipalities are under her control. At one time there was a 'popular' demand that Imelda Marcos be made Deputy Prime Minister. The Press too has played no insignificant part in the campaign for Mrs Marcos: one report mentioned that officials in South Philippines called on President Marcos to appoint Mrs Marcos the Deputy PM; another claimed "The army wants Mrs Marcos"; a third trumpeted the support for the First Lady on the part of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Then followed a bewildering sequence of Marcos asking his advisers to study the implications of making Imelda the Deputy PM; Mrs Marcos stating she did not want the post; Marcos himself ruling out the possibility of his wife being appointed and finally her statement saying: "Who else can the President rely upon to lead the Philippines except someone very close to him?" So it would seem that Marcos is following a more "democratic" (if the term can be used in this context) process than Mrs Gandhi did and continues to do in the case of Sanjay.

Marcos's daughter Imme, as already mentioned, is chairman of the youth organisation Kabataang Barangay and their son Bong Bong is the Special Assistant to the President. There are D. K. Barooahs aplenty to build up the cult of the Marcos family, one of them being the 80-year-old Foreign Minister C. P. Romulo who presided over the Manila UNCTAD. A newspaper columnist, Joe Guevera, said of him: "CPR is not a yes-man, he is a yes-ma'am". A local joke that has won a lot of laughs is the one that says those going to the Presidential



Mr and Mrs Marcos at a function

palace have to learn, parrot-fashion, the sequence "Yes sir, yes madam, yes Bong Bong". Romulo had once said, a la Barooah, "There will be no return to the past. The old two Party system must be shed forever". Barooah too had proclaimed during the Emergency that the Opposition had become redundant in India.

IN A fit of bravado, Marcos announced that he would hold a plebiscite on his martial law, but when he sensed the morale of the masses he developed cold feet and cancelled it a week before it was to be held. He said "We are slipping back to the habits of old," then he held a referendum on a new constitution. But no official ballot was held and the voting was one by show of hands. One fine morning Marcos claimed that 14,976,561 voted yes and 743,869 voted no. Three years later, Primitivo Mijares, former chairman of the Media Advisory Council, revealed in a memorandum to the US Congress that no real referendum was held and the figures, cited by Marcos "were manufactured by a group headed by the President's favourite brother-in-law, governor Benjamin Romualdez". Later Chief Justice Concepcion, delivering a majority judgment that the Constitution was not legally ratified, said "It is conceded that the number of people who allegedly voted in the referendum far exceeded the number of registered voters under the election code in force in January 1973". This is not all. A delegate said that when the transitory provision of the new Constitution was approved by the delegates, it contained only six sections, but when it was presented for approval by signature it contained 16 sections. Last year Marcos repeated the farce of an election. The polling started at 7 am but by 7.15 am "all votes" were cast. Surely, Priyatanjan Das Munshi needs an apprenticeship under Marcos to perfect the art of rigging.

According to one official announcement 70,000 political leaders and workers have been arrested since the clamping of Martial Law. The condition in prisons is bad: a political prisoner gets a daily allowance of three pesos. An idea of the purchasing power of a peso could be had from the fact that in a self-help cafeteria at UNCTAD a cup of tea cost one point eight pesos. Torture of political prisoners is also very common, according to a report released by Church sources. My journalist friend Ocampo was tortured in the jail. "The torturers started to apply electric shocks on him by taping his wrist to the end of a live wire and pressing an electrically-charged spoon on his penis and testicles." He was not granted parole when his father died. His wife was purged from the foreign service and her passport has been impounded. She is now a journalist, writing for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, which is banned in the Philippines. I had spent about a fortnight with



Orampo in Tokyo in 1970 while attending a conference of the Asian Productivity Organisation. He was then Business Editor of *Manila Times* which was closed after the imposition of Martial Law. He was also president of the Business Writers' Association of the Philippines. I did not find him intensely political then. His politicisation started in 1971 and he later became a top member of the Communist Party.

Torture is not confined to Communists. Father Edito La Torre who was arrested said that prisoners are given electric shocks and administered Morarji's prescription i.e. they are made to drink their own urine. Amnesty International, in its report on the Philippines said that its mission "found unavoidable the conclusion that torture was used frequently and with extreme cruelty, often over long periods". Ninoy Aquino who is emerging as the rallying figure of the legal Opposition, has been languishing in jail since Martial Law was imposed on September 24, 1972. He went on a 40-day hunger strike in jail but on the thirtieth day of his fast, his condition became so precarious that Archbishop Sin of Manila administered the last Roman Catholic rites. Even this did not move the dictator. Aquino was charged with murder and illegal possession of arms. One key Government witness against him, Pedro Gatmaitan, was killed in mysterious circumstances. The military tribunal subsequently sentenced Aquino to death by a firing squad but the sentence was never carried out and Marcos ordered that the case be reopened. Only history will tell who is the wiser of the two General Zia or President Marcos.

THE first act of every dictator is to strangle the free Press. It was no different with Marcos. A number of prominent fearless journalists were arrested, most of whom later left the profession and joined business companies. Then he had his Rajni Patels and Kamal Nathi who coerced the proprietors and got the ownership changed. Now *Times Journal* is owned by Imelda's brother Benjamin Romualdez, *Bulletin Today* by Brigadier-General Hans Menzi, a former presidential aide and *Daily Express* by Roberto Benedicto, a close friend of Marcos. Channels Two and Four once belonged to a prominent industrialist, Lopez but were taken over by Benedicto without compensation. The proprietor of *Manila Times* proved to be a hard nut to crack. He closed down his paper and was later arrested. After striking terror into his citizens' hearts, Marcos, unlike Mrs Gandhi, did not continue with formal censorship. He adopted a more sophisticated means of controlling the Press. For "self-regulation" he appointed a print media council consisting of those who are known as "All The President's Men". During my stay a news item appeared

saying that President Marcos deplored meddling by some Government officials and Ministers in the elections of the National Press Club, which according to him were in the nature of "political choices made by the members of the Press". A leading pro-Marcos journalist is Teodoro Valencia who writes a chatty "over-a-cup-of-coffee" column. Here is a specimen of his writing: "People in coffee shops say that there is no need for a Cabinet revamp because President Marcos does everything anyway. What's the point in appointing new Cabinet members who'll do nothing but create hopes that will not be gratified? If the President must move because nobody in his official family does anything more serious than deliver speeches or issue Press releases, the present Cabinet is okay." Such writing gives the misleading impression that the Philippines Press is perhaps free. It is free to publish anything except that which might embarrass the regime.

For instance, the local Press did not publish anything about Aquino's hunger strike. When I asked a leading Philippines journalist as to why they observe this ostensibly voluntary restraint, he replied "What prevents us from publishing anything unpleasant to the ruling hierarchy in spite of new offer made by the President is the climate of fear that grips the entire nation".

LIKE the Press, the courts too have been made impotent. Habeas corpus is suspended. The Supreme Court has maintained that persons detained cannot be released if the army says that they are held for security reasons. The court cannot go into the question of whether the army's intentions are malafide or not. Marcos showed the Supreme Court its place in the early days of martial law. A group of leading lawyers prayed the Supreme Court to stay the President from ratifying a new Constitution. When the case was being argued, Chief Justice Concepcion stood up and left the courtroom after an employee of the court handed him a note. He returned after a few minutes and interrupted the argument, saying the Secretary of Justice had just given him a copy of Presidential Proclamation No 1102 whereby President Marcos proclaimed the ratification of the proposed Constitution. But there are still Justice Khannas in the Philippines. For instance, Justice Claudio Teehan of the Supreme Court called for an end to Martial Law at a Press Club function.

Barring, perhaps, the issue of compulsory sterilisation, there appears to be a complete parallel between Indra Gandhi's India during the Emergency and Marcos's Philippines under Martial Law. If Mrs Gandhi announced her 20-point programme three days after the Emergency was declared, Marcos had done the same thing by announcing his "land to tiller" programme for the new society. Obviously Mrs Gandhi followed Marcos. Similarly, Mrs Marcos is the Sanjay of the Philippines, or is it vice versa? Like Sanjay, Mrs Marcos has undertaken a massive beautification plan for Manila. Slum-dwellers are forcibly driven out and quarantined in resettlement colonies built far away from the city of Manila. I saw one such colony, where a huge hoarding announced: "First Lady's resettlement project". In the meantime, to give the city a "beautiful" look, white-washed fences are built to conceal squatter shanties with appalling poverty. When the Group of 77 (developing countries) met in Manila in 1976, the squatters of Manila in a memorandum appealed to it to intercede with Mrs Marcos to stop the demolition of slums. "Mrs Marcos's beautification campaign is for tourists and foreigners to enjoy. Apparently we are regarded as trash." The pattern of demolition is the same as it was in Delhi. The demolition squads reach the slums with bulldozers and other necessary equipment while truckloads of policemen stand by. Invariably the demolition men descend on slums without prior notice and most of the bread-winners are out at work at the time. Recently, when Constitution Hill slum where 800 families lived was being demolished a seven-day-old baby died reportedly from exposure.

Mrs Marcos wants to go down as the Shahjahan of the Philippines, judging from the "Taj Mahals" she is building in Manila. The International Convention Centre built on reclaimed land has cost the equivalent of Rs 300 crores. A West German delegate to the Manila UNCTAD said that if his government spent so much money on such a building, it would be voted out in no time. Mrs Marcos also planned to build a Basilica at a cost of Rs 100 crores and invite the Pope to inaugurate it. This was

intended to be her gift to Manila's Roman Catholics on the occasion of her 25th wedding anniversary. Cardinal Sin of Manila opposed this idea as the same money could be spent for the benefit of the poor. The Cardinal is also reported to have cautioned the Pope not to allow himself to be used by the Marcos family. The Basilica project is now held in abeyance for the time being. Sanjay built only one basement air-conditioned market in Connaught Circus but Mrs Marcos has built a chain of monuments that reek of extravagance. There has been a construction spree of luxurious building. A large number of five-star and four-star hotels sprang up overnight in Manila. Except during international conferences, the occupancy rate of these hotels is very low. To provide business to these hotels, the Marcos regime has gone out of its way to encourage tourism.

SEX is the short-cut to induce tourists. Hordes of Japanese tourists come to Manila in search of "holiday and pleasure" as they themselves declare in their immigration forms. Prostitution has become so widespread that veteran Senator Tanada in a public speech said "We are now known, in Japan at least, as the second largest fleshpot in Asia, after Taipei". Some girl students of the University of Philippines told me that their blood boiled when they saw hundreds of girls drawn to prostitution to satisfy the lust of Japanese tourists. One professor said that he would not be surprised if this sparks off a revolt against the regime. To encourage and provide respectability to gambling, Mr Marcos and the First Lady inaugurated a floating casino, the first gambling den in Manila Bay. Colonel Antonio Barba, husband of Marcos's younger sister, Fortuna, runs a chain of restaurants and pubs in Manila which were recently discovered to be "dope dens" and whorehouses. Poor Sanjay! Before his plans to set up a casino in Delhi in collaboration with upstart nouveau riche Sagar Suri fructified, his mother lost the elections. This project was also to encourage tourists.

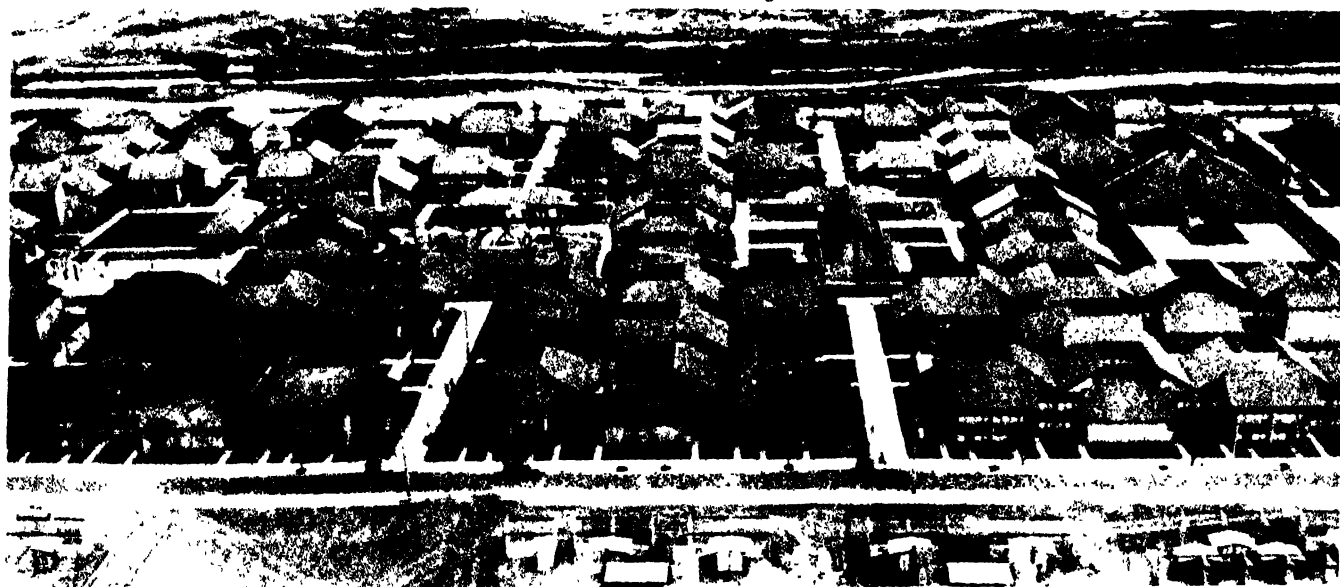
The Marcos regime is streets ahead of Mrs Gandhi's when it comes to corruption. Both Sanjay and Kantibhai need to sit at the feet of Marcos to perfect the art of corruption. Ask any taxi driver who owns the palatial hotel built in the International Complex centre, and pat will come the reply. "Mr Marcos". The hotel in which I stayed, Holiday Inn, is owned by Benedicto, a close friend of Marcos. Disni, the husband of Inday Escolin, the first cousin of Mrs Marcos, is involved in a huge Westinghouse payoff scandal for securing a nuclear plant contract. In less than five years, Disni has created an empire of more than 30 corporations. Another rising business star is Benjamin Romualdez, brother-in-law of Mr Marcos. Even his mother, Josefa Edralin Marcos, is an owner of a corporation. In order to build an industrial complex for this corporation, thousands of urban poor families were evicted in Cebu city. Here in India

apart from Sanjay's own business interest, the only relative of the family who got business favours was Sanjay's mother-in-law, Mrs Amteshwar Anand. She had a share in Indira International for whose sake customs officials and textiles committee inspectors were harassed and put under MISA. In the Philippines there are dozens of relatives and friends of the Marcos family who are making hay while the sun shines. In fact, there is rivalry between business relatives and friends of Mr Marcos on one hand and Mrs Marcos on the other. The former's camp appears to be doing better. It is estimated that cronies and relatives of Mr Marcos and Mrs Marcos have cornered about Rs 700 crores worth of loans in local currency and foreign exchange from financial institutions.

IN the sphere of economic policies, if bonus was taken away from the Indian working class during the Emergency, in the Marcos regime the real wages of working people are constantly coming down. The index of real wages has come down from 100 in 1972 to 76 in the case of skilled workers and 68 for the unskilled workers. Also the top five per cent of the population has increased its share of the national income from 24.3 per cent to 32 per cent between 1971 and 1975 and the share of the remaining 95 per cent of the population has come down correspondingly. If Indira Gandhi had the voluntary Income Tax Disclosure scheme during the Emergency, Marcos also declared tax amenities twice during Martial Law to convert black money into white money. Foreign indebtedness is increasing at an incredible pace. During the seven years of Martial Law the outstanding foreign debts increased from \$2.2 billion to \$8.4 billion. The bulk of foreign loans are used to sustain wasteful expenditure by the elite. During Martial Law the earlier policy of "economic nationalism" has been reversed, doors to multinationals have been thrown wide open and de-Filipinization of trade and industry started. The share of foreign companies in total investment has more than doubled in the last ten years. The hold of multinationals on the life of the people has to be seen to be believed.

One noticeable debilitating effect is that processed food has become a habit even with a poor Filipino. A Filipino peasant, for instance, will sell his entire milk and buy back powdered milk and yoghurt made by multinationals for his personal consumption. Similarly even a poor Filipino must drink daily two or three bottles of Coca Cola. This has become a habit with him. As a result he does not get full nutrition value for the money he spends on food. Thus, a nutrition expert who has made studies both in Haryana and Philippines found that second and third degree malnutrition in the Philippines is 30 per cent as against 20 per cent in Haryana even though per capita income in Haryana is half of the Philippines. According to very sober estimates,

A resettlement colony: one of the pet schemes of the First Lady



the households below the poverty line have increased from 41 per cent in 1956 to 51.5 per cent in 1975 of all households in the Philippines. As regards unemployment, out of one million diploma holders in higher education, only six lakhs are gainfully employed.

There is, however, one great anomaly. Despite all this, Marcos appears to be succeeding to build a social support base among the rural poor. His secret is the same as that of Mrs Gandhi's 20-point programme. Following the imposition of Martial Law, he declared a ceiling of 15.5 acres on ownership of land producing rice and corn. He announced: "We must allow tenants to acquire ownership ultimately of the land they till." Radicals, however, call it a sham. But some liberal Opposition leaders admit that Marcos has been successful to some extent in winning the support of tenants and poor farmers. Senator Tanada said that 250,000 land titles were given to tenants. Simultaneously, Marcos is building up a Fascist-type cadre-based organisation known as Barangay Brigades. The brigade has shades of the Anand Marg. After their loyalty and commitment to the new society is established, volunteers are inducted into the brigades in a formal ceremony. According to an authoritative version: "The induction rites are conducted in the late afternoon in an atmosphere of silence, solemnity and mystery. Right after the talk on 'loyalty and self-sacrifice', the participants are made to stay in one area to hold group singing. In small batches (size depending on total number of participants), the trainees are pulled out of the group, blindfolded and brought to the induction room. The induction room shall bear a small table containing a small lamp, a skull (if available) and any one of the President's books on the new society. Behind the table is the Philippines flag pinned against the wall. The sides of the room are lined with lighted candles planted on the floor. The entire area should otherwise be dark. One induction master and his assistant shall perform the ritual. Inside the room, the blindfolded trainees are made to stand in front of the table, behind which is positioned the induction master."

UNLIKE Mrs Gandhi, Marcos has the support of the Americans as also of Chinese. After Martial Law, American aid has been trebled. It is said that Nixon had the prior knowledge of the imposition of Martial Law. Jimmy Carter, despite his declared commitment to human rights, continues to extend full support to the Marcos regime. Marcos blows hot and cold to keep the Americans on his side. His daughter, Miss Imme Marcos, once issued a statement that the US military bases in the Philippines "are clear evidence of our being American stooges because they represent foreign interests." With such pressure Marcos ensures that the Americans do not support the Opposition. The Philippines' legal Opposition, committed to liberal democratic values, has been generally favourably inclined towards America. For instance, former President of the Philippines, Macapagal, once after issuing a call to the armed forces to end Martial Law, sought political asylum in the US Embassy. But this was not granted. Now the liberal legal Opposition appears to be getting disillusioned with America. Thus when Mr Andrew Young, who attended UNCTAD, invited Opposition leaders for a meeting with him, none of any consequence responded to his invitation. Most of the legal Opposition leaders are extremely rich. One of the sworn enemies of Marcos is Lopez, a top industrialist. He has escaped to America. When he celebrated the golden jubilee of his wedding, he filled his fountain with champagne. He gave up business assets amounting to millions of dollars to President Marcos and his family in exchange for the life of his son. But Marcos did not honour the deal. He got Lopez's properties and did not release his son.

In the open and legal Opposition, the church is emerging as the rallying force. Under the impact of circumstances a section of the church is also getting radicalised and is using Marxist terminology like 'national democratic revolution'. This section of the church formally adopted a charter that it would organise "overall struggle for liberation of the people against poverty, exploitation and oppression by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism." One respected churchman, Father Edicio de la Torre spent four years in prison. He was tortured also. When torture became

unbearable Father Torre smuggled out a message: "I cannot absolutely guarantee my steadfastness under more forcible measures but rest assured I am preparing myself spiritually for torture and even death."

On the radical side, the Communist movement is split along pro-Moscow and pro-Peking lines. The Pro-Moscow wing, like its counterpart in India, became soft and began to see positive and negative features of Martial Law. On the balance it started supporting Marcos. As a result it lost considerably among the politically conscious middle classes and working class. The pro-Peking wing is militant and has been conducting armed struggle for many years now. It has pockets of liberated areas and its main programme is the distribution of land and liquidation of feudal exploitation. Its armed wing, National People's Army, about 3,000 strong and the membership of its front organisation is about one lakh. Like the Naxalites in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies, the Pro-Peking communists are attracting a large number of educated youth, many of them belonging to the rich and ruling families. However, of late it has been landed in terrible ideological confusion following China's new friendliness towards America. For the patriotic Filipinos, the USA is 'enemy number one'. It gives all-out support to the Marcos regime. The US multinationals, along with the Japanese, are strangulating the Philippines economy. The US military base is the symbol of foreign domination. Yet it was the Chinese who after the victory of Vietnam persuaded Marcos to retain the US military base, else the Russians would fill in the vacuum.

Despite strong anti-Communism of the liberal legal Opposition and the church, there are signs that all Opposition, right, left and centre, is converging in a broad anti-Marcos front. But the process of cementing the Opposition unity is slow. In fact, one senior liberal Opposition leader told me that their links with Communists are at best tenuous. One serious point of difference is the attitude towards Muslim secessionist rebels, known as the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). This front is receiving material support, including arms, from oil-rich Muslim countries. Its leader Nur Misuari, is currently in Libya. If the Opposition gets too close to the MNLF this may hurt Filipino nationalist sentiments, since Muslims are demanding a separate country for themselves sliced out of the Philippines. Most Opposition leaders are not prepared to go beyond conceding the Muslims Kashmir-type autonomy.

The real weakness of the Philippines is that, unlike India, it has no history of mass-based militant national movement. Ours was a non-cooperation movement for full independence, theirs was a movement based on cooperation to secure bit-by-bit independence. As a result, in the Philippines the movement remained elite-based. "We are now paying dearly for this critical shortcoming," veteran senator Diokno told me. Gunnar Myrdal's recent statement that "Philippines will be the next Iran" has given hopes that there might be a spontaneous outburst against the Marcos regime. After all Filipinos are a very mercurial and sentimental people. But some farsighted Filipinos are praying: "Let there be no Iran-type revolution. Between Marcos and Khomeini, they will still prefer Marcos. At least, unlike Khomeini, Marcos is not taking the country backward socially and culturally."

An interesting sidelight is that Indira Gandhi haunts the Philippines also. Once while going to the UNCTAD venue the Filipino taxi driver asked me my nationality. When I replied "Indian", he immediately asked: "How is Indira Gandhi? Is she still in jail? Will she again become Prime Minister?" These were exactly the questions which a Moscow taxi driver asked me a year back. When I narrated this incident to a politically conscious Filipino whose nearest and dearest is languishing in jail for over three years, the person replied: "The fact is Indira Gandhi is synonymous with India. You cannot erase her from the memory of the people of Asia." A more thoughtful but sentimental remark came from Senator Tanada. During an interview he recalled his meeting with Jawaharlal Nehru and tried to remember his exact words, imitating his voice. When he came to see me off at the lift, he said: "I am really sorry for Mrs Gandhi. What a great father and what a daughter. Why did she do all these things?" ■

Kanti Desai and the Missing Businessman

A South Indian businessman who is a close friend of Kanti Desai has evaded arrest and disappeared. He is involved in a case which could bring down the Morarji Government. A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT details astonishing elements of the case—including the revelation that he met Kanti Desai in Frankfurt while the police were looking for him in Delhi. This businessman has been called a tax-evader by the Andhra High Court.



Kantilal Desai

ARMED with an arrest warrant, the Delhi Police have been looking for P. N. Balasubramaniam, an intimate business associate of Kantibhai Desai, since June 16, 1979. On this date an Assistant Director of Income Tax Investigation, Mr. P. S. Gupta, filed a criminal complaint against Balasubramaniam under sections 461, 462 and 201 of the Indian Penal Code, with the Tughlak Road Police station in the heart of New Delhi.

It is amazing how Balasubramaniam shook off Intelligence Bureau surveillance on or around June 16, the day Income Tax investigators got the High Court stay vacated and came back to his residence at 186 Golf Links, New Delhi, to resume the search.

Even as the police continued to be

baffled by this mysterious disappearance act, discreet enquiries revealed that he had surfaced at the Frankfurt airport on June 21 when the Prime Minister was on a transit stop at the end of his 12-day visit to Soviet and East European countries. It is reliably understood that Balasubramaniam met Kanti at Frankfurt. There was nothing unusual in this since, according to Bala's affidavit before the High Court, he "happened to be present with Kanti Desai in the countries visited by the PM, during the period when the PM was there". The only difference this time was that they were meeting in a surcharged atmosphere following raids on Balasubramaniam on June 4 and his subsequent affidavit in the Delhi High Court on June 13, which threatened Kanti's delicate position.

Called Subu, by some associates

and Bala by his inner circle of friends, P. N. Balasubramaniam had on June 13, filed a petition in the Delhi High Court seeking to implicate Finance Minister Charan Singh as a respondent in a Court case. He charged that Charan Singh had ordered the raids on his residence at Golf Links on June 4, as part of a "deliberate political conspiracy" to oust Morarji Desai from the Prime Ministership by "seeking to create evidence for implicating Shri Kantilal Desai" through the raid.

Bala, who describes himself as a "loyal friend" of Morarjibhai and a "close friend...connected with Mr Kantilal Desai in his business and politics for over two decades", perhaps sought to repeat his vaunted ouster of yet another Finance Minister and rival of Morarji Desai in the mid-60s. He had then filed a suit against Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari (some say on the egging of Kantibhai) in the Punjab High Court. In the wake of this suit, TTK had reportedly taken offence over a clarification sought by Lal Bahadur Shastri and quit the Cabinet.

If Balasubramaniam thought Charan Singh would oblige him in similar fashion, he appears to be sadly mistaken. Two days after the raid, on June 6, he made an abortive attempt to take off to Japan. He was stopped at Palam airport under standing instructions from income tax authorities to prevent him from going abroad. There is no evidence on airline manifests at Delhi's Palam airport, of his subsequent departure for Germany from India. It is now suspected in intelligence circles that he might have crossed over to Nepal by car or rail and then flown out to West Germany.

The criminal case registered against Balasubramaniam on June 16 is for alleged breaking open of seal and lock put by the Income Tax men, removal of three official notices stuck onto the steel almirah and destruction or removal of documents seized and locked in the cupboard. Investigations into the case have

Tapan Das

made no progress since Balasubramaniam's first arrest warrant, valid till July 5, has still not been served on him; but it is possible that whatever 'incriminating evidence' the income tax sleuths say they had in the seized documents, has been removed for good. He had two opportunities. First, when Justice Sultan Singh of Delhi High Court stopped enforcement and income tax searches at 5.30 and 8.30 p.m. respectively on June 4 itself. Second, the income tax men gave a bonus to Balasubramaniam by locking the seized papers in his own cupboard in his rooftop (barsati) residence at Golf Links.

What Balasubramaniam cannot put away, however, is the letter he wrote to his advocate D. K. Garg wherein he made startling disclosures about his 20-year-old association with Kantilal Desai. His stunning disclosure that he generally has attended to "such business that I was advised to undertake by Mr Kantilal Desai" has put the spanner in Kanti's publicity machine. It has called into question Kanti's much publicised renunciation of his business connections — which has been certificated by his ultra-moralistic father, Morarji Desai.

Kanti's inner circle of friends and sympathisers is understandably perturbed over the disclosures in the letter. They blame it either on Bala's quirks or the non-availability of Kanti for consultation at the time he wrote the letter to his lawyer. Kanti left for the Soviet Union with his father on June 10 and Subu's letter to lawyer Garg is dated June 11.

The raids on Balasubramaniam have yielded mixed returns. Balasubramaniam's affidavit, in particular, has strengthened the political case against his good friend Kantilal Desai. But enforcement and income tax officers have drawn a blank. The police are not sure when Balasubramaniam will return from abroad, if at all. He reportedly spread the word at Frankfurt airport that he was there for a leg operation. This excuse would help him stay longer out of the country. In normal circumstances, police would renew the arrest warrant for Balasubramaniam which is due to expire on July 5. If he still evades the second warrant, they could attach his property. The next step would be to get the External Affairs Ministry involved in extradition proceedings.

But the word is being spread round that this is a small case that does not call for stringent action. With friends and godfathers in the PM's household and a friendly Patel in the Home Ministry, Bala is likely to bide his time abroad until the case against him is quietly hushed up.

The man who had hoped to trap Kanti through raids on his friend Balasubramaniam (as the latter has himself alleged) has been placed in a humiliating position. But this time, however, Chaudhury Charan Singh is on more solid ground than in the arrest of Indira Gandhi. ■

Should the Prime Minister Resign?

Mr Raj Narain is the only leader who has made an effort to publicise this scandal. He wrote a fiery letter to Morarji Desai, who preaches honesty and high moral values to the world, demanding a full explanation from the PM—and the PM's resignation for complicity in the scandal. We publish Mr Raj Narain's letter.



Dharm Vir Jeyar

RAJ NARAIN
Member of Parliament
(LOK SABHA)

9, Race Course Road,
New Delhi.

Dated, the 30th June,
1979

Respected Morarji Bhai,

I came across newspaper reports that the authorities under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act and the Income Tax Act started search and seizure at the house of one Shri P. N. Balasubramaniam, hereinafter called 'Balasubramaniam', at 186, Golf Links, New Delhi and also at some business house at Madras, on 4.6.1979 and that the Hon'ble Vacation Judge Shri Sultan Singh of the Delhi High Court granted stay order and the search had to be stopped. However, whatever documents could be searched, they were put in some almirah which was sealed in the aforesaid premises. On 11.6.79, he is reported to have written a letter to his Advocate Shri R. K. Garg to the effect that he had connections, business and political, with your son Shri Kantilal Desai for the last about two decades and that on account of his ill health, he had stopped his business but when the Janata Party Government was form-

ed in 1977, under the guidance of his friend Shri Kantilal Desai, he re-started business and became quite rich. He has also disclosed in that letter that wherever the Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai went abroad, he accompanied him along with Shri Kantilal Desai. The aforesaid letter of Shri Balasubramaniam is part of his rejoinder affidavit filed by him in the High Court.

Shri Balasubramaniam filed also an application for anticipatory bail before the aforesaid Judge of the High Court and on 11.6.1979, anticipatory bail was granted to him. On 15.6.1979 when the Government advocate appeared, the Vacation Judge vacated the stay order. It is said that the matter will now come up for hearing sometime in July, 1979.

As full facts were not clear from the newspaper reports, I instructed my lawyers to obtain copies of the necessary affidavits of Shri Balasubramaniam filed in the High Court.

It is said that Balasubramaniam opened the seal of the almirah and took away the important incriminating documents and whatever documents were left, they were taken over by the Department after the stay order was vacated and the Department, finding them as incriminating, wanted the presence of Shri Balasubramaniam for the purpose of investigation, but they could not trace him. It is said that Shri Balasubramaniam has escaped from the country.

I have never understood as to why Shri Kantilal Desai, who has nothing to do with the Government, should accompany the Prime Minister on his tours inside and outside the country. It is also not understood as to why his friend Shri Balasubramaniam should accompany the Prime Minister on his tours abroad and exploit the official position of the Prime Minister to further his business interests and those of Shri Kantilal Desai. This is a very serious matter and the Prime Minister must explain to the nation.

The Prime Minister also must disclose as to on whose expense this man, Shri Balasubramaniam, has been travelling along with the Prime Minister and what is the reason that he accompanies the Prime Minister. It has also been reported that he has been travelling with you without obtaining foreign exchange from the



Central Newsphoto Service

Raj Narain with Morarjibhai

Reserve Bank of India.

Shri Balasubramaniam has inter alia stated in his affidavit: "As a loyal friend I felt it my duty to inform the Prime Minister well in time of these developments".

It is learnt that Shri Balasubramaniam met you on 6th June, 1979 and he gave you in writing certain note that the documents seized by the officers of the Finance Ministry were such that Shri Kantilal Desai cannot be saved and that he has no explanation for his business involvements in India and abroad. In his note Shri Balasubramaniam also suggested that the plan of the Finance Ministry be frustrated. I have also learnt that in that meeting with Shri Balasubramaniam, you expressed that you will see that the Directorates of Enforcement under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act and the Income Tax Act would be taken away from Choudhary Charan Singh, the Finance Minister so that you and your son Shri Kantilal Desai (could) be saved from the charge of corruption.

I have also learnt that Shri Balasubramaniam was to go to Japan on 5.6.1979 in connection with the business interests of your son Shri Kantilal Desai and from there, he was to join you and your son Shri Kantilal Desai in Moscow on your recent foreign tour in the Soviet Union and other countries, but these plans were foiled by the alert officers of the Finance Ministry and Shri Balasubramaniam was restrained at the Palam airport from emplaning for Japan. However, later he was allowed to escape from the country under your instructions and guidance, so that he may not be available to the officials of the Finance Ministry for interrogation and investigation. It is also learnt that Shri Balasubramaniam met you and Shri Kantilal Desai at Frankfurt after he escaped from the country. All the three of you discussed the matter and then Balasubramaniam and Kantilal Desai travelled toge-

ther to Geneva and to other places presumably to rearrange their bank accounts abroad in view of pending investigation. Shri Kantilal Desai returned to the country only day before yesterday, when you arrived earlier on 22.6.1979.

An application was moved by the authorities under the Finance Ministry that the anticipatory bail granted to Shri Balasubramaniam be cancelled. Mr Justice S. N. Kumar, the Hon'ble Vacation Judge of the High Court on 27.6.1979 ordered that Balasubramaniam must be present with his passport in the High Court on 29th June, 1979. On that date, Advocate for Shri Balasubramaniam, argued before the High Court that if his client left the country he did so, not only to save himself but also the high-ups in the country.

It is quite clear that you and your son are guilty of corruption. You have been going around saying that you are the biggest Gandhian in this country and that if any body points out anything against you, you will submit your resignation. Time has now come for fulfilling that promise. It is obvious that high type of corruption is committed from the Prime Minister's house by your son and Shri Balasubramaniam with your active consent and blessing.

The documents which have been

The Connection

Quotes from the "rejoinder affidavit" filed by P. N. Balasubramaniam in the High Court of Delhi.

After the massive victory of Janata Party...I used to be a frequent visitor to the residence of Shri Morarji Desai as I was a close friend of his son and the family. I was connected with Mr Kantilal Desai in his business and politics for over two decades.

I had retired from business and politics because of my ill health. I restarted it, at the instance of Mr Kantilal Desai and (was) generally attending to such business that I was advised to undertake by Mr Kantilal Desai.

In the past two years, I happened to be present with Kanti Desai in the countries visited by the PM during the period when the PM was there.

I fixed an interview with the Prime Minister and met him on June 6, 1979 at 2.00 pm in this connection (Editor's note: that is, in connection with the raid carried out by the income tax authorities). I drew the attention of the Prime Minister to the First Information Report for serious offences under Section 380 read with Section 120 of the Indian Penal Code. I had made it clear to the Prime Minister that my interests were safe in the hands of the court, but the enemies of the country were using the ambitions of the Finance Minister to use the social cum political dealings of Shri Kantilal Desai and his connections to attack the Prime Minister. As a loyal friend, I felt it my duty to inform the Prime Minister well in time of these developments.

seized and which may establish the involvement of Shri Balasubramaniam, Shri Kantilal Desai and you, should be placed before Parliament so that the nation may know what has been going on behind the curtains in this country.

I have been fighting throughout my life against corruption. We raised our voice against Smt. Indira Gandhi and her son. The same thing is being repeated by you and

SUNDAY

Our circulation is now more
than 210,000 copies
every week.
Thank you.

your son Shri Kantilal Desai.

You declared that Shri Kantilal Desai is not doing any business on large scale and that if anything is brought to your notice that he had utilised your official position, then you would not hesitate to resign from the office of the Prime Minister. Now the affidavit of Shri Balasubramaniam clearly points out as to how you and your son are involved in business interests with a notorious tax dodger. The Andhra Pradesh High Court in the case of Shri P. N. Balasubramaniam versus Income-Tax Officer (Reported in 1978 Volume 112, Income-tax Reports, Page 512) has held that Balasubramaniam is one of the biggest tax dodgers in the country. It does not behove a Prime

Minister to have association with such a person.

Shri C. B. Gupta, Treasurer of the Janata Party publicly admitted that on his authority, your son Kantilal Desai had collected huge funds in the name of the Janata Party and that Rs. 94 lakhs only were passed on to the Janata Party. Till today neither names of the donors nor the actual amounts collected, have been disclosed.

You owe an explanation to the nation and the least that you can do, is to resign immediately to preserve the dignity of the high office you have come to occupy.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
RAJ NARAIN

Jodhpur VC gets the sack

Must Ministers interfere with the University?

KAN Singh Parihar, a retired Judge of the High Court and Chairman of the one man commission which went into the 'Emergency excesses' in Rajasthan, recently relinquished his post of Vice-Chancellor of Jodhpur University. He has accused the State Government of openly interfering in the affairs of the University and wants the Chief Minister, Mr Bhairon Singh Shekhawat and his Cabinet to accept responsibility for the wrong and illegal directions given to him by the Governor in his capacity as Chancellor of the University. Mr Parihar was referring to the advice given to him by the Chancellor restraining him from putting before the University Syndicate the recommendations of the selection committee for the post of Registrar. Later the Chancellor, by way of a telegram directed him not to hold the meeting of the Syndicate scheduled for June 17, 1979. Although he was not bound to listen to the Chancellor and since he did not have any desire to defy him, Mr Parihar asked to be relieved.

Mr Kan Singh Parihar however maintains that under the University Act the Chancellor had not the slightest authority to ask either for withdrawal of any item from the agenda of any of its various bodies or for directing the Vice-Chancellor not to hold a meeting of the Syndicate. He said he would yield to none on the issue and such directions amounted to illegal and uncalled-for interference in the affairs of the University. He further said that the Chief Minister could not escape the constitutional responsibility of such illegal directions given by the Chancellor and must face the legislature on the issue. It is known that the Government in the State is actively



Kan Singh Parihar

interfering in the working of educational institutions. However, it is for the first time, that accusations have been levelled both at the Chancellor and the Chief Minister of openly interfering in the working of the Universities.

Mr Parihar took over as Vice-Chancellor on 20.2.79. It was then a closed University; closed on the orders of the Chancellor, after it had been torn apart by violence and administrative groupism. In one week alone, in February 1979, nearly 40 cases of stabbing were reported.

The former Vice-Chancellor, R. S. Kapur, had been accused of siding with one small section of students, who had virtually taken over the University campus. He had taken the unprecedented step of participat-

ing in the victory procession of the students' union President, Sajjan Singh. There were reports of mass-copying and beating up of teachers. Mr Kapur even went to the extent of employing one student against whom the University had filed an FIR with the police for causing serious disturbances in the examinations and beating up a senior professor. Matters soon came to a head when teachers and girls were openly harassed and abused on the campus. When others rose in protest, there was violence. The University and its hostels were closed and Vice-Chancellor Kapur was relieved of his assignment.

In a crowded Press conference on 19.6.79 after quitting his office Vice-Chancellor Parihar said that it was in this background that he had accepted the post of Vice-Chancellor at repeated requests by the Chief Minister and Agriculture Minister Kalyan Singh Kalvi, who had assured him that the Rajput boys would behave. Among his first tasks was ridding the hostels of their caste character. Committees were, therefore, appointed to look into their affairs and shocking details came to light. It was found that a large majority of hostel students were unauthorised occupants who had neither applied for a hostel seat nor had ever paid any hostel fees. In one hostel alone out of 58 students 38 were Rajputs of whom 34 had never paid any fees. In another hostel, none of the 142 occupants had paid their dues for several months. In still another, former Vice-Chancellor Kapur had asked the Warden to resign as he had not permitted friends of hostel inmates to board without paying mess fees. The most shocking report, however, came from a hostel where scheduled caste boys were ill treated. They were made to sleep out of doors, clean utensils, massage the legs of other students and were not even allowed to eat in the same mess.

Mr Parihar contends that his attempts to establish law and order in the University and the hostels incensed those who took unfair advantage and made free use of every facility by force. Within seven days of assuming office, he said, this small section of boys began to agitate and demanded his removal. Today there is hardly a windowpane intact in the University. One of the University buses, the offices of the Proctor, Faculty of Arts office, the departments of Law and Geography were burnt to ashes. With them the precious Tagore Lectures and many ancient manuscripts and maps were also destroyed. Besides, several teachers, including the Dean of Arts and the Head of Hindi were physically manhandled and abused.

Above all, unfortunately, only Rajput boys were involved. They accused Mr Parihar of being anti-Rajput. He demanded to know whether these were isolated cases of arson and vandalism or part of a grand design to oust him and to keep

the University perpetually under the tutelage of those very elements who were destroying the University. It was surprising, he said, that no Minister condemned these incidents publicly. Not even when Vice-Chancellor Parihar was himself attacked in his office on June 6. The whole episode has also brought into focus the role of the Chancellor. Not long ago the Chancellor had asked Mr Parihar to take the strictest action against indiscipline and had gone to the extent of telling him that he had spoken to the Chief Minister about it. But there has been a volte face. While making a show of discipline and impartiality he became a party to the rabid game of caste.

Kan Singh Parihar questioned the propriety of the Chancellor's decision asking him to hand over charge to

the present officiating Registrar in the light of the findings of the Enquiry Committee and the directive of the Chancellor himself for disciplinary action against officiating Registrar Jodhawat. Mr Kan Singh Parihar wanted law-abiding citizens to draw their own conclusions. But what was revealed by the enquiry was only the tip of the iceberg. Many times, more and serious irregularities, have cropped up later. There have been flagrant misuses of authority. The Vice-Chancellor has gone to the extent of fabricating minutes of meetings and manipulating marks obtained in examinations by students. He had tried to impress upon the Chancellor the urgent need to order a fresh enquiry under section 10 (2) of the University Act.

Mr Parihar appeared calm and

without any bitterness in the crowded Press conference. In his own words: "I have no regrets. I have tried to ensure enforcement of rule of Law and a sense of security among teachers and to discipline the unruly students." He maintains that in spite of provocations, disciplinary action was taken against students only in the extreme cases. He proposes to release, in the near future his correspondence with the Chief Minister and the Chancellor. He reiterated the urgent need of a commission of enquiry to probe all aspects of the working of the University in the post-Emergency period. In his view they would far exceed the Emergency excesses which were looked into by him.

MAN MOHAN DAYAL, Jodhpur

IN QUEST OF FREEDOM



The tragedy of the Vietnamese refugees—the "Boat people"—is "comparable to Hitler's persecution of the Jews" says the Peoples Daily, Beijing. Many Governments are hesitant about accepting them in their countries because of the economic burden they represent. In their search for independence and freedom they have radiated in all directions from their homes—to Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, Philippines, Japan and Malaysia. Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad announced in the middle of June that Malaysia would close its borders to the refugees—there are already 76,000 in the country—and institute a "shoot at sight" order as fast as possible. (Above) A 25-year-old Vietnamese mother nursing her baby on Pelabuhan beach, Malaysia. She and 94 other refugees were allowed in by Malaysian authorities.

Is Amitabh Bachchan's allergy to the Fourth Estate going to be a lifelong one? Now that he is in a position to call the trump card, he is proving to the Press all right as to who is in greater need of who. He even constantly advises the other stars, 'Don't have anything to do with journalists. See how I've managed to survive without them.' Recently there was a location-shooting for one of his forthcoming films, *Dastana*. When producers spend a lot of money on outstation locales, they like to take the Press along so that they can simultaneously get some publicity for their film. But when the producer of *Dostana* told Amitabh that he would be taking a few journalists along, Amitabh flatly refused and put his foot down. In his inimitable Bachchan style, he told the producer, "theek hai, if you want to take your journalists, you will have to manage without me because I won't be coming." Naturally, the producer altered his own plans and eventually took only one scribe belonging to a 'decent' paper. In other words, Amitabh rules the roast. But, for how long?

EVERY time Rameshwari would pass by the theatres where *Amardeep* was showing, she would grit her teeth. In case you've forgotten, that was her film, and the producers had shown their heartlessness by getting her replaced at the last minute by *Shabana*, merely because of her eye injury which had put her out of gear for some time. She had been greatly upset at the rejection, because this had been one role she'd valued a lot, not just because it would give her an opportunity to act opposite *Rajesh Khanna*, but because it was a very good role in itself. But the producers seem to have had their own reasons for having changed the heroine. Sometime ago I had the occasion to meet one of the distributors of the film, and he informed me that it had been they (the distributors) who had put pressure on the producers. "We had told them, under any circumstances we wanted the film in the theatres by June '79 latest. *Rajesh Khanna's* popularity had appeared to be receding

then, and we couldn't chance an unnecessarily prolonged delay. *Rameshwari's* eye had still been in quite a critical state and it was obviously going to take a long time to get back into shape. We had hoped she would understand our dilemma. But unfortunately she did not." *Shabana*, fortunately for her, seems to be at the winning end every time.

EVER since *Zeenat Aman* fell in love with *Sanjay Khan*, his personal rating in the industry seems to have soared upwards. He suddenly finds himself invited to practically every party and function and he wonders whether people have developed an overnight fondness for him. Little does he know that this fondness will last only as long as *Zeenat's* love for him lasts. People invite him in the hope that *Zeenat* will accompany him.

NEETU SINGH has only five or six more films to

complete and then it will be 'goodbye' to the industry. But she is even finding these few films "a big drag". I was surprised to find her reading a real high-brow novel the other day. Previously, as far as I can remember, she used to have trouble even understanding *Little Lulu* and *Richie Rich*. But then, she's come a long way from those poverty-stricken days. Now that she happens to be one of the richest stars (also about to be married to another rich star) I suppose she has been able to buy some grey matter for herself.

RAJESH KHANNA's two children seem to be very smart and clever which obviously means that they haven't taken after their mother. Both the tots shine out in their nursery classes, not just because they happen to be you-know-who's children, but because they are quick-witted and intelligent. *Twinkle* for

instance, does not allow anybody to bully her or her little sister. If they attempt to do so, she does not carry tales to the teacher, but she tells the offender, "meet me after school". No wonder her classmates are terrified of her and consider her their 'leader'.

HAS Dharmendra fallen out of love or has he just given up his copyright over *Hema Malini*. At one time, he had clearly told her that *Kihara* would be the last film he would allow her to act in opposite *Jeeendra*. Yet, recently, *Jeeendra* announced that he would be acting in another production opposite *Hema*. When I asked *Jeeendra* how he'd managed it, he said he had signed *Hema* for this film years ago and she had no objection to working with him. It seems that *Dharmendra* too has given her his permission. Then why didn't *Hema* report for the elaborate *mahurat* celebrations at R K Studio where all the other stars, including *Tina* and *Rishi*, made it a point to show up?

JAJA BHADURI has withdrawn into a nutshell. Previously she had been a warm and friendly person, always surrounded by friends, laughing, gay. But the past few years (ever since *Amitabh* started working with *Rekha*) have taken their toll and the strain shows heavily on her face. Moreover, she keeps no contact with any of her earlier friends *Anju*, *Shammi* (Mrs. Sultan) or *Shabana*. And if they try to contact her or call her up at her residence they are always told firmly and politely by the 'home secretary' (there are many secretaries in the Bachchan household, each for different tasks), "she is not available". I can't make up my mind whether it's a change for the better or worse.

THE khaas charcha for this week seems to be centred around *Raj Khosla* and his venture *Dostana*. He took so many years to make *Main Tulsi Tere Aangan Ki*, even though it had small, not very important stars. Is he going to take a decade to make *Dostana* which has much bigger stars (like *Amitabh*, *Zeenat* and *Shatrughan Sinha*)?

Sanjay Khan in a scene from "Chandi Sona"



DID G. Prabhu, Sivaji Ganesan's son, try to shoot himself with his father's gun or was it just an accident? The Madras High Court has dismissed a petition by Prabhu to quash the proceedings against him in a lower court. Father Ganesan told the lower court that he was not present at the time his son used the gun, and that he had asked his son to take the gun to the car. The matinee-idol was on his way to a film-shooting site. Later, he heard a sound in the room and found son Prabhu writhing in pain, though no serious injury was caused. Prabhu says he was injured while cleaning the gun and that he had no reason to commit suicide. Is it just possible that the accused has become wise after the event? The court found it difficult to believe that a father would have asked his son to carry the loaded gun to the car (well, such things do happen—in Tamil films). Prabhu wants to go abroad with his father to attend the shooting of a Tamil film to be shot extensively in Europe. Nice way to see Europe, but for Section 337 of the IPC.

AS A hero he used to look so moronic: even then success greeted him in a big way. Now *Soman*, who still plays a hero but not the singing-around-the-bush type, is accepting more sober roles and he has matured. He carries himself about with dignity and is sure to win more plaudits if some of the better Malayalam directors Arvindan and M. A. Backer give him challenging roles. Watching the Malayalam actors chatting with other members of the cast, one is instantly reminded of the fact that actors in other language films are, somehow, not as friendly. And *Soman* is one of the most warmhearted Malayalam actors, who never runs short of anecdotes and interesting jokes.

SINGER Yesudas appeared as himself in a song sequence lensed for a Malayalam film, *Kadar Mandapam*, slated for early release. And now it's the turn of Tamil music-director Ilayaraja to use the grease paint. He has a film named after him *Hayarajavin*



Vijayakumar and Jayalalitha, the new romantic pair

Rasikai, which will naturally appear in apart from providing the music. Though M. G. C. Sukumar is the hero, Ilayaraja's presence is expected to ignite the public imagination. For no music director down South has achieved as much distinction as Ilayaraja in such a short span of time.

WHEN will *Gemini Ganesan* don saffron? His faith in gods and goddesses is becoming louder day by day. And whenever his children visit him, he'll take them to temples, depending on where the person concerned wants to go. Sometime ago when Rekha was in town, papa Gemini shepherded her to a nearby temple in Madras and the tradition has it that unmarried women visit this particular temple to invoke the goddess to reward them with suitable mates!

Though Gemini does a few character roles in Tamil and Malayalam films, the industry hasn't really been kind to him. He certainly deserves better treatment.

And yet, the man isn't bitter. His only regret is that so many people took him for granted over the years and wrote all kinds of things about him. That's the price one pays for being a gentleman, he says wryly.

THERE'S already a case pending against him for assaulting a journalist and now the Hyderabad police have charged *Rajnikant*, along with the father of actress Jayasudha, for drunken disorder near the airport. And just the other day Rajnikant wanted to give up booze and pay more attention to his career. His popularity in Andhra is as assured as in Madras, but if he keeps spending hours at the police station and in the courts, surely he wouldn't be able to do justice to his career. And this is precisely what many rival actors would look forward to.

What precisely is worrying Rajnikant? Is he still pining for Latha, or has he become a helpless addict of the bottle? A couple of months ago when he was

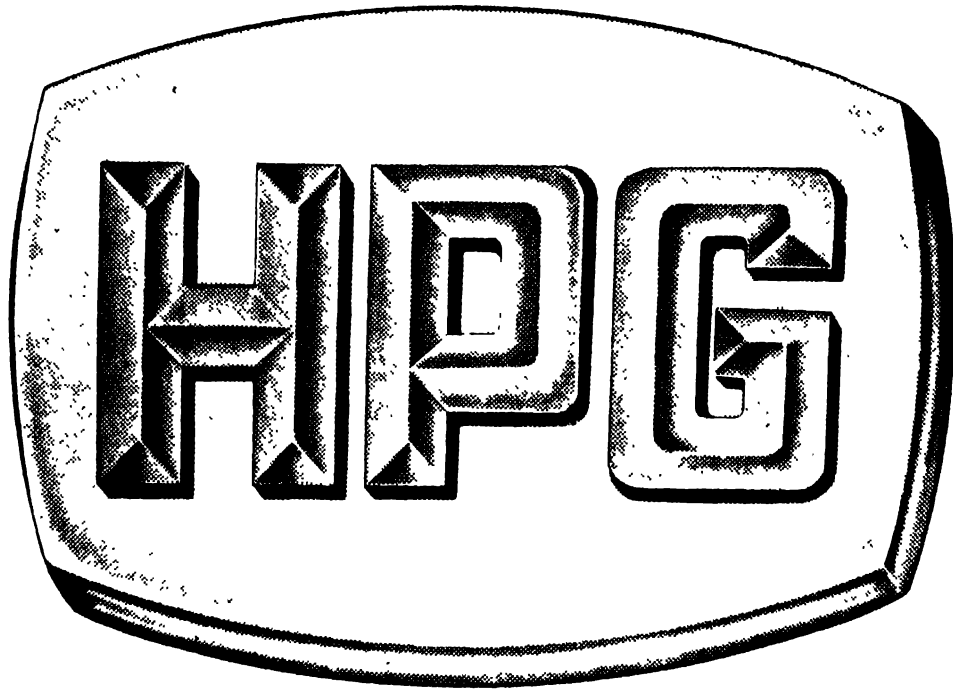
admitted to a nursing home, he received the attention of best psychiatrists in Madras. And yet he has gone astray again. His well-wishers believe that an understanding, lovable woman would do the magic and set him right.

AND who'd set Vijayakumar's career right? Though he was never a big star, he didn't lack assignments, but during the last two years even the films in which he paid celluloid tributes to MGR, failed to click. His only lucky film last year was *Varuvan Vadivelan*, a devotional: how Vijayakumar, the self-proclaimed rationalist and member of the AIADMK, was featured in it is itself surprising. Even then, the credit for the film's success went to director K. Shankar and child-artist Sudha! Among the few films Vijayakumar has on hand is *Velli Ratham*. The heroine is K. R. Vijaya, but as usual, the heroine will be in the limelight. Manjula, Vijayakumar's actress-wife, is also fading fast. A bit of reduction in weight may help.

EVERYTIME Hema Malini's mother comes down to Madras, where she's producing a couple of films, she creates some controversy. Recently she said daughter Hema doesn't accept Tamil assignments because local producers here cannot afford her fees. What makes *Jaya Chakravarthy* think that daughter Hema is still on top of the world? The poor box-office performance of *Meera* and *Dillagi* and the short run of *Azaad* are indications of Hema's waning popularity. And surely when Hema acts in films like *Swami* and *Dillagi* she doesn't take her usual fees. Can't she, then, accept Tamil assignments? Tamil producers are certainly not as broke?

WIGS have to do something with the popularity of Kamalahasan and Rajnikant in Andhra. So many Telugu actors, including A. Nageshwara Rao and Krishna are bald and go around wearing funny-looking wigs on the screen. The natural hairstyle of the younger actors must have a distinct appeal.

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Beginning July 15

This week the Sun and Venus are in Gemini, Jupiter and Mercury are in Cancer, Saturn and Rahu are in Leo, Uranus is in Libra, Neptune is in Scorpio, Ketu is in Aquarius and Mars alone is in Taurus. The Moon will be moving through Aries, Taurus and Gemini from Pisces.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) Your perseverance, indomitable will power and enterprise will win over all obstacles. Push all your business affairs to the utmost, seek favours and make changes as desired. An old friend will render good service. Eschew gambling and dubious love adventures. Attend to your profession. This will ensure peace of mind. **Good dates:** 15, 16 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** East.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) A measure of success and good fortune is predicted. Influential friends will prove helpful. Your business, social and intellectual activities will expand. Romance and all-round success is forecast. Courtship, contracts and business deals should be finalised this week. **Good dates:** 17, 19 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 11. **Favourable direction:** South.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) Your problems will soon come to an end. Patience, courage and circumspection are necessary. Beneficial changes, travel and improved health are predicted. Push your business interests to the utmost. Property matters, speculation, law-suits and romance are well-signified. Your family front will remain good. **Good dates:** 18, 19 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 9 and 10. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) An unexpected journey is forecast. Quarrels and erratic actions are best avoided. Exercise caution and circumspection in all your dealings. More than average good fortune will come your way this week. Love, marriage and courtship are on the cards. Success seems imminent, especially for people in the field of arts. **Good dates:** 16, 18, 19 and 20. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 8. **Favourable direction:** East.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) Your financial position improves rapidly, thanks to a promotion. You will benefit greatly through your employers and higher officials. Womenfolk will buy costly clothes and ornaments. This week is favourable for courtship and correspondence. Domestic and social problems will be solved peacefully. You will win the praise of all around you. **Good dates:** 16, 19 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 3. **Favourable direction:** South-east.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) Some good fortune will come your way. Unexpected travel is in the offing. New expenses are foreseen. A sudden change of place or promotion is probable. Love and friendship will bring happiness but do not neglect your business affairs. Your family members will buy expensive items. Womenfolk away from home should exercise caution in their relationship with the opposite sex. **Good dates:** 15, 17 and 20. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 11. **Favourable direction:** West.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) A happier and more successful week is predicted. Courtship, marriage and love affairs are forecast. An elderly relative will prove helpful to your new ventures. Letters from distant places will prove helpful. Womenfolk will cooperate to make things easier for you. **Good dates:** 15, 16, 19 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-east.



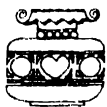
SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) Your enthusiasm, initiative and business acumen will help you to surmount many of the difficulties. Valuable help from elders and secret sources, as well as through your own endeavours, will be forthcoming. Forge ahead on all fronts. Act according to your own intuition but make no impulsive changes. **Good dates:** 15, 16, 17 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) Avoid employers and officials in general. Attend to business and do not let your heart rule over your commonsense. A modicum of success is forecast, but remain on your guard. You will make new friends. Social and domestic activities are well-signified. A secret matter brings pleasure at the weekend. **Good dates:** 17, 18 and 20. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 10. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) Your health improves this week. Utilise all your energy and initiative to further your own interests and realise your ambitions. Property matters and speculation are well-signified. Do not be afraid to adopt original business methods, but exercise caution in love affairs. Social and domestic scenes will remain peaceful. **Good dates:** 16, 17, 20 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South.



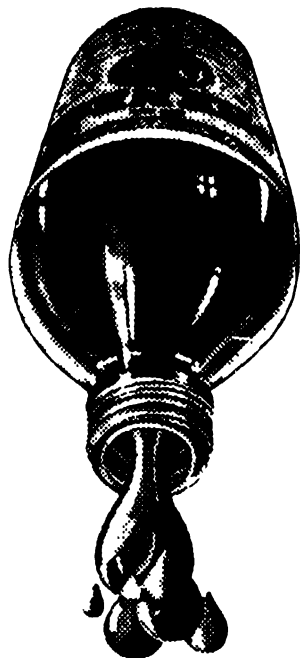
AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) Exercise caution in your speech and writings. Beware of theft and misplacement. Peruse carefully all documents and keep them in safe custody. An unexpected event or change beyond your control will ultimately prove beneficial. Endeavour to please those in authority and do not arouse hostility through your actions. **Good dates:** 17, 19 and 20. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 10. **Favourable direction:** West.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) You will prosper and your employers and those in authority will prove to be of great help. Your family members will have a luxurious and comfortable time. Your business, social and intellectual pursuits will be rewarded. Act upon your own intuition, but make no changes. **Good dates:** 16, 17, 18 and 21. **Lucky numbers:** 9 and 11. **Favourable direction:** North-west.

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this india



GOA : A 24-year-old married woman, her hands bound by rope, was paraded through the streets of the market square by her husband, a sailor, when he returned home after a couple of years and found her leading a gay life with a local beau squandering money. On checking the bank account he found a balance of only Rs 5 while several thousands of rupees had been withdrawn — *West Coast Times* (Haider Abbas, Patna).

AFZALPUR : One person was killed in a group clash at Mirgi village. The clash was all over a hare. Two groups, one belonging to the Panchayat Chairman and the other led by the village Patil, left on a hunt for the hare, a local tradition on Karbunnime day. The Chairman's group had a successful day, while the Patil's group came back without a single hare. At the village, the Patil's group claimed they had left their kill in the woods for safety. The claim led to a fight between the groups. In the event, the leader of the Chairman's group was killed — *Deccan Herald* (S. Krishna Murthy, Bangalore).

LUCKNOW : Mystery shrouds the arrest of three women on charges of 'Adam-teasing' by the Hazratganj police. The police records show the arrests were made near the Sakti Bhawan where the women were allegedly exposing their bodies in an

obscene manner. However, according to reliable sources, the arrests of the women were from a lodge which is being run as a hotel by an erstwhile 'feudal lord' under the Hazratganj police circle. The *Pioneer*' investigations revealed that there was some thing fishy in the affair and the senior police officers were inquiring into it. One of the women held is stated to be the wife of a senior officer of the RDSO. The other two belong to Kanpur — *The Pioneer* (Reena Chandra, Gonda).

PORT BLAIR : With great fanfare, Straight Island's sole nubile was wedded to a Great Andamanese youth on Monday, raising the tribe's hope for survival. Fifteen-year-old Lacho sat on the lap of 17-year-old Golat as the only surviving 24 members rejoined over the first match in the community in 15 years. Among guests was former Andamans Chief Commissioner Krishnatry, who at present heads the Andaman Adim Janajati Samity. Gaily-dressed tribals filled the air with songs and music and gave the couple the only conceivable blessings "Have a child soon." — *Morning Echo* (Prah-lad Ghosh, Calcutta).

SHAHABAD : Love is blind but lovers cannot afford to be blind to others' presence. Love in secrecy is sweet and sacred, but reckless love with no 'sense of place' could be deadly too. A newly married couple, Sunil and Savita, who were married on June 13 were on their way to Poona in Raichur-Poona passenger. Between Dudhni and Akkalkot, Sunil and Savita sat on the foot board and started their passionate moves even ignoring the presence of co-passengers. When Sunil leaned over Savita to kiss her, she pushed him back to prevent the 'open love', but it proved too costly for her. Sunil lost his balance and within seconds, slipped down from the speeding train. His legs were chopped off as he came under the wheels. — *Indian Express* (T. B. Srinivas, Bangalore).

india abroad

OTTAWA : An Indian graduate student at the Concordia University has developed a new building technique that he says will significantly reduce the risk of earthquake damage to high-rise buildings. According to Mr Avtar Pall, an engineer at the University's Centre for Building Studies, "the concept is so simple it's amazing no one thought of it before". By applying ordinary brake linings to the bolt mechanisms that link concrete slabs together, huge beams of concrete can be made to slide back and forth in tandem with the motion of a swaying

building. According to Mr Avtar Pall, sliding bolt mechanisms are nothing new, and have been used in so-called "earthquake-resistant buildings". But, though they provide safeguards for keeping a building's superstructure intact, much of the interior can still come down crumbling in the event of a major tremor, he says. By inserting brake linings between the panels supporting the bolts, the device is able to absorb, most of the shock waves shuddering through the building, "reducing the risk of damage by as much as 50 per cent", Mr Pall says — *The Hindu*.

Illustrations/Ahi Bhushan Malik

prize rs. 30 for the entry given first

without comment

I DO not believe in toppling...It is not only Morarji Desai who is not making up his mind. There are also others who are not making up their minds — Madhu Limaye

HE (Morarji Desai) is busy trying to bring down the temperature of his colleagues to begin feeling the pulse of the nation—Cho Ramaswamy

I AM a free man...In a sense it is wrong to say that I am leaving the Party for there was no Party. I am leaving this non-existent Party to build up a real Janata Party—Raj Narain

IN MY case, I do not have any major child—Bhajan Lal, Haryana's new Chief Minister

THE NEW Party (Janata) began with the ethos and clan of a liberal Socialist Party, but has ended like a new edition of the Congress...Some of our colleagues have taken to this culture like fish to water. They never had it so good—George Fernandes

A COHESIVE Party of a few dedicated people is better than a chaotic crowd—A. R. Antulay on the developments in Karnataka

EVEN IF this traitor Shah hides himself in a corner of the White House, we will get him out and kill him — Ayatollah Khalkhali

humour in real life



SIGNBOARD inside a factory: "Emergency Exit. Not to be used under any circumstances" — M. Ramaswamy, Lonavla

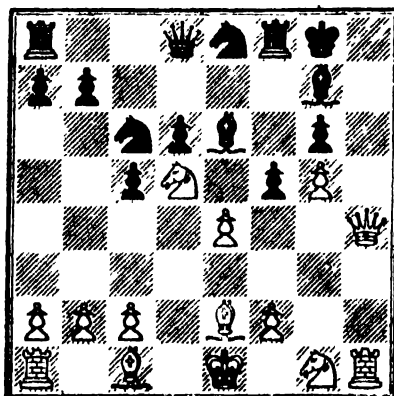
"WHAT IS the full name of Mr H. M. Patel?" asked the teacher in a General Knowledge class. One student replied promptly: "Home Minister Patel" — Anutapa Roy Calcutta

prize rs. 30 for the entry given first and rs. 10 for the other items

chess

Chinese checkers

Donner (Black)



Chen (White)

Position after Black's 14th move

One of the most remarkable developments in world chess recently has come from, believe it or not, the People's Republic of China. Over the past couple of years they have started to compete in international team tournaments and have obtained results that few could have predicted. In New Zealand in 1977 they took second place (behind the Philippines) in an Asian team tournament ahead of Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand etc. Not bad for beginners. They then played in their first Olympiad in Argentina last year and took Buenos Aires by storm - a 3-1 victory over Iceland in the opening round. In Football League terms Iceland are equivalent to a strong second division side, so one can measure the dimension of the Chinese success. Their overall performance can be estimated by the fact that, in the final analysis, an extra two points would have brought them into fifth place!

Their leading player, Chi Ching-Hsuan, must be close to grandmaster strength. He has already beaten such established grandmasters as Torre and Sigurjonsson, and when one recalls that Torre is one of the precious few to have beaten Karpov as World Champion. What amazes me is how someone in the position of Mr. Chi could possibly learn to play so well. I have not done much research into the subject, but I doubt if he has any access to our chess literature - we've had no reports of little red books being replaced by volumes of *Informator*. In any case I doubt if any of our books would be comprehensible. Would you understand the Mandarin for 'isolated pawns are weak'?

Still, the fact remains that the Chinese have learnt to play well and have done so very quickly. Judging by the present rate of progress their capabilities seem almost limitless. I wonder how Bobby Fischer would react to a Chinese World Champion.

This week's game is designed to show just how dangerous these Orientals can be. The Chinese No. 2, Chen Te, makes chop suey of a very experienced grandmaster. White: Chen (China). Black: Donner (Netherlands). Olympiad Buenos Aires 1978. Pirc Defence.

1. P-K4, P-Q3; 2. P-Q4, N-KB3; 3. N-QB3, P-KN3; 4. B-K2, B-N2; 5. P-KN4. A move that suggests they have not read our books. 5. . . . P-KR3; 6. P-KR3, O-O? A player of Donner's class should know better than

to castle into such an attack, but he was clearly conned by White's very innocent last move.

7. P-KR4! P-B4; 8. P-Q5, P-K3; 9. P-N5, P x P; 10. P x P, N-K1; 11. Q-Q3! With the very direct threat of Q-R3. 11. . . . P x P; 12. N x P, N-QB3; 13. Q-KN3, B-K3; 14. Q-R4, P-B4 (Diagram) Black had been relying heavily on this move to give his king an escape route, but 15. Q-R7+, K-B2; 16. Q x P+!! K x Q; 17. B-R5+, K-R2; 18. B-B7+, B-R3; 19. P-N6+! Resigns. He is mated after 19. K-N2, 20. B x B+, K-R1, 21. B x R+ or 19. K-R1, 20. R x B+, K-N3; 21. R-R7.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

THIS defence by one of the Argentine players in the recent South American Championships is impressive. I think

Dealer, South E-W vulnerable

♠ 8 3		♥ Q 7
♥ Q 4		♦ J 9 6
♦ K Q 7 4	N E	♠ A 8 6 3 2
♠ J 8 7 4 2	S	♥ A Q 9
		♠ A J 10 9 6 4 2
		♥ 10 8 3
		♦ -
		♠ 10 6 3

South opened Three Spades and North raised to Four Spades. West led the Queen of hearts, taken by dummy's King. Declarer ruffed a diamond and ran the 10 of spades, his idea being to prevent West from gaining an entry to lead through dummy's King of clubs.

East was Henry Tarrab, described as a fine rubber bridge player but not well known in the tournament world. It looks natural, when in with ♠ Q, to return a diamond, but that gives declarer no problem. He will ruff, draw trumps, and run the 10 of hearts, losing at most a spade, a heart and a club.

Tarrab kept the game alive by returning a far from obvious card, the 9 of clubs, which ran to dummy's King. Declarer can make the contract now if he plays Ace and another heart, because if the defenders do not continue clubs (allowing dummy to ruff the third round), the King of spades will draw the outstanding trumps. However, this depends on the trumps being 2-2 and at the table South played off several rounds of trumps, arriving at this position.

♠ -		♥ A 7 5
♥ A 7 5		♦ J
♦ J		♠ -
♠ -	N E	♥ J 9
♥ 4	W S	♦ 8
♦ K		♠ A
♠ J 7		
		♠ 2
		♥ 10 8
		♦ -
		♠ 10

On the 2 of spades West discarded ♠ 7 and dummy the 5 of hearts. East had only one safe card now, the Ace of clubs, which completed a fine defence. Clearly, if East throws the 8 of diamonds, he can be end-played.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



IN 1910, to celebrate the 80th birthday of the Emperor Franz Joseph, the Austrian Post Office redesigned the current definitive stamps, lengthening them to make room for the anniversary dates, 1830 - 1910. The low values of the series are still quite common but the three top values, 2, 5 and 10 kronen, are now scarce. This fine used example of the 10-kr realised £30 at a recent Phillips sale. A similar series was issued in the former Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose annexation by Austria in 1908 aggravated the rivalry with Serbia which provoked the First World War.

C.W. HILL

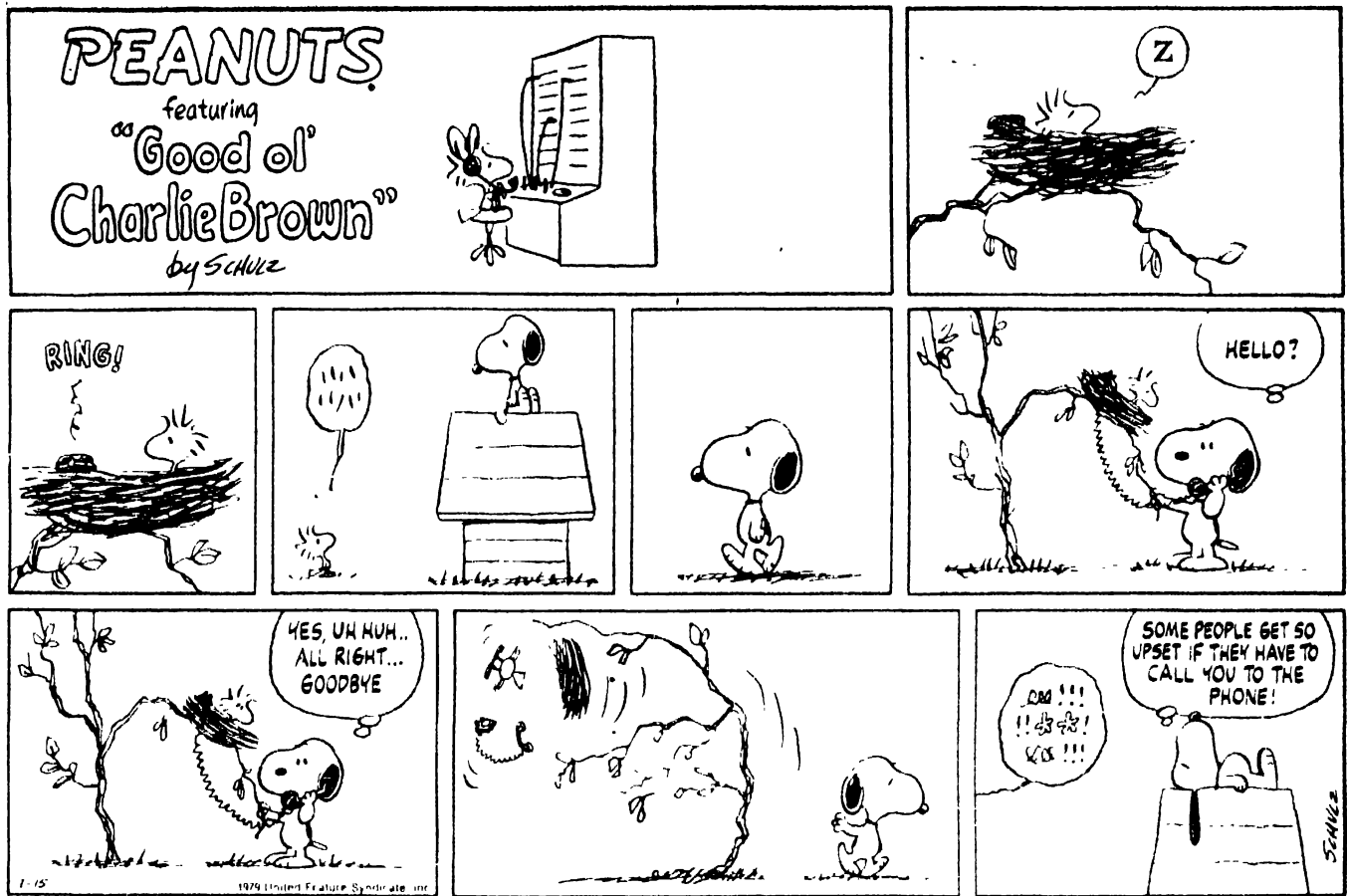
quiz

QUESTIONS

1. When was the Wall Street Crash?
2. Who were the 'Free French'?
3. What is the common name for sycosis?
4. Who were the Uihans?
5. In tennis, when was the longest men's singles' set played?
6. Who is a joey?
7. What would a group of chicks be called?
8. What is the most abundant mineral in the human body?
9. What is lycanthropy?

1. In October 1929.
2. The name given to the French men who supported General de Gaulle during World War II.
3. Barber's rash.
4. Light cavalry soldiers armed with lance, pistol and sabre employed chiefly as scouts.
5. In 1968, 70 games were played between John Brown (Australia) and Bill Brown (USA) in Kansas City.
6. The young of a kangaroo.
7. A clutch of chicks.
8. Calcium.
9. The belief that men may, by the exercise of magical powers or because of some inherited affliction, occasionally transform themselves into wolves.

ANSWERS



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DOWN WITH THE JANATA !

WHETHER this is a vote on his prohibition policy or on his Government's functioning, the fact remains that Mr Morarji Desai's regime is getting increasingly unpopular with the armed forces. In the recent elections to the Delhi Cantonment Board the polling pattern at the exclusive booth for the Army was, more than 60 per cent in favour of the Congress (I)'s candidates and less than 30 per cent for the Janata's candidate. The remaining ten per cent preferred other groups, including Congress (S) and Independents. The Prime Minister, of course, cannot be expected to draw any lessons.

GENTLEMAN PIMP

YEARS ago a leading local daily reported the get-rich-quick story of a "Cadillac pimp". The story was forgotten but the sobriquet has stuck. Now the Cadillac pimp has over the years spawned many a Chevrolet, Ford and even Ambassador and Fiat pimps in the capital. The Chevrolet pimp, like his guru the Cadillac pimp, came from the slums and today lives in a respectable residential area and is a name in social circles. He did roaring business liaising with the powerful and the influential in the bureaucracy and political circles so much so that a Japanese multinational adopted him practically full-time. The change of Parties at the Centre represented a small and temporary setback for him but now once again he is back in business in a big way, entertaining the influential in police, civil service and politics. But he is very strict on one point. He never gives his residential address to his business associates. This is for two obvious reasons. One, he never pays his house rent and two, why not be a gentleman in your own locality?

'NIYAM - ANUSAAR'

DELHI'S Chief Executive Councillor and RSS strongman, Mr Kedar Nath Sahni, is famous for his "niyama-anusaar" (according to the rules), just as Kamaraj was for his "paarkallam". The joke is that even to his wife he is known only as "niyama-anusaar". Sometime ago there was a meeting of local MPs and Metropolitan Councillors where Delhi Administration affairs were discussed.



Sahni was under attack from all sides, including a section of the erstwhile Jana Sangh. A leading MP from Delhi who heads the dissident group in the Jana Sangh was irked by Sahni's "niyama-anusaar" answers to queries raised by the members at the meeting. He got up unannounced and uncalled by the chair and before Sahni could ask him to speak "niyama-anusaar" and only when asked, brought the house down with his demand: "Sahniji niyama-anusaar to apko apna tyagpatra abhi de dena chahiyee" (Sahniji, according to the rules, you should resign here and now).

SORRY MR VOHRA

REMEMBER Mr B. B. Vohra? He is the Secretary to the Petroleum and Chemicals Ministry who was arrested in October 1977 along with Mrs Indira Gandhi and some others. Vohra, it was given out by the then Home Minister Charan Singh at that time, had approved a foreign collaboration which was "scandalous". Anyway, Vohra was released on bail and after a few months was "honourably" reinstated and the first information report, on the basis of which he was booked, was consigned to the dustbin. It is widely held that poor Vohra was made a victim by default. Mr Charan Singh, who had ordered the action, atoned for his "grave mistake" the other day. At the end of a meeting in the North Block convened to discuss the rationalisation of petrol and other petroleum product prices, the senior Deputy Prime Minister went up to the Petroleum Secretary and said: "Arre bhai, maine aapko pahchana nahin" (I couldn't recognise you). The secretary replied, "Sir, I am B. B. Vohra." Mr

Charan Singh said: "Acchha, acchha. Bahut galti ho gai. Maaf karna bhai" (Oh yes, I committed a grave mistake. Please forgive me.) Vohra, the thoroughbred civil servant that he is, politely mumbled: "It is all right, sir", and shook hands with the Chaudhury. The scar of insult suffered by a respected member of the civil service will perhaps heal now.

THE WAY TO JP'S HEART

IF you want to meet Janata leaders, go to Bombay. Some of them seem to be in Bombay far more often than they are in Delhi. Mr George Fernandes, perhaps to keep his union friends in hand, perhaps for other reasons, visits the city more than anyone else. But in recent times, Janata President Chandrashekhar has broken a record: in the last two weeks of June he was in Bombay almost every second day, for a host of reasons that extended from bringing Nepali leader B. P. Koirala for a check-up to Jaslok, to hosting dinners for the fast-recovering JP. On June 30, Chandrashekhar threw a gala dinner for his mentor, JP, and for all the doctors and the nurses who had looked after the leader who had once been given up for dead by the Government of India. It was a nice gesture, though an expensive one. Food for the dinner, which was given at newspaper tycoon Ramnath Goenka's Express Towers penthouse, was brought from the five-star Taj Mahal Hotel. The Press was not invited. The Press was invited, though, to the dinner for JP being given jointly by Chandrashekhar, Nanaji Deshmukh and Maharashtra Chief Minister Sharad Pawar. JP was expected to leave for Patna on July 7. Having broken all the promises made to JP, and forgotten the pledges made to the nation at Rajghat when they came to power, are the Janata leaders trying to please the man who brought them to power with all this soft-sell?

Footnote: Last word on the yo-yo arrivals and departures at the Indian Express: Bombay News Editor Krishnamurthy, who has seen his share of ups and downs in the turbulent Goenka organisation, has finally changed masters. From July 20 he will edit the Free Press Journal, which, Heaven knows, has had its own share of problems, the latest being a mysterious fire in the presses.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

HOLY COW!

Something's happening in Andhra...!

Not quite a land of milk and honey yet... but well on the way to it. A state without a Dairy tradition, but it has a proliferation of milk cows today. Milk for the masses, no longer a pipe dream. And propelling this change... The Andhra Pradesh Dairy Development Corporation Limited.

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Today, APDDC has spread the concept of organised Dairy Farming to the corner towns and villages of the state. Its network of 14 Milk Processing Centres, 10 District Level, 20 Clustering Centres, 8 Milk Collecting Centres, 14 Milk Processing Centres and 10 Milk Collecting Centres form the

nucleus of this vast movement that has set in motion far reaching changes. Through scientifically planned cross breeding, the milk yield of dairy cows has improved appreciably, a vital contribution to enhanced Milk Production.

For the first time, scientific Dairy farming has come to be practised in the State. APDDC's rigorous procurement drive (1,600 lakh litres are expected to be procured this year as against 686 lakh litres in 1974-75) - has resulted in new dairy units being set up as also small and medium farmers taking to dairying as a means of livelihood. As many as 5,000 literate unemployed persons have found gainful employment through APDDC's manifold activities.

With the enhanced procurement, APDDC has been able to bring

pasteurised milk to millions of people in the State. Milk sales are expected to go up to 1,100 lakh litres during 79/80, from 610 lakh litres in 1974. The APDDC Dairy Parlours, with their stocks of milk based products like Ice Creams, Flavoured Milk, Butter, Milk etc. have proved enormously successful.

Not only that, its milk products - the Vikaya Range - Ghee, Baked Eggs and Cheese have found instant acceptance all over the country. The Vikaya Range of milk products is today recognised as being as good as imported ones.

It's been a staggering rate of progress for APDDC, yet it has set itself more daunting tasks - to raise per capita level of milk consumption in the State to 300 gms. from the present 75 gms. and to cover 50% of the milk market of towns and cities with more than 1 lakh population.

ANDHRA DAIRY

Breaking the limits of growth



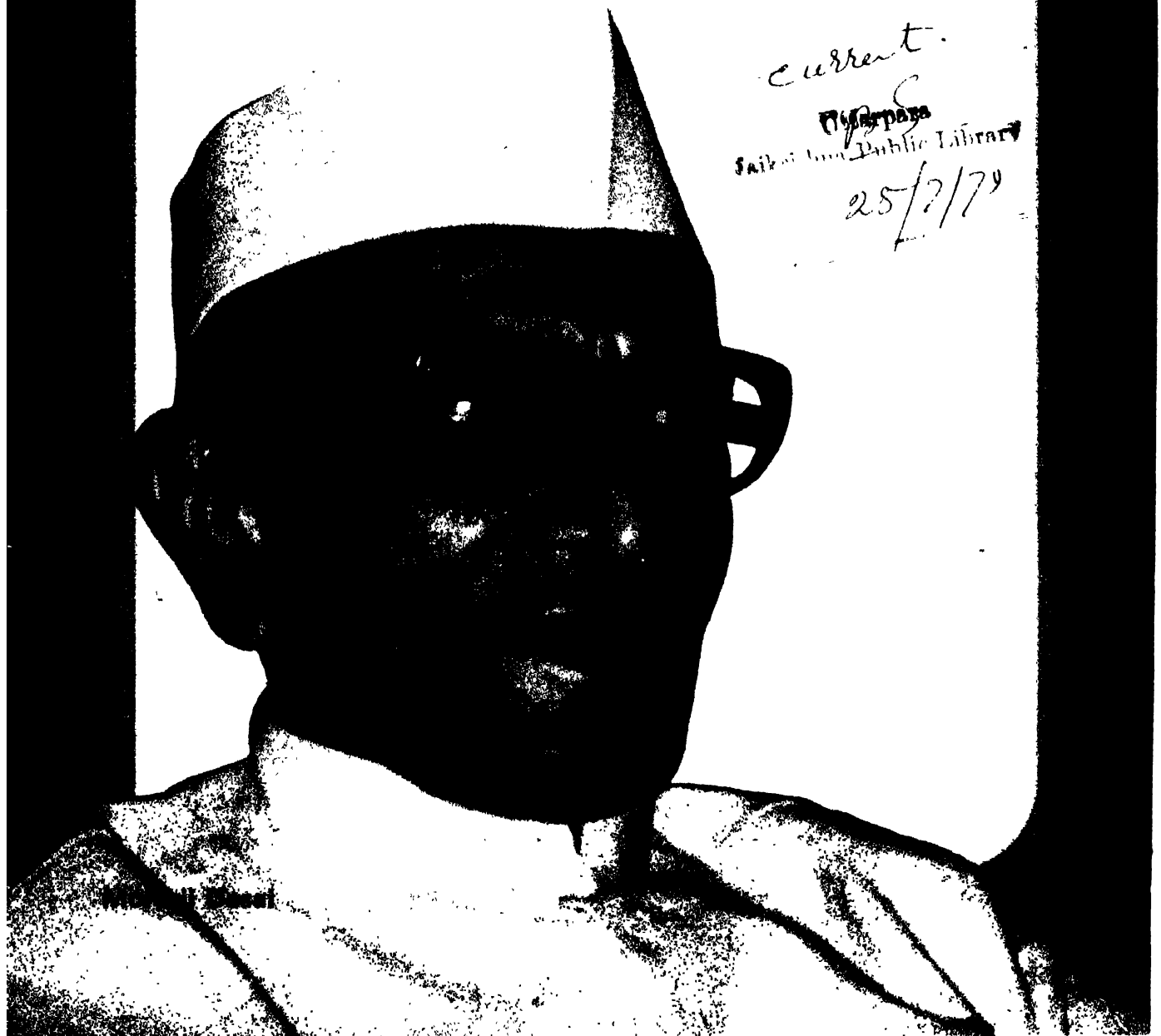
5 YEARS OF DYNAMIC DAIRYING

The Andhra Pradesh Dairy Development Corp. Ltd.
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SUNDAY

Interview with
Raj Narain

THE RSS'S KISS OF DEATH



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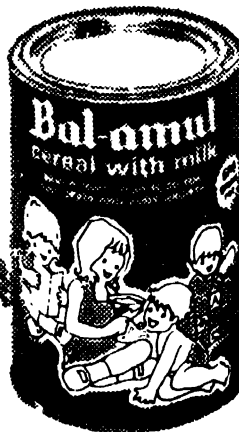
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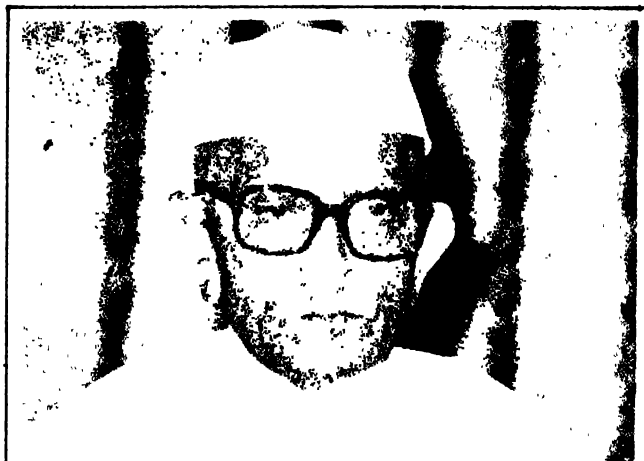
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Federation Limited, Anand.



Who 'killed' Morarji? The RSS, of course, besides Morarji himself. M. J. AKBAR describes the final moments of the drama that led to the fall of the 28-month-old Janata Government, KEWAL VARMA tries to visualise the likely course of future realignments, UDAYAN SHARMA examines the inherent failings of the unsung deposed leader and AJAY BOSE describes how the now historic first week of the monsoon session of Parliament passed.



Mizoram is on the boil again. The truce that ensued with Laldenga's arrival in Delhi in February '72 was broken when, on July 2, MNF rebels went on the rampage in Aizawl. At the root of this renewed insurgency violence is factional threats to Laldenga's position within the MNF, SANTANU GHOSH finds out.



S. NIHAL SINGH, Editor of The Statesman, spent a fortnight touring China by himself, minus the straitjacket of a delegation, and recorded his observations in the book "The Gang and 900 Million". SUNDAY publishes exclusive extracts from the chapter on Shanghai, where the author meets a typical family, witnesses an acupuncture operation and is taken on a tour of a primary school.

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Cover transparency by Pankaj Shah

Editor M. J. Akbar

Assistant Editor Subir Roy Editorial Staff Shubhabrata Bhattacharya
Nirmal Mitra, David McMahon, Saumitra Banerjee, Tirthankar Ghosh.
S. N. M. Abdi Delhi Correspondent Ajay Bose
Art Director Bipul Guha Asst Art Director Amiya Bhattacharya

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SUNDAY

Problems of Power Nepal Awakes!



Just for justice

WHETHER the L. N. Mishra case ("Who murdered L. N. Mishra?" June 24) was cooked up or was a culmination of existing circumstances is a matter for inquiry, not debate. But this much is certain that a deprived family was further deprived of justice. It is quite shameful that though incriminating facts about so many persons abound, we are ignoring the need for a fresh investigation. A fresh investigation would not be

vindictive; it would simply mean dealing out justice.
Angaraj Mohan, Patna.

A PROPER investigation was clearly thwarted by interested parties. It is ironical that an agency (the CBI) which is supposed to reveal facts and bring the culprits to book has tried to suppress whatever clues are available, to protect some whose interests are threatened.
P. Sudhakaram, Bombay.

MRS GANDHI and the Congress (I) leaders have characterised the Janata's attempt to reopen the investigations into L. N. Mishra's murder as a further example of their political vendetta against her, but from your cover story it appears that it is the Government's duty to reopen the issue to see that there is no miscarriage of justice. The Tarkunde Report cannot be blamed for pointing out the partisan manner in which the CBI had carried out its own investigations into the case.
K. Govind, Kuttippuram.

AT one point in the interview "RB (alias Bose) Jha talks" (June 24) by Arun Ranjan, Mr Jha says: "Dr Nawab of S. K. Medical College, Darbhanga, could have reached Muzaffarpur." It is strange that an ex-MLC should not know that S. K. Medical College is not situated in Darbhanga but Muzaffarpur.
Piyush, S. K. Medical College, Muzaffarpur.

ACCORDING to Arun Ranjan, Ram Bilas Jha prevented Mr L. N. Mishra from being treated on the spot. Mr Ranjan says that R. B. Jha did not allow Dr Jha to meet Mr Mishra, sent Mr Mishra to Danapur and prevented his post mortem from being conducted. Mr Ram Bilas Jha was simply an MLC and hardly influential enough to have gone to such a length. Also, Mr Ranjan says that L. N. Mishra had told his wife that Indiraji was angry with him. Mrs Kameshwari Mishra, Mr Mishra's widow had only said at a Press conference that there should be a fresh probe into her husband's death. From what source did Mr Ranjan know of Mr Mishra's private conversation?

Anadi Kumar Sinha, Bhagalpur

MR V. M. TARKUNDE was the lawyer of the Ananda Margi Ranjan Dwivedi, the accused in the A. N. Ray bomb-throwing case. Mr Tarkunde lost the case and Dwivedi was sentenced to prison by the High Court. Tarkunde's report on the Mishra murder case was highlighted by another Ananda Margi, B. M. Sinha, who was arrested during the Emergency for his involvement with the Ananda Marg. Both Tarkunde and Sinha wanted to give a clean chit to the Ananda Marg. When Mr Tarkunde had defended the accused in the L. N. Mishra murder case, how could he file a report in the case?
S. R. Shankarnarayan, Chikballapur

Native disadvantage

WITH reference to Shyamal Chakraborty's report "Tripura is no refuge" (June 17), I wish the Amra Bangali, an organisation formed by refugees who came to Tripura, grabbed land from the poor tribals, and drove them to disease and hunger, could prove how the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council Bill harms the Bengalees. Surely the people of Tripura have a right to safeguard their own interests? With the present Bill, the Chief Minister Mr Nripen Chakraborty has only tried to restore the lost status of these unfortunate people. The Bill only attempts to demarcate certain areas in the State where the tribal population could, without pressure from any quarters, partake of the day-to-day administration of these areas, as in the Karbi Along district of Assam. This does not mean that the non-tribals in these areas would be uprooted. What, then, could possibly be the Amra Bangali's objections? It has, after all, made no effort to socialise with tribals.
Capt A. R. Chowdhury, (retd.) Agartala

A FEW mistakes have crept into the report. Firstly, all the (eight) murders committed last year are yet to be proved to be "political murders", as Mr Chakraborty describes them. Secondly, the mass meeting held in Agartala on March 27 was organised by the Amra Bangali; the Ananda Marg, though supporting the cause of the Amra Bangali, did not come forward on this occasion. Thirdly, Nitai Sheel and Jogesh Saha, who died as a result of police firing, can at best be described as supporters, not members of the Amra Bangali. Lastly, the democratic front organised by the Congress, Congress (I) and CFD in opposition to the Left Front Government of Tripura is no longer in the form of a proposal but already taking shape.
A. Chatterjee, Agartala

THE fundamental fact glossed over by the Amra Bangali sympathisers is that before Independence, tribals constituted almost the entire population of Tripura, whereas they have been reduced to a mere 30 per cent as a result of the massive influx from the neighbouring States.
Maya Rawat, Calcutta.

Long and short

IN Barun Sengupta's critical analysis "Problems of power" (June 24) the author has failed to mention that the Left Front Government has adopted two types of measures to combat the crisis: one short-term and the other long-term. The first is concerned with temporary repair-work on the State's power stations. The second is concerned with the installation of the new power plants, which should be operational by 1983.
Bhaskar Sen, 24 Parganas.

MR SENGUPTA has left no stone unturned in order to find out the causes of the decreasing popularity of the Left Front Government among the middle class. The CPI(M) has no control over the increasing problems of unemployment, power shortage and transport in West Bengal.
Soubhagyabanta Maharana, Bolangir.

IN NO way does the Left Front Government represent vested interests. Its leaders in general are honest, though politics distorts images.
Pradeep Sen Gupta, Digbol.

Not by the letter of the law

I CONGRATULATE Ajoy Bose for voicing his concern about Lt Gen I. S. Gill's misdemeanour ("Are Generals above the law?" June 10). The Defence Ministry's double standards in dealing with cases pertaining to Generals and other ranks in the army are by now, clearly exposed. At this point, it would not be out of place to mention that this very same senior officer (Lt Gen I. S. Gill) was of the view that I should face trial by a general court martial for having written a letter informing his superior about the misdeeds of his subordinates, and thereby bypassing the normal chain of correspondence in the army. Accordingly, in 1974-75, although the contents of my letter to Lt Gen N. C. Rawley (who was the officer senior to Lt Gen Gill) were factual and my apprehensions about the factors compelling me to bypass the normal chain of correspondence were proved to be correct, many senior officers including a Major General were brought to book.

Whereas I was courtmartialled for a very minor lapse, Lt Gen Gill has been allowed to retire in spite of his notorious letter to a daily newspaper wherein he has insulted our nation and national policy. With the revelation of his level of integrity, all action taken by him in ordering a trial against me should be expunged and suitable relief for all wrongs done to me so far should be given me by the Defence Ministry or Government of India.
Ramesh Dhawan, New Delhi.

IT IS a fact that most of our country's elite are blindly pro-American and pro-British, as well as instinctively anti-Russian, and have at their head gasbags like Lt Gen I. S. Gill (retd). In his letter to the *Times of India* Lt Gen Gill has revealed his blundering tendency to deviate from the point as to whether Britain should allow racist public attitudes to persist or not. It does not matter if Lt Gen Gill wants us to feel indebted to the British Press for bringing such issues to our notice;

Joke, or what?

I AM amused — not amazed — at Rajendra Singh's reply (Opinion, June 24) to Santosh Bhartiya's brief report on his encounter with him (May 13). If the RSS chiefs think that by giving interviews to or buying SUNDAY they would enhance its credibility then they have to think again. By Jove, SUNDAY provides enough interesting material for us. I wonder if Raju Bhaiya could elucidate what he meant by stating that SUNDAY has a 'partisan' attitude. To which Party does SUNDAY belong? As you have written, if Mr

once the issue has been publicised, it must be decided on merit. Again, what the honourable officer calls a "fuss" over the death of "some person" is, in fact, a matter of life and death. To quote his own words, "no good purpose is served by these hypocritical attitudes".
P. A. Rai Choudhuri, New Delhi

I WAS amazed to read "Are Generals above the law?" by Ajoy Bose. I know Lt Gen I. S. Gill (retd) PVSM, AVSM, MC intimately since 1965. It is difficult for me to swallow the reporter's remarks in the sixth and seventh paras of his article. It is surprising that Mr Bose, being in New Delhi himself, did not have the patience and courtesy to check the authenticity of his article before publication. Those who know the General well enough will stand by me when I say that his love for India and loyalty to the past and present Government has always been unquestionable. He is too outspoken, without intending to be disloyal or offensive. Lt Gen I. S. Gill has not been superseded by Gen. O. P. Malhotra, the present COAS, because the former was the juniormost of all GOC-in-Cs at the time. So Mr Bose's remark is not only superfluous and unkind, but also shows a lack of knowledge on his part about the General. Further, since the reporter has shown ignorance on one score, it is possible that his other remark about the "General's son not getting an industrial licence" may be imaginary.

Col P. C. Das Gupta (retd), Calcutta

Ajoy Bose replies: Col Das Gupta is correct about Lt Gen Gill's supersession since although he is more senior in age than the Chief of Army Staff, Gen O. P. Malhotra, he was not technically superseded. I apologise for the mistake. As for Gen Gill's love and loyalty to the country and Government which Col Das Gupta so strongly asserts, I never questioned this at all. All I did was point out that Gen Gill's letter was in contravention of Army rules which I have quoted in full in my article. Col Das Gupta is strangely silent on them.

Singh had read SUNDAY a little more carefully he would find that it is not at all biased. SUNDAY reports everything with truthfulness and credibility — irrespective of Parties or individuals. Does Mr Singh know that SUNDAY sells like hot cakes throughout the country? If so, does he think that all those who buy and read it are nincompoops?

Denying that his face darkened or that he was angry when he was interviewed by Mr Bhartiya, I wonder as to how Raju Bhaiya could see his countenance while talking to another person without having a mirror in front of him.
V. B. Passah, Shillong.

Plain one

B K. YADAVA, Cuttack (Opinion, June 17) should know that airport security rules permit a passenger to carry only one hand-baggage on board, whether he is an international or domestic passenger. We have made inquiries and find that the statement attributed to the counter staff, as alleged by Mr Yadava, is false and denied.
P. Subramanyam, Sr. P.R.O., Indian Airlines, Calcutta.

From records

NALINI KAKOTY of Jorhat brought some charges (Opinion, April 22) against the Office of the Regional Provident Fund Commissioner, N-E region, Gauhati 18. I, as head of that office, would like to state the following facts. From the records of Tocklai Experimental Station, Jorhat, it appears that no member/employee named Mr S. Bordoloi (as mentioned by Mr Kakoty) was/is in that establishment. However, an employee named Mr S. N. Bordoloi retired from that establishment on October 31, 1978. However, the letter intimating the retirement of Mr Bordoloi was forwarded to my office on April 19, 1979. Mr Bordoloi has sent no application for the final withdrawal of his Provident Fund to this office. Hence the charge regarding delay in settling the Provident Fund claim is completely false and baseless. Regarding the Rs 1,500 gratis, nothing was brought to my notice by the aggrieved member. I request the member to substantiate the charge.

R. N. Banerjee, Regional Provident Fund Commissioner, N-E Region, Gauhati.

Big difference

WHEN Khushwant Singh indulges in scurrilous writing on his former master (V. K. Krishna Menon) he is being an Indian version of Malcolm Muggeridge. We are even told that a little malice in the system is good for a writer who wants to be interesting. But when Mathai writes about his former masters, he is being a time-server, a "namak haram" untrue to his master's salt.
M. K. Rathish, Kottayam.

MATHAI was not a domestic servant of Nehru but was paid from the public exchequer. Whatever Mathai had written about Shradha Mata is true, if one takes into account the Press reports at the time. There is no doubt that Nehru was a debauch, going by the Press reports on the incident's following his public speeches. But Nehru had one great quality: he never gagged the Press.
P. B. Mathur, Mysore

THE RSS'S KISS OF DEATH

By M. J. AKBAR

*Barbaad gulistan karne ko,
Ek hi ullu kaafi hai;
Har shakh pe ullu baithe hain,
Anjaame-gulistan kya hoga?*

(One owl is sufficient to ruin a garden, if there are owls on every branch, what will be the fate of the garden?)

AT 6.32 on a bright Sunday evening a white Ambassador, DHB 5600, rolled up to the north court gate of the endless Rashtrapati Bhavan. Prime Minister Morarji Desai, as well-starched as ever but looking just a shade harassed, step-

Kamaraj Plan, which first shunted him out of office, was conceived in July (though implemented in August). It was on July 17 that Mrs. Gandhi asked him to resign from her Cabinet—a move which sent him into the wilderness for eight years. Once again his dreams were being shattered in July. And once again his obstinacy and political ineptitude had contributed most to his defeat. Once again Morarjibhai had refused to see reality until reality slapped him hard. Even on the morning of July 11, 1979, Morarji Desai believed that he would win the no-confidence motion against him in Parliament by 103 votes. Who had



ped out. With him was his personal secretary, V. Y. Tonpe. K. C. Madappa, Secretary to the President of India, was there to receive him. Surely without implying any symbolism, he was wearing a black suit. In a few minutes the PM handed in his resignation to the President in the Edwina room of this historic residence. For some people, this resignation had come two years too late, for others, at least a year too late, for yet others, the resignation was a few hours too late. But everyone agreed. The resignation had come too late to save the Janata Party, and its Government.

July has been an inauspicious month for Mr. Morarji Desai. The



put this figure into his head is uncertain: One wonders if it was the Intelligence Bureau which has made a habit of misleading Prime Ministers (the most famous victim being Mrs Indira Gandhi). At 12.10 pm George Fernandes announced his resignation from the Government, and struck the final nail into the coffin. Morarjibhai woke up only after that.

And began struggling to get out. There is a saying in Punjab that an old man should not be considered dead until seven days have passed. Morarji's seven days began. He decided to resign to give himself some time to put together a majority, and declared his intentions by retaining his leadership of the Janata Parlia-

mentary Party. This was intended to pressurise the President to ask him again to form a Government as leader of the largest single Party. It was a move which surprised everyone, particularly those in the Janata, like Jagjivan Ram, who had decided to remain in the Party in order to become the next PM. This decision could only help the Opposition: It was virtually to envisage yet another unstable Government, whatever the new permutations and combinations might be in a totally floating environment. But in classic Morarji fashion, perhaps he was doing his last unintended service to his most bitter antagonist, Chaudhury Charan Singh — and simultaneously once again sabotaging his second great rival, Babu Jagjivan Ram. In March 1977, Charan Singh had made Morarji PM. Morarji was inadvertently, returning the compliment.

IN June, Union Minister for Petroleum, Chemicals and Fertilisers, Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna, had just returned from a trip to Moscow. He had signed a protocol there for the exploration of energy sources with the USSR. A protocol is an expression of intent, which can be followed up by the two Governments signing an agreement according to the rules of business. When Bahuguna returned to Delhi he found that the PM was upset about this, and was accusing Bahuguna of favouring the Russians. Bahuguna, said the PM, should have taken Cabinet approval prior to signing the protocol. This upset Bahuguna. There was nothing exceptional in what he had done; other Ministers had signed protocols of partnership with different countries without Cabinet approval. In any case, there was a long and continuing history of collaboration with the Russians in this area: Russian experts are still working with us, Bombay High was first spotted by Soviet experts. In any case, Bahuguna asked his bureaucrats to check up how they had reached a position where this protocol had been proposed and signed. And they found something quite interesting: The origins lay in an agreement signed between Morarji Desai and Kosygin during the latter's visit to India. This was normal follow-up which Bahuguna had done.

Bahuguna was upset and pleaded ill health to avoid attending a Cabinet meeting in June. After the Cabinet meeting was over, a visitor dropped in to see Bahuguna: Chaudhury Charan Singh. Soon, others arrived: Raj Narain, Rabi Ray, S. N. Mishra, Karpoori Thakur and the troubled Devi Lal. The talk naturally revolved around Morarji, how he was handling the Government, and the RSS. *Kuch kiya jaaye*, (Let us do something) was the consensus. S. N. Mishra suggested that if 30 MPs could be weaned away and the Government turned into a minority, a real effort could be made to change the PM. No, it was generally agreed, that wouldn't work—too messy and uncer-

tain a method. Finally Raj Narain settled the argument, at least as far as he was concerned. "Let me at least get out", he said. Nobody was certain about what that would achieve, least of all Chaudhury Charan Singh. But sure enough, Raj Narain left. Very alone.

To the great "sensible" and "responsible" leaders of the Janata Party, Raj Narain's departure was a relief. No one, but no one, had any idea of what was to come. The back-room analysts were making the mistake that so many people had made before: They were underestimating the victor of Rac Bareilly. Everyone was aware vaguely that Raj Narain had begun his campaign against the RSS last year, that he would keep talking about the problem—but who realised that Raj Narain would so successfully and dramatically rip apart the politics of compromise with communalism, would so mercilessly line up people that everyone would be forced to stand up and be counted and be remembered for where he stood? Who realised that Raj Narain would shred the Party into strands by twisting the raw and exposed and vulnerable nerve running through the body politic, the RSS?

AND yet it should have been obvious to the seasoned men trotting through the corridors of power that this would happen. But power dazzles so much it blinds

people, who then spend their time rationalising their inability to see. The main argument of those still with the Janata Party, and therefore with the Jana Sanghis, is that no question of principle has motivated Raj Narain, only a desire to see the Chaudhury as the next Prime Minister. Secondly, they say, why has the RSS suddenly become untouchable? One could go on indefinitely trying to argue on the first count, but there is certainly an answer for the second question. When the Janata was formed, all its constituents promised to give up their old identities, and work together for a secular, rural-based programme. All that the anti-Jana Sangh forces have been demanding is an implementation of these promises. The constitution of the Janata Party has specifically said that no communalist will be allowed to become a member of the Party, so why has not the Party been able, as yet, to solve the problem of the dual membership — that is, thrown out those members of the Janata, like Nanaji Deshmukh or Kushabhau Thakre who also happen to be members of the RSS? Moreover, what people like Chandrashekhar have not sufficiently appreciated is that in these two years, communalism has become a serious problem; it has become an issue which is losing the Janata votes, which is alienating the Janata into a small corner. Anyone who could articulate this issue effectively was bound to become a hero. Raj Narain has become a hero.



Everyone, even those non-Jana Sanghis who have sought to seek their political fortunes within the Janata maintain today that they spoke about this question in Party forums. The most favourite word in Delhi today is 'morality': if the politicians do not stop throwing this word around they may succeed in changing the meaning of this decent word. With glass houses shattering and tempers becoming shrill, with self-justification taking precedence over ideology, Delhi became a mad-house and Parliament's Central Hall a sharebroker's market in the second week of July. And yet, Raj Narain had managed to colour the controversy with the one issue which could raise it from the level of simple power politics.

The first time that the question of dual membership and RSS infiltration in the Janata Party became the cause of a major wrangle was in April 1977, at Sarnath, where the youth wings of the various Janata constituents met to form a common youth body: the move had the blessings of all the Janata leaders, including JP. But it was here that the non-Jana Sanghi youth leaders put their foot down: they would not allow a merger until the question of dual membership had been settled; they were not going to allow their organisation to be infiltrated by the RSS, which had officially and legally no place in the Janata Party. Young leaders like K. C. Tyagi, Vinay Kumar, Markandey Singh, Rajendra Chowdhury, Sharad Yadav, Raj Kumar Jain, Mithilesh Singh and Chandramani Tripathi were firm in rejecting the sage advice of the elders. If the elders had been equally firm in their minds when it came to settling the problems of the parent Party, the

Janata might still have been in power.

Not that the issue was ignored. Clause Five of the Janata Constitution was authored by Bahuguna. Raj Narain, Mrs Mrinal Gore etc — only Sunder Singh Bhandari of the drafting subcommittee dissented, because he realised the consequences of debarring members of a communal organisation. Chaudhury Charan Singh publicly asked that this issue should be settled. Madhu Limaye began a campaign against the RSS. And why should he not? Nowhere was it mentioned that the RSS was part of the Janata Party—so how could criticism of the RSS be considered an "internal Party matter"?

However, the truth is that initially, for most of the leaders the RSS issue became a lever, to be used or not depending on whether the Jana Sangh bloc supported them or not. First the BLD-Jana Sangh distributed the northern States between themselves. But Chandrashekhar was also wooing the Jana Sangh. There was discrimination in his decisions. The BLD-ruled States were not allowed to have their men as the Party chiefs too, but three Jana Sanghis became State Party chiefs—Vijay Kumar Malhotra in Delhi, Kushabhau Thakre in Madhya Pradesh and Yagyadutt Sharma in Punjab. By early 1978, the Jana Sangh had come over to Chandrashekhar's side. They proved this when they backed out of the BLD-Jana Sangh joint effort to remove Chandrashekhar from the Party presidency. In fact, Subramaniam Swamy was the first person to give a call for Chandrashekhar's dismissal; Raj Narain was only the second person to do so. But when the Jana Sangh stopped its tirades against Chandrashekhar, the question

of disciplinary action against its leaders was dropped. Raj Narain became "indisciplined" instead.

But simultaneous with the questions of power politics, there was also the fact of the growing mismanagement of the country. Morarji was proving a disastrous PM, despite the benefit of two good monsoons and overflowing granaries. Corruption began from the PM's house. Today, prices have escalated either because of hoarding by traders or sheer incompetence. Social problems remained totally untackled. And worst of all, communalism became a critical problem. For eight months now, there has not been a single day when Aligarh has not been under curfew for some hours. Such a situation has no parallel. And no one in Delhi, within shouting distance of this famous university town, took any interest. Even H. N. Bahuguna, who has with good reason won the trust and affection of the country's Muslims, kept quiet: power had stapled his lips. He opened them to the media when he announced his resignation: there was cleavage in the country between secular and non-secular forces and he knew where his place was; he had been a deadweight in the Desai Government. He spoke of the disillusioned mood of the country. He felt sorry the Janata Party had changed as it had. "The people had not voted for communalism in 1977," he said, sitting on a cane chair on the lawns of his house at 5 Sunehari Bagh Road, as reporters and photographers strained around him. To Bahuguna's right sat Fazlur Rahman, the CFD Minister of State for Planning. To his left sat one of the men who had played a major part in bringing down the Desai Government, the tall and craggy Devi Lal, until recently Chief Minister of Haryana, and, till not very long ago a political opponent of Bahuguna. Devi Lal had a totally scrutable smile on his face.

When the Janata came to power, Bahuguna and the Chaudhury were in opposite camps; it was an opposition based on their respective political histories. They had fought each other on the battlegrounds of Uttar Pradesh. Bahuguna just pipping Charan Singh at the post when he kept the State for the Congress in the crucial 1974 Statewide elections. For a long while, Bahuguna fought Desai's battles for him against the Chaudhury. Some months ago, Raj Narain decided that he could not unseat Morarji without the help of Bahuguna, a master strategist in his own right. Moreover, the main issue of Raj Narain's crusade, since the Aligarh riots, had become the RSS and communalism. Surely, on this point they could meet. They met.

And once again the battlegrounds of UP proved crucial, but this time to cement the Bahuguna-Chaudhury alliance. In January, Ram Naresh Yadav made a pre-emptive strike against the RSS in Lucknow and eventually lost his Chief Minister-

Jaggiwan Ram flanked by Krishna Kant, Ram Dhan and other supporters



ship. Raj Mangal Pandey, a close relation and a lifelong political associate of Bahuguna, became the choice of the pro-RSS and anti-Chaudhury forces. Pandey would have been the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh today, but for one thing. Bahuguna withdrew his support to him. On February 28 of this year, Pandey was defeated, and a new coalition came into being in Indian politics: this was called the "UP line".

Two months nineteen days later, while the air of Bihar was still stinking of the corpses of Jamshedpur where an RSS MLA had played a significant part in startling communal riots, Babu Jagjivan Ram walked out of this "UP line" and backed the Jana Sangh, providing the crucial votes to Ram Sunder Das to defeat Karpoori Thakur. A little more than a month later, this pattern was repeated in Haryana. The partners of Bihar, backed by a handful of MLAs who had a personal grudge against Devi Lal, threw him out of power. And the man who became Chief Minister was a Jagjivan Ram nominee, Bhajan Lal. Bhajan Lal's unsavoury record made no difference to his supporters. But that was the last straw. The camel's back was well and truly broken after that by four men: Raj Narain, H. N. Bahuguna, Devi Lal and Karpoori Thakur. Chaudhury Charan Singh played no part initially in toppling Morarji Desai. In fact, the revolt against Morarji Desai was also a revolt against Chaudhury Charan Singh.

THERE have always been two camps in the large body of advisers which Chaudhury Charan Singh has. They might be called the Raja Surajmal camp and the Chaudhury Chotu Ram camp. Surajmal was the first jat to capture Delhi; he did not rule for very long, but he ruled, and he has the distinction of being the only jat who did so. Chotu Ram was a very disunited and powerful man; he served on the Viceroy's Council. The hawks have advocated that Charan Singh should either be the PM or continue his political battles outside the confines of Government. The doves have preferred to see Chaudhury as a responsible senior Minister in the Government of Morarji Desai, fighting his battles to become PM from within. In June and July, the Chaudhury was totally on the side of the doves.

As mentioned, the Chaudhury was sceptical on the June evening when Raj Narain suggested resignation. This time, Raj Narain suggested, the leadership of the Janata was not the only issue; it was in fact the secondary issue. This time he would make the Jana Sangh and communalism the issue. That meeting broke up. Raj Narain had already been expelled from the national committee of the Janata Party by one of its sub-committees—a curious anomaly, but one which we can let pass as immaterial. On June 23, Raj Narain resigned. On this day too the Janata

Parliamentary Board asked Devi Lal to seek a fresh vote of confidence within three days. On June 25, Raj Narain went off to Rohtak to address kisan rallies organised by Devi Lal: within the stipulated time Devi Lal lost his Chief Ministership. Now the hawks got active: Ram Naresh in UP, Kumbharam Arya in Rajasthan, Devi Lal in Haryana, Karpoori Thakur in Bihar. On July 6, three days before the start of the dramatic monsoon session of Parliament, Devi Lal and Karpoori Thakur had come to Delhi; on Raj Narain's request.

Meanwhile a climate of dissent against Morarji Desai was building up. Madhu Limaye and George Fernandes called a convention of old Socialist Party members on July 8 and 9. The letter which Fernandes sent out to his old comrades was a severe indictment of Desai's leadership. Addressed from 9 Motilal Nehru Marg, his ministerial re-



H. N. Bahuguna

sidence, Fernandes' letter said the Janata victory had proved "a false dawn". "The (Janata) began with the ethos and elan of a liberal socialist Party, but has ended like a new edition of the Congress...it soon became clear that this was only a Party of restoration and would carry out no reforms whatever as promised in the Janata manifesto...The situation is becoming more and more alarming". The last chairman of the Socialist Party said that it was not necessary to break the Janata Party yet, but insisted that "The concept of Hindu Rashtra or supremacy of Hindu culture is not consistent with secularism...No member of the Janata Party can believe that a believer of any religion is an alien in this country and that he requires cultural assimilation". The letter also outlined the failures in the economic field, while praising the successes—but pointed out, in effect, that the failures damaged the Party far more than the successes helped it. These views were accepted in the "Conclusions of the Two-day Consultation of Socialists in Delhi, July 7 and 8, 1979".

In practical terms, what George Fernandes and Madhu Limaye were proposing to do was to create an

internal crisis within the Janata by demanding action on Clause Five of the Constitution, and forcing a change in the leadership. But the two did have differences about who should be the next PM: George opted for Jagjivan Ram, Madhu obviously thought Charan Singh would be a more reasonable choice. But neither would turn that into a hard line.

They were overtaken by events set in motion by Raj Narain. Even as Delhi was echoing with the success of the Socialist convention, on Monday July 9 Raj Narain announced that nine other MPs were resigning from the Janata Party. To the five hardcore Raj Narain MPs, Devi Lal had added four of his men in Parliament: his son-in-law M. Lather, Manoharlal Saini, Chaudhury Hari Ram and Maniram Bagri. The doves in Chaudhury's camp were perturbed and they actually began telephoning MPs to say that this was Raj Narain's personal decision, and the Chaudhury had not sanctioned the resignations, which was true. The Chaudhury had even humiliated Raj Narain publicly, but Raj Narain ignored the taunts and continued his work. The next day, Karpoori Thakur's supporters from Bihar left the Party. There were a total 11 resignations. On July 11, 12 more MPs left the Party. The floodgates were opening.

By now, the Chaudhury had woken up; the doves too realised that Raj Narain had brought it off. The green signal now came from the Chaudhury's house, and all the Bhartiya Kranti Dal (the original Party of the Chaudhury when he left the Congress) MPs began resigning. The environment turned in Raj Narain's favour. The RSS issue was sounding the death knell of the Desai Government and the Janata Party. The organisation was paying the price for the dithering with which it had expected to bluff its way through for four or five years.

WITH wilderness staring at him in the face, the Jana Sangh began hectic lobbying to salvage the Party. If the revolt could be kept down to just the Raj Narain-Chaudhury activists, there might still be a chance of saving the Janata Government. All eyes were fixed on four people: Bahuguna, Biju Patnaik, George Fernandes and Madhu Limaye. There were three arguments put forward by the status quo-ists: there was no possibility of a stable Government outside the Janata spectrum; if a change in leadership and the dual membership decision was necessary, as seemed likely now, then these issues could be taken up within the Party forums after the Janata had stood together to defeat the no-confidence motion against the Government; and lastly, why should anyone fall into the trap of the Chaudhury's power politics?

Till Wednesday, the Janata establishment was quite sure that it would win. Even the opposition Parties, though they had brought in a

formal no-confidence motion, did not seem all that eager to actually bring down the Government. Even Sheikh Abdullah (who could have had no love lost for either the Jana Sangh or Morarji after their behaviour towards him) had publicly declared himself in favour of stability, because he was convinced that uncertainty in Delhi would be bad for the nation at this stage. Sheikh Abdullah has only two MPs but his influence in national politics extends much further than many leaders with ten times that number of MPs behind them. The CPI(M) too was hesitating. The Socialists led by Fernandes were working towards compromise and a solution within the Party.

Thursday, July 12, was probably the worst day of the week for the dissidents. Rumours swept the capital that the return of the MPs into

the fold had begun. Dr Murli Manohar Joshi, from the Jana Sangh, told journalists after a dinner at the UP Niwas that 12 MPs had returned to the Janata and the revolt was fizzling out (this was, to put it mildly, inaccurate, and, if it has to be justified, can only be explained as part of the psychological warfare that was so rampant that day). This dinner had been called by the UP Chief Minister Banarsi Das for his State's MPs and MLAs. But a far more important dinner party was taking place at Janata Party Chief Chandrasekhar's house at that moment.

Among the first "establishment" leaders to criticise the Government, and by implication Morarji Desai, had been Chandrasekhar and George Fernandes. Chandrasekhar and Nanaji Deshmukh, in Bombay, had agreed to press for a change in the

leadership of the Janata Government, and Nanaji had unilaterally offered the Jana Sangh's support to Chandrasekhar as the next Janata PM. Babu Jagjivan Ram reportedly had received similar assurances from the Jana Sangh. In any case, both these contenders for the Janata leadership had decided that their future lay in the Party, at least until they had lost the chance to replace Desai.

July 12 had also been very interesting in Parliament. The Lok Sabha had heard a galaxy of speakers discuss the no-confidence motion. Raj Narain had been vehement in his denunciation of Morarji. From Morarji's side there were two defenders. Ugra Sen, former chairman of the Socialist Party in Uttar Pradesh, answered Raj Narain sally for sally, witticism for witticism. But the star of the day was George Fernandes. He confirmed his reputation as one of the most brilliant orators in the country. In the end he was drawing praise from even the hostile Opposition benches. Even C. M. Stephen leader of Mrs Gandhi's Party, walked across in a fine gesture and complimented George for an exceptional defence of the Government.

But if this performance heartened the hardliners in the Desai camp, it dejected those who had still not made up their minds. Biju Patnaik's reaction was: *Dekho kya kar diya George ne* (Look what George has done). Bahuguna commented: *"Dil chota kar diya George ne"* (George has made me dejected). Madhu Limaye was not happy about the fact that Fernandes had taken the lead in defending the Government when even the Ministers from the Jana Sangh had not spoken yet. (The most interesting part of it all was that Fernandes was snubbed, after his performance by the very people who should have been happiest. In the news over All India Radio that night, Fernandes' defence of the Government, which should have been among the lead items by any sense of newsworthiness, was downplayed to after the middle of the bulletin. Instead, the Jana Sangh spokesman of the Janata, like Mr Murli Manohar Joshi, who had not even called a Press conference let alone speak in Parliament, was given the honour of the second lead. In fact, AIR's performance through this crisis has been pro-Jana Sangh and pro-Morarji—in exactly the way it used to be pro-Indira in the old days. Is Mr Advani listening?).

However, it was in such a context that Atal Behari Vajpayee, Biju Patnaik, Rabi Ray, Madhu Limaye and S. N. Mishra, a group representing almost all the points of view in the Janata, met at Chandrasekhar's house. Vajpayee, on behalf of the Jana Sangh, seemed sincere about making compromises in order to save the Janata Party (in retrospect, it is certain that he would not have been able to carry the Jana Sangh with him; he was on Saturday and Sunday bitterly criticised by Jana

The melting pot

CHANDRAJIT Yadav had just returned to his house on Humayun Road after meeting Kashmir Chief Minister Sheikh Abdullah. Abdullah had told Chandrajit, "It's not a question of Morarji. We will support any strong Government at the Centre. Otherwise the army will come to Kashmir." The phone rings. It's an agency reporter informing Yadav of Morarji's resignation. Within minutes the phone rings again: this time it is Rajni Patel. "Babuji resigned a few minutes back", says Patel (this later proved to be incorrect). Sitting with Patel is Karpoori Thakur. He wants to speak to Chandrajit. He wants to know whether the Congress (S) is still standing by its commitment to the Charan Singh group. "We will stand by you but you must convince some members of your group that they cannot take us for granted. As far as you are concerned we would like to join hands with you but there are some members in your group who are acting difficult. But don't worry, we are with you", Chandrajit tells him. Turning to me, Chandrajit says, "We are still afraid of the old man (Charan Singh). He is as rigid and prejudiced as Morarji."

The phone rings once again. This time it is Chandrasekhar Singh, Member of Parliament from Benaras. Chandrasekhar Singh was one of the first MPs who left the Janata Party along with Maniram Bagri on the first day. Chandrasekhar Singh tells Chandrajit that there are feelers from Babuji to organise a fresh defection from those MPs of the Raj Narain group who have already defected on non-backward caste lines. "We want to know

what Babuji's strength is. Are you supporting him or Charan Singh?", Chandrasekhar Singh wants to know. Chandrasekhar Singh is a Rajput, and therefore not a natural case ally of the Chaudhury's backward castes.

The night before, when Chandrajit had met Jagjivan Ram, Babuji had hinted quite clearly that he did not mind breaking from the Jana Sangh and joining the Congress (S) if he was promised the Prime Ministership. "He was still calculating which side could ensure his Prime Ministership. One thing is certain, Babuji is ready to sit with the Jana Sangh in Parliament only if he becomes Prime Minister," says Chandrajit. Chandrajit rings up Y. B. Chavan. Chavan tells him that Morarji had rung him up with a last-minute call for help but he (Chavan) had refused him.

Meanwhile there is a phone call from Rajni Patel again. It seems that another drama is taking place in Bombay. Taking the opportunity of the political chaos at the Centre, Vasantdada Patil is trying to topple his bete noire Sharad Pawar's Government in Maharashtra. "For God's sake send someone to Bombay. Dada should be told not to do such a thing when there is a national crisis is going on", Chandrajit tells him. The afternoon of jangling phone calls ends with Chandrajit rushing off to room 410 at the Taj Hotel where Rajni Patel is staying. An emergency meeting of the Congress (S) is being held there to decide the Party's strategy to deal with the crisis.

AJAY BOSE
New Delhi

Sangh MPs for offering to change the Jana Sangh stands, and Balasaheb Deoras snubbed him for talking on behalf of the RSS. The compromise offered was that the Jana Sangh would be willing to oppose the idea of the theocratic state which is on the RSS charter. The Prime Minister had already written to Balasaheb Deoras asking the RSS to give up its search for a Hindu Rashtra. Implied at this meeting was that if the RSS did not give up the Hindu Rashtra theory, the Jana Sangh would publicly dissociate itself from the RSS.

On the same day, the PM had been trying to contact Jyoti Basu, who was on his tour to East and West Europe. The PM's house was convinced that only Basu could persuade his Party to lend support to the Government. But while the PM was trying to gather support from elsewhere, a part of his own structure was crumbling. A meeting of the CFD was taking place at Bahuguna's house. Bhajan Lal, who had become CM of Haryana with Jana Sangh support, was pleading with Bahuguna to show "ethics". This was a strange plea, coming as it did from Bhajan Lal, who has rarely displayed sufficient quantities of this commodity. Bahuguna told him so. After this meeting, it was certain that Bahuguna would resign. Bahuguna had already made it clear to Vajpayee, again at a meeting in Chandrashekhar's house, that it would require something extraordinary on the part of the Jana Sangh to make him change his mind about leaving a Janata Party dominated by the RSS. Bahuguna really had no choice; if he wanted his supporters to remain with him, he could not associate with the RSS.

By Friday morning, it was also dawning on everybody that all the Muslim Janata MPs were resigning. The RSS issue had become now far more important than the question of who would be the Prime Minister. On Friday, the dissidents regained the initiative. Fortunately or not, Parliament was adjourned because of the water crisis (causing Inder Malhotra, Resident Editor of the *Times of India* in Delhi to comment in Central Hall, "This Government will go not only unwept and unsung, but also unwashed"), and the lobbying for MPs picked up pace. That evening Bahuguna resigned, with eight other MPs. Biju had also decided to cast his lot with the dissidents. Rabi Ray had left. Now there was one more important target for the dissidents: George Fernandes.

Fernandes had a resignation letter ready in his pocket. But it was not scheduled to be delivered to the PM before the no-confidence vote; it was going to be sent after the vote. He was committed to the decision of the socialist group that they would demand a change in leadership after the Government won the confidence vote. Fernandes raced around Delhi, telephoned, received visitors, received telephone calls. He was trying to obtain Morarji Desai's resignation so that Jagjivan Ram could be elected

leader of the JPP. By Saturday's Parliamentary Board meeting, four of its members including Chandrashekhar and Vajpayee had agreed to tell Morarji that he should resign. The PM, at this point, killed the chances of his Party's survival by his selfishness. He refused. He was not going to pave the way for Jagjivan Ram. And the arithmetic that he seemed to have worked out was astonishing: he was going to win the vote in Parliament, he said.

On this day, too, the hardliners in the Jana Sangh, particularly the backbenchers, decided that their leaders were being unfair to Morarji, the man who had stood by them when they were being criticised on all sides. This further encouraged Morarji to be rigid. A last effort was made by the peacemakers on Sunday morning, when a proposal was made to call a Parliamentary Board meeting. The PM refused to attend, and the meeting was called off.

On Saturday, Bahuguna had won over a very important national leader: Sheikh Abdullah. If a respected nationalist Muslim leader like the Sheikh decided to vote for Desai rather than against the RSS, it was certainly a defeat for those who had left the Janata on this issue. For one and a half hours the Sheikh discussed the problem with Bahuguna on Saturday. After that, he had altered his stand: he would be on the side of the anti-RSS forces. The Sheikh met all the important leaders. Around ten on Sunday morning he was at George Fernandes' house, and the two had a long meeting. At twelve o'clock Fernandes had resigned from the Janata Parliamentary Party and had taken his legitimate place in politics: against the RSS. If the decisions arrived at the socialist convention, particularly those relating to 'Hindu Rashtra' and communalism were to carry any meaning, then the other socialists should have resigned too after even effort to change the Janata from within had failed. But they chose the weaker course of compromise with communalism. The weaknesses and ego-clashes that have always split the socialist movement in the country had once again surfaced.

THE Janata Party collapsed because of four reasons: faction fighting by two extremely petty leaders; very bad government by Morarji Desai; the shelter given to communalism and communalists; and the total absence of any new ideas, either at the Government level or at the Party level. The pettiness of the leaders and their irresponsibility only sharpened the intrinsic failures in the public eye, dramatised the faults and lost the Party and the Government whatever credibility it had. The Janata Party has not won a single election after 1977 as the Janata Party: its various constituents have won elections because of the strength that their old Parties could command in various areas, plus the votes pooled in by the other Parties in the

coalition. And, as Raj Narain puts it, the biggest failure in the Morarji Government was Morarji himself.

But if that is true, the obverse is equally true. The biggest stumbling block in the efforts of the Janata (Secular) to form a coalition Government was none other than its leader, Chaudhury Charan Singh. The dithering and uncertainties that succeeded Desai's resignation on July 15 told their own story. No one was certain whether they were not replacing the frying pan with the fire. How would Charan Singh behave in relation to the working class, to the harijans, to the cities, to law and order? And the worst problem for people like the CPI(M) MPs, and socialists like Fernandes and Madhu Limaye was Charan Singh's flirtation with Mrs Gandhi's Party. That they were not willing to tolerate. What was the answer then? A midterm poll? Hardly one member of this Lok Sabha is confident about retaining his or her seat in the event of a midterm poll. If a vote were taken this Parliament would probably be unanimous only about two things: raising the salaries of MPs and avoiding a midterm poll.

By the early part of last week the scenario was set. Chaudhury could become PM only with support from Mrs Gandhi's Party — the paradox here being that he could also never be PM if she supported him. This alliance would only exaggerate the problems that others already visualised in his Prime Ministership. It was impossible to see the Left Front supporting Charan Singh in that context. Also, Morarji would never be acceptable, except by a miracle.

That left the Permanent Third Force in Delhi's power equations: Jagjivan Ram. But he could only be MP if the Jana Sangh MPs accepted the formula envisaged in Chandrashekhar's house on July 12: the Jana Sangh would have to make some gesture to create a distance between itself and the RSS. Or the Jana Sangh would have to split. The RSS had become untouchable after Raj Narain's campaign—in fact, this was Raj Narain's main achievement. If this could happen, Babu Jagjivan Ram would surely become the first harijan Prime Minister of the country—a long sought achievement. Bahuguna would surely come back to the fold, bringing back more MPs than he took away with him.

Since, at the moment of writing all this is hypothesis, we can contemplate the last possibility: the emergence of the proverbial dark horse. H. N. Bahuguna? Chandrashekhar? You pays your money and takes your choice. By the time this issue reaches our readers, the answer, with some luck, will be known.

A Sharad Pawar type of Government headed by Pawar's mentor, Y. B. Chavan? Heaven knows.

The moral of this messy story is in the doggerel at the beginning of this report: *Har shaakh pe ullu baithe hain, Anjaame gulistan kya hoga?*

Parliament's explosive first week

AJOY BOSE narrates how the tension built up

THE storm clouds were visible from the very first hour of the monsoon session of Parliament. Like a grand Master of Ceremonies, Raj Narain rolled in through the aisles of the Lok Sabha, resplendent in his green headgear, *chandan* shining on his forehead. Ignoring the Treasury benches, Raj Narain walked on to where the Opposition Members sat and took his seat right behind CPI (M) leader Jyotirmoy Bosu.

A few minutes later his chief lieutenant Maniram Bagri walked in sporting a huge green turban. He too ignored the Treasury benches, walked on to the Congress benches and sat behind D. K. Barooah, former Congress President. There were loud jeers directed both at Raj Narain and Maniram Bagri from the Treasury benches, particularly, from the Jana Sangh group. Few however had any inkling of what was to follow. In the afternoon, the news was announced by Maniram Bagri who was by then sitting in the CPI benches, that ten Members of Parliament had left the Janata. Even then optimism reigned supreme in the Janata Parliamentary Party. "Good riddance," was the general mood of Congress (O) and Jana Sangh MPs in the Central Hall.

It was only the next day that a sense of impending doom enveloped Parliament. Fifteen more MPs crossed over to Raj Narain and along with their defection came the newly-elected leader of the Opposition, Y. B. Chavan's no-confidence motion. There was a minor drama initially when C. M. Stephen, former leader of the Opposition, acting like a "dog in the manger" refused to support the motion. It was only Raj Narain's group and the CPI who stood up to support the motion. It was only later that Stephen realised the irony of his Party's stand.

The debate on the no-confidence motion next day started on a rather lacklustre note with a half-hearted speech by Chavan accusing the Janata Party of incompetence and inefficiency and asking them to "provide leadership or get out". It was a stumbling, confused speech, quite

out of keeping with the momentous situation.

The most significant thing that happened in Parliament on Wednesday was the absence of three Ministers—Charan Singh, Bahuguna and Biju Patnaik. It was an indication that the debate in Parliament had largely lost its meaning and that the events which would overtake the Janata Government and the country in the next few weeks was being decided behind the closed doors in Ministerial bungalows. Meanwhile, the number of the MPs crossing over to Raj Narain continued to swell in a steady stream during the day and by the next day had reached 47: the Desai Government had within two days been reduced to a minority Government.

THE next day was a day for Socialists in Parliament. Netaji (Raj Narain) himself took the floor in the morning. Carrying a pile of documents and books, Raj Narain was merciless in his criticism of Morarji. Quoting from Government records, he delved into history to prove Morarji's dubious secular record. Reading out a Government circular dated April 10, 1930 when Morarji was a sub-divisional officer in Bombay, Narain quoted an order accusing the present Prime Minister of "communal bias". The order had demoted him because he failed to control communal riots in his division. George Fernandes and Mohan Dharja were also targets of the irrepressible Netaji's attack. "George sahib, it is Swami and Hukum Singh Pechwan who accused you of being a thief. How long do you think a Socialist like you can sit with them?" Raj Narain asked Fernandes who was seen hurriedly leaving the House soon after.

Meanwhile, a strange drama was going on outside in the Parliament porch. Maniram Bagri was seen welcoming Mrs Indira Gandhi who had come to Parliament to address a Congress Parliamentary Party meeting. Bagri did *namaste* and Mrs Gandhi returned the greeting with a pat on his back. Back in the House another Socialist had taken the floor.

It was Ugra Sen, former colleague of Raj Narain, who was taking him to task for splitting the Party. "What do you want?" he asked, "a Party by defectors, of defectors and for defectors?"

Vasant Sathe spoke for a brief while but his oft-repeated lecture on the necessity of a national summit was punctured by the constant heckling by the bulldog-like figure of Jyotirmoy Bosu who kept on badgering him, finally provoking Sathe into losing his cool. "Who are you to talk? We all know how you enjoyed your second honeymoon with your wife while you were in jail during the Emergency," shouted Sathe at Jyotirmoy Bosu. The latter countered "Shall I tell the House what you do with the lady from Kashmir at your Vithalbhai Patel house?" with the no-confidence motion fast deteriorating into a farce.

Throughout the three-and-a-half days of the debate, no Cabinet Minister had spoken and with the absence of Charan Singh, Biju Patnaik and Bahuguna from the House, there was talk in the lobby that it was time for Morarji to get at least one Minister who was not associated with the Jana Sangh group to speak up for the Government. George Fernandes was the man chosen for this unpleasant task.

Making the best of a bad job and speaking just after a characteristically Congress (S) speech by C. Subramaniam, Fernandes took the floor and at once launched a scathing attack on the Congress. As a Parliamentary speech it was a superb example of bypassing the main issue—the division in the Janata. Not even once was this subject broached. Instead, armed with an array of statistics, Fernandes set about demolishing the Congress benches which he did so brutally and successfully that by the time he ended his speech there was hardly a murmur from the Congressmen.

The spirits of the Janata benches which had so far sagged considerably was suddenly enlivened. The "spirit of '77 is still alive," Fernandes asserted and for the first time there was some emotion in the applause that followed from the Treasury benches. A little before Fernandes started his speech, Biju Patnaik made his first appearance in Parliament after the debate started and he was seen rapping the table in support of the Industries Minister after he had made a forceful statement on the inability of the Congress to form an alternative Government.

But inspite of the applause he earned, regardless of the many Members of Parliament who came to shake his hand after his speech, Fernandes had only done the best of a bad job. Even Stephen came over after his speech and congratulated him on his effort. His powerful voice managed to captivate his audience like so many times before, but the voice was of the past and had little relevance to what was happening in the present and even less relevance to the future. ■

'I will bring down the next Government too if it is corrupt'

Raj Narain, the iconoclast, tells M. J. AKBAR

"Netaji" Raj Narain always looks relaxed, but on the afternoon of Saturday, July 14, there was a look of extraordinary contentment and peace on his face, now covered by a fine grey beard. Soon this beard could be shaved. Mr Raj Narain had begun growing it two months ago. He would shave, he said, only when his task was done. Now the defeat of the Government was only a week-end away, and the number of MPs either joining the Janata (Secular) or promising Raj Narain their support in the no-confidence motion

against Morarji was snowballing. Two MPs, separately, came while we were sitting there. They represented another handful of support, valuable support when the game of numbers was being played with such intensity, when bedridden MPs were flying in to Delhi to throw their votes. The man who started it all was munching fried bhutta (cobcorn) straight from a farm. "This is not the way to eat it," he told his friends sitting there (a group which included the last Chief Minister of UP, Ram Naresh Yadav). "I used to boil the

bhutta, lace it with butter and salt and then eat it." On his fingers rested three heavy rings. On his forehead was a large red tika. The walls of the small room were covered with pictures of gods and godmen (including a miniature portrait of Sai Baba), while in the adjoining room large portraits of Ambedkar, Gandhi, Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and Jayaprakash Narayan dominated the view. On the gate of his bungalow, Raj Narain's name is written in the curving script of Urdu: these images summed up the man.

Q: When you left the Janata Party alone did you have any idea that so many people would eventually follow you?

A: Dekhiye, I believe in the rule that if you believe that something is the right thing to do, then do not hesitate in doing it. And don't wait, walk away alone, and the caravan will follow. Dr Lohia was conscious for a while on the day he died in the Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital (then known as Willingdon Hospital), and he had said, 'Do not worry how many people are with you: If the purpose is right, and if the cause is for the poor and in the interests of the country, then even if you are alone, walk on. People in lakhs will come behind you.' I was convinced that if Morarjibhai remained the Prime Minister then this country would be totally ruined. That is why I resigned.

Q: Will the next Government be stable?

A: Yes. The next Government will be far more stable than this Government. But I have a personal belief: *Mujhe nafrat nahin thi angrez ke kaum-o-soorat se, mujhe jo bhi nafrat thi, woh thi andaaz-e-hakumat se* (I did not dislike the faces or the community of the English, I disliked their rule). *Aur jo apno ki hakumat aaj rahmat ho nahin sakti, to apno ki bhi, soorat se muhabbat ho nahin sakti* (and if today I do not agree with the attitudes of our Government, then I cannot have any love for our Government either).

Once, the average life of a Government in France was ten months. The point is that you must not get upset about a change in Government. Bansidhar is one of our famous poets, and he says, *badlo baar baar sarkar, do chaar baar ke adla-badli mein paoge barhiya sarkar* (Keep changing Governments: after a few times you will get a good Government). I have said this before: if the Janata Government is bad we will change it, and if the next Gov-

ernment is corrupt, we will bring that down too. That is why I have believed that it would not be correct for me to join any Government. I did not want to join the Janata Government (in March 1977) but when JP's letter came with a personal request that I should join the Morarji Government, and Chaudhury Sahab also insisted that I should join, and said that he would not take the oath until I joined, I joined. But I was not feeling happy while I was in the Government. The tragedy was that when I put an arm on the shoulder of a chaprasi, the reaction would be that how could the secretaries run their departments and enforce discipline if the Minister put his arm on the shoulders of a chaprasi? Understand? The social divisions that exist today, the ladders that have been created: where one person is a constable, then there is a head constable, then a chotka daroga, then barka daroga, then a deputy SP and so on: all these divisions must go. Where there are such divisions there must be only two or three now.

Q: The game of numbers that is going on now...

A: Our numbers will increase substantially.

Q: However many people come over to you, and assuming that you will not take the Jana Sangh with you...

A: There is no possibility of having a stable Government with the Jana Sangh. The meaning of creat-



When an independence movement could take place without the Jana Sangh, then we can also create a socialist society here without the Jana Sangh.



**The biggest failure
of the Morarji
Government
was Morarji.**

ing a "stable Government" with the Jana Sangh is massacre, anarchy, killing of Muslims, destruction of Christians, and putting the Adivasis and Harijans in a disadvantageous position.

Q: But you had an alliance with the Jana Sangh.

A: We had an alliance to remove the Indira Government. Our mistake was to take the Jana Sangh into the Government. When the task of removing Indira had been done, we should have put a stop to this alliance. We should have had a Government without the Jana Sangh. Has the Jana Sangh taken any part in the national movement? They always rebuked Mahatma Gandhi. When an independence movement could take place without the Jana Sangh, we can also create a Socialist society here without the Jana Sangh.

Q: I have never understood how the RSS forces, who publicly apologised to Mrs Gandhi and welcomed the Emergency during 1975, became part of the anti-Mrs Gandhi coalition during the elections.

A: You see, we went to jail on the first day of the Emergency. And those remaining, maybe Nanaji Deshmukh the secretary (of the Lok Sangharsh Samiti formed to fight the Emergency) ... Nanaji Deshmukh is an unusual man, he has a strange character, which an ordinary man does not have. He can talk in many tongues at the same time. On the one hand he used to tell the Jana Sangh people to infiltrate the Congress, but when this did not succeed, he became worried. Why are you blaming the ordinary worker of the Jana Sangh (for surrendering during the Emergency)? Look at their biggest leader: Balasaheb Deoras. After all, they believe in following the leader's decisions implicitly, that is part of their creed. They believe that one man's decisions should be accepted by everybody else. And they are totally against democracy.

Q: When did you begin feeling that the RSS was a dangerous organisation?

A: I have been aware of the RSS' danger since 1940.

Q: No, I am talking about after 1977.

A: I was aware of the danger of

the RSS from the beginning. I requested Chaudhury Sahab not to have any truck with the RSS. I told him that Balasaheb is a cheat. Chaudhury Sahab began saying: RSS ka dimmagh ab thora theek ho gaya hai (They have changed). Now, I was the last to be released from jail, and I thought that if everyone is vouching for them, then they must have changed a little. A section of the alliance was an enemy of the Muslims, Christians, Adivasis and Harijans — remember that Guru Golwalkar has written that the concessions given by the Government to Adivasis and Harijans should be withdrawn immediately — and I knew that their alleged change was a lie, a fraud, but I accepted the arguments of the others. Then, the Jana Sangh got far greater representation in seats than it deserved on the basis of its electoral strength. But when the Jana Sangh started demanding the Industry Ministry in every Government, whether at the Centre or in the States then I began to get suspicious. Not only Brijlal Verma, but in every State — in UP, Haryana, Bihar, everywhere. The reason for this was that they wanted to befriend the industrialists and take money in return. They started this. And when they had collected money, the RSS shakhas began sprouting up — about eight or nine months after the Janata came to power Ministers began attending the sha-

George came at last



**If there is a mid-term
poll then not a single
person from the Jana
Sangh will win.**

kha. Then I realised that it was not possible to work with them any more. Soon after this, the Aligarh riots took place. This riot, in a way, simply jelled together all the various thoughts and feelings in my mind: Now, I decided we should have no truck with the RSS. The final decision was taken after the Aligarh riots.

Q: Chaudhury Sahab has always seemed to be softer on the RSS than you.

A: No. Never. Despite Chaudhury Sahab being in the Government, he wrote the strongest possible letter to the PM and to the President of he



Party (on communalism in Janata). He was the first person to raise the question of dual membership in the Party, on July 8, 1977.

Q: What is your relationship with Chaudhury Sahab now, particularly after his recent statement against you?

A: Forget that statement, sometimes statements are made in irritation. Gandhi has written that one statement by an individual cannot be taken as the real view of the person.

Q: Did the Chaudhury have any idea that so many MPs would leave the Janata Party?

A: Now this I cannot say.

Q: There are two options open — an alliance with the Congress or with Mrs Gandhi's Party. You have, in the past, opposed both these Parties bitterly. Is there any possibility of an alliance with Mrs Gandhi in the effort to form a new Government?

A: I have engaged my mind at the moment in bringing down Morarji Desai's Government. Afterwards I will think about what to do (in the future).

Q: Netaji, this interview is being published in the July 22 issue of our magazine. Not tomorrow as newspaper journalists can manage to do. I'm sure you can give an answer to us (laughter).

A: (Laughs) How can I commit anything for the sake of your interview? If the interview is being published on Jul. 22, ask me this question on July 17, or on July 18 (laughter).

Q: What to do, Netaji, our printing process takes two days at least.

A: (Laughs) Change the process this time.

Q: Why do you think the Janata Party broke up?

A: When was the Janata Party ever formed? That is the question I want to ask you. The Janata Party never came into existence. Yes, a Government did come into existence. Those who were given the responsibility of forming a Janata Party proved to be totally unfit, unable to do so.

Q: Why? Are you pointing at Chandrashekhar?

A: Why only Chandrashekhar? All. They never formed any Party from the beginning. They may have imposed things from above, but they never decided anything from below. How a Party committee is formed, how a Party membership is created, how a Party leadership is created: They have never done all this. Our national committee looks like a conference.

Q: But you are also at fault.

A: Yes, of course. I proposed the name of Chandrashekhar, my mistake.

Q: Tell us; Don't you feel sad that the Janata Party is breaking up?

A: Me? *manaswi karya arthi, na gane dukham na sukham* (the man of action does not know sorrow or



Keep changing Governments. After a few times you will get a good Government.

joy). He who is a person who can keep his mind under control, does not think of sorrow or joy. He will remain a man of action, why does he need sorrow?

Q: Today, a spokesman of the Government has spread the idea that Morarji may step down and a Government could be formed with the people who have left the Janata and the Jana Sangh — that is, the old equation minus Morarji. Will you accept such a solution?

A: No As far as I am concerned I will not accept any such agreement. Let Morarji go. But at the same time, Atal Behari Vajpayee must go. Advani should, all the members of RSS should go, all the State Governments in which the Chief Ministers belong to the RSS, they should go. We are not against any particular individual. We are against the RSS on principle. This is a fight between Godseism and Gandhism. Do we want Godse or do we want Gandhi? If we want Gandhi, let all RSS men go, what we have done in UP will be done everywhere.

Q: Then will the Chaudhury become PM?

A: This I can't say, but the possibilities are there. This will be decided finally after the downfall of the Morarji Desai Government.

Q: What do you think will be the results of a mid term poll if it were held?

A: If there is a mid-term poll, not

a single person from the Jana Sangh will win. Atal Behari Vajpayee cannot win from his constituency, you can take that in writing from me.

Q: Do you think your Party will get a majority in the next national elections?

A: Yes. And this time we will distribute our tickets ourselves. You see what happens in Gujarat. But there is no possibility of a national mid-term poll taking place now. How can that happen? You must remove it from the minds of the people. No mid-term poll will be held. Those who are removing the Morarji Government are prepared to form another Government.

Q: How do you intend to solve the problems which have already assumed serious proportions; for instance, the bonus problem?

A: That is (comparatively) a minor thing. In a budget of Rs 6,000 crores, Rs 70 crores can always be found.

Q: What do you think, in summing up, was the major failure of the Morarji Government?

A: The biggest failure was Morarji. Morarji is a man without conception, without direction, without any willpower to do anything. He has got nothing. He begins to talk before any conclusions are reached.

Q: Do you remember that you personally made him Prime Minister?

A: That was my mistake. Chaudhury Sahab told me to take the letter and I took it. You are right in saying that if I had insisted at that time, Morarji would not have become Prime Minister. I am accepting my mistake. I got deceived. I had never been intimate with him. He was in Congress, I was a Socialist, and we always used to think him to be a reactionary. There is just one thing (in his favour): He was in jail for 17 months (under Mrs Gandhi).

Q: Do you now think that Babu Jagjivan Ram would have made a better PM than Mr Morarji Desai?

A: But Jagjivan Ram was the man who introduced the Emergency Bill in Parliament. That was the reason why he was not accepted as PM.

Q: Why do you think the Socialists never unite even at crucial moments like this?

A: The answer is with you. There are more than a hundred types of Socialism. How can you have one type of Socialist Party?

Q: Didn't you expect George Fernandes to resign too?

A: I was expecting that Fernandes, ultimately, will resign. This is a fact. But since he has not resigned till now, I am without hope now. Of course, he can still resign. He is not a defeatist. But when Madhu Limaye cannot persuade him, who else can? If he comes, I shall embrace George. (Note: George Fernandes came the next day — on Sunday, July 15).



Balasaheb Deoras is a cheat.

The insurgency game

Does everybody in Mizoram gain by the exchange of bullets? SANTANU GHOSH reports from Silchar after meeting rebel leaders (one of whom is the Chief Minister's son) and local politicians.



A rebel hideout in the Arakan Hills, where training is carried out

SLOUCHING in a swivel chair in the conference room of the Circuit House at Silchar on June 28, Mizoram's soldier-turned-politician Chief Minister Brigadier Thenphunga Sailo told a crowded Press conference that "The Mizoram Government has no real control over the outlawed rebel Mizo National Front". A pensive-looking Brigadier Sailo, 56, continued in his guttural voice: "Mizoram has been in the grip of a bloody insurgency for the past 13 years. Many Mizos and non-Mizos have become victims to the wrath of the MNF during these years... Sometimes people in Government even become helpless in the face of the MNF hostilities."

This candid observation of the Mizoram Chief Minister, only three days before the end of the threat deadline issued by the insurgents to non-Mizos, appears paradoxical in the context of the fact that Union Territory of Mizoram, with an area of 21,087 sq km and a population of 337,000, is a "high priority security zone" where at least one mountain division, a brigade of BSF and eight battalions of CRPF are billeted, while

the number of MNF hostiles is variously estimated as around one thousand. A senior officer of a mountain division in its tactical headquarters near Aizawl described the MNF strength as "peanuts" and said "we can crush these rag-tag desperadoes in the shortest possible time provided we are given a free hand".

But the words of Brigadier Sailo rang ominously true as the MNF guerrillas, in their hit-and-run jungle assaults, rocked the strategic Aizawl district of Mizoram soon after the expiry of the July 1 deadline for the non-Mizos to quit Mizoram.

I was resting in Aizawl's Circuit House on the quiet curfew bound evening of July 2 after an eight-hour bumpy ride from Silchar to Aizawl. It was 8.50 pm and suddenly the eerie silence of the hilltop capital's curfew night was pierced by pistol shots echoing from Mission Veng, an area in the capital's southern fringe known for its sympathy for the underground. The pistol shots apparently came as a signal for the 40-odd activists of "T" battalion of the insurgents to attack the Khatla Bazar

area near Circuit House and the transmitter installation of the 1 KW Aizawl station of AIR with stenguns. Through the window of my room I saw jeeps with troops racing madly down the street facing the Circuit House even as the MNF in a daring raid struck at the Shivaji Tilla area housing the police complex and the Arya Mess where the IGP and deputy inspector-general of police live. The insurgents sent a volley of shots aiming at the jeep of DIG (Special Branch) R. S. Chopra. IGP Ved P. Marwah had a lucky escape when snipers' shots swished past the car in which he was proceeding towards the police complex. After a seven-hour lull, rebels fired a few shots again at the AIR transmission centre. As the CRPF returned the MNF fire emanating from 303 rifles, the hostiles managed to slither across to their safe hideouts in the capital town through the labyrinthine jungle-paths so familiar to them.

This assault on Aizawl came a day after another daring attack when six rebels armed with automatic weapons raided the bungalow of Civil SDO Lutfur Rahaman Laskar, 36, a soft spoken Mizoram Civil Service officer, at Kolosib town on the Silchar-Aizawl state highway, and killed on the spot two CRPF jawans who intercepted them. That the MNF could carry out these raids in security-strict Aizawl without a single activist being caught or shot at during the actual act bears out the statement of Brigadier Sailo about the absence of "real control" over them. Interestingly, this is the first large scale shoot-out at Aizawl after the abortive MNF uprising in March 1966 during which the town was seized by about 4,000 rebels for a week.

The revival of terrorism by the MNF after over a decade has been attributed to non-Mizos remaining in Mizoram even after the expiry of the quit notice deadline. But the insurgency watchers trace the genesis of the recent violent developments to the escape of two of Laldenga aides from the chief's residence at Gulmohor park in New Delhi in early January this year to MNF sanctuaries in the Arakan jungles in Burma bordering Mizoram. The mission of the aides was to try for the rehabilitation of the architect of MNF insurrection, Laldenga, then in the doldrums after losing the presidency of the rebel body on June 28 last year and to revive insurgency on the fresh demand of total independence for Mizoram.

According to rebel sources at Aizawl, on the misty and cool morning of January 6 Laldenga's white Ambassador car rolled out of the Gulmohor Park residence with his two aides—Zoramthanga, 35, and "Major" Tawnluia, 34, while Zoramthanga was then the general secretary of the MNF, Tawnluia was Laldenga's ADC. Near the All India Ins-

titute of Medical Sciences, the car of the rebel godfather gathered speed but soon came to a halt under the swirling mists to allow its two occupants to stealthily disembark. Two New Delhi based Mizos who were waiting there scrambled into the car to hoodwink the intelligence men who were tailing Laldenga's car in a jeep. The aides who were already booked under fake names on an evening flight to Calcutta sped to the airport. On January 7, they boarded a Silchar bound Fokker Friendship and from there they went to Aizawl on the same day by car. From Aizawl, to evade the security vigil, Zoramthanga and Tawnluia trekked to nearby Tanhril village, stayed there for three weeks and then left for the Arakan forests with the apparent help of some Opposition leaders.

After the aides reached Arakan, they found to their dismay that the stock of Laldenga among the rebels was at a low ebb and the MNF was confused after three changes in quick succession in the top leadership. They also found that the MNF movement had temporarily passed into the grip of a mysterious Mizo-Kuki evangelist woman from Burma, Miss Parchi, who surfaced in the rebel headquarters in early September. This 35-year-old lady was known as a flamboyant anti-Laldenga rebel and she preached a bizarre gospel predicting the birth of a mythical Mizo hero in 1980. The newborn, according to Parchi, would lead the Mizos to their destiny. Parchi, who visited the link office of the MNF at Aizawl last year has been described as an attractive and vivacious woman with a fair amount of sex appeal. She had a Seventh Day Adventist background. Soon she floated a cult named Ramtutlung for a "covenant with God to redeem the pledges of Mizos".

Parchi brought Tlanchhuaka, 48, a Mizo from Manipur and then number two in the MNF set up, under her spell and began a high pitched propaganda against Laldenga. Parchi's grouse against Laldenga, whom she had never met, was reportedly endorsed by her one-time lover, Biakvela—an MNF hawk who severed his ties with the rebel boss after the July 1, 1966 accord between the MNF and the Home Ministry. The anti-Laldenga moves gathered momentum with many rebel stalwarts joining in. On October 25, Tlanchhuaka, in a dramatic coup—the third since June 28 in the MNF, captured power and sent two opposing "Generals", Kawlvela and Biakchhunga, to gaols along with their associates. The 45-year-old former Chin Rifles havildar, Biakchhunga, heading the biggest anti-Laldenga faction of 300 activists, became the MNF president on June 28 last year, ousting Laldenga in the first bloodless coup in the MNF. He, however, lost the position after Laldenga remote-controlled an agitation against him from his New Delhi residence.

But Parchi's rise was transient. She, believed by many as having an American connection, soon became

disillusioned with the rebels. She quietly married a Burmese Mizo, younger than her by ten years, and left for Paletewa in the Arakan hills to settle there. With this ended the evangelist as well as the romantic phase of Mizo insurrection.

As Parchi's spell waned, the fourth coup by a pro-Laldenga man, Rualchhina, on January 10 this year rock-



Laldenga, president of the MNF

ed the rebel hideaways. He nominated a non-controversial man, Malswama Colney, as acting president. Colney, who took over on January 24, is the younger brother of the president of the Mizoram unit of the Janata Party, Hrangthanga Colney.

With a pro-Laldenga man now in the saddle, Zoramthanga and Tawnluia found it easy to win back the allegiance of the recalcitrants numbering about 800. An election was held on April 24 and Laldenga rode back to the post of President on the crest of a massive support after a gap of about ten months.

Soon after his rehabilitation, Laldenga wanted to gain credibility by destabilising the situation in Mizoram. He wanted a resurgence of Mizo nationalism by serving a quit notice on June 2 on non-Mizos with a one month deadline. He also revived his demand of independence for Mizoram and the "Mizoram for Mizos" slogan which he gave up during the famous Calcutta Convention of the rebel leaders in February 1976. His faction's gamble of killing R. K. Choudhury, a PWD SDO, at Saitual, 102 km from Aizawl, on June 13 clicked as reprisals against the Mizos at Silchar, Choudhury's home town, produced a sharp anti-Vai (plains people) reaction in Mizoram. Laldenga wants Mizos to develop an ethnic exclusiveness as it will help him launch a psychological war fare against the Government of India and the plains people. The spate of snipings by the guerrillas are intended to deliver a message that only the Laldenga faction of the MNF has the strength to challenge the establishment. The rebel leader also wants to hustle the Central Government into accepting his terms before the resumption of peace talks, with

a deliberate spurt in terrorism. The peace talks that started after Laldenga's arrival in India in January 1976 fizzled out as the Home Ministry charged Laldenga with raising "impossible demands apparently for his personal ambition". In his November 14, 1977 letter to the then Home Minister, Mr Charan Singh, Laldenga demanded "Statehood for

Bad blood

JUNE this year was the cruellest month for both Mizos in Cachar and non-Mizos in Mizoram. Though their common heritage goes back to the beginning of this century when some enterprising Bengalee businessmen settled in Mizoram, relations got soured during some frenzied hours in mid-June. It all started when the dead body of R. C. Choudhury, a PWD SDO, who became the first victim of the renewed MNF terrorism, was brought to Silchar, his home town, in the early hours of June 15. Emotion ran high during the funeral procession and people in small batches started wreaking their fury on Mizos and Mizo houses. Three Mizos were reportedly killed.

As the news of the Silchar violence travelled to Aizawl, Mizos, known for their serenity and level-headedness, flew into a rage. Students and youths commandeered trucks and buses and started to wards the Cachar border in a four thousand strong procession. Many of them were carrying arms. It could have been a repetition of the Assam-Nagaland border massacre on January 5 had not they been pacified by the persuasive powers of Mizoram Education Minister P. Malsawma, 30. The dead bodies of the three Mizos killed at Silchar were handed over to the students and they were also mollified when informed of the total repatriation of all Mizos living at Silchar. A few stragglers among the students who returned to Aizawl, however, pillaged and burned non-Mizo shops in the early hours of June 17 at Burra-bazar, the commercial hub of Aizawl.

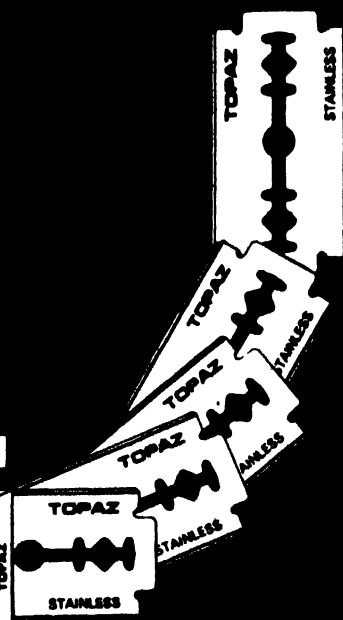
Till early July, the fear psychosis that gripped the Mizos at Silchar and non-Mizos in Mizoram had not abated. Not a single Mizo could be seen on the streets in Silchar, gateway of Mizos to outside world. Non-Mizos also dared not venture out in Aizawl streets. Cachar police however did a commendable job by quelling the disturbances in a matter of hours and rescuing about 300 Mizos, thus preventing the conflagration from spreading. The trouble-shooter police chief of the district, P. K. Mishra, was injured while trying to save a few Mizos from the mob fury.



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Mizoram with certain safeguards" and "a suitable office" for him in the all-party interim Mizoram Government during the transition period.

The current upsurge of violence is being spearheaded by a dedicated band of about 150 Laldenga extremists. They are under the leadership of one self-styled 'Colonel' Ralyunga the Union Territory commander, and are divided into six battalions—each comprising about 30 to 40 activists, including some new recruits. Other Laldenga hardcores—estimated at about 300—are at Dintnar in the Chittagong Hills Tract in Bangladesh for training and indoctrination. These insurgents secured their arms—mostly G3 rifles and stern guns—from China and Pakistan before the liberation of Bangladesh. Pakistan gave them mainly American arms. A crack commando team of 40 hostiles has been detailed for Aizawl town and its leader has been identified as "Captain" Malsawma.

An intriguing facet of the MNF insurgency is the rebel pipeline to overground politicians, many of whom are "returnees" from the rebel fold. These overgrounders are the clearing house for the intelligence for the hostiles and many of them provide shelter to the rebels who are in hiding or on the run. When I evinced interest in meeting some rebel leaders belonging to the Laldenga faction during a chat with a senior official of an intelligence agency, he quickly scribbled an Aizawl phone number on a slip of paper and told me that the subscriber of that number could assist me in arranging a secret meeting. Curiously the subscriber turned out to be a Congress(I) leader. Again, it was R. C. Lalrinthanga of the Congress(I) who allegedly brought the signed quit notice to non-Mizos from Laldenga in New Delhi.

Says Thangridema, 68, former Speaker and consultant to the break-away faction of the People's Conference, "Brigadier Sailo has himself a pipeline to rebels who belong to the Biakchhunga faction. He is openly backing them up as they helped him in the Assembly election in 1978. We want a place for Laldenga in any peace talks for bringing lasting peace in disturbed Mizoram. Brigadier Sailo is only trying to isolate Laldenga for his own political end. You cannot dub us as collaborators if we want this. "In Mizoram, where underground politics dovetails into that of the overground with no perceptible line of demarcation, Laldenga's chilly presence is always felt.

The Mizo code of ethics moves round "Tlawmgaihna"—an untranslatable word meaning that everybody should be hospitable, kind, unselfish and helpful to others. This compelling moral force binds on Mizos—who have a closely knit society with an intricate network of familial relations—to offer help even to a rebel. That is why four intelligence agencies working in Mizoram with their vast resources and manpower are often hoodwinked by the rebels.

Mizoram is now at the crossroads. The secessionist violence is causing bloodshed while Brigadier Sailo is trying to take Mizoram into the national mainstream through the developmental ventures. While calling out the army is not favoured as it will complicate the situation further renewed pressure may be built up on Brigadier Sailo to resume the deadlocked peace talks. But Brigadier Sailo has more than once expressed

doubts whether peace talks with Laldenga, who has again turned intransigent by reviving his independence demand last May, is the right thing to do now. Moreover, Sailo has made it clear that the peace talks will be mainly between the MNF and the Centre and the Mizoram Government will only help in the smooth progress of the talks. So the stalemate continues with Mizoram sitting atop a powder keg.

'I have not surrendered'



A LESSER known fact of the MNF insurgency is the involvement of the son of Chief Minister Brigadier T. Sailo in it. Eldest son of Brigadier Sailo, Lalsangliana, 32, who joined the MNF movement in 1966 surfaced overground in 1976. "But technically I have not surrendered", he told this correspondent in an exclusive interview at the Tuikhatlang link office of the rebels which faces the imposing building of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), popularly known in Aizawl as "Spook house". His father's official residence is only a stone's throw away.

A massive six-feet-two, Lalsangliana belongs to the Biakchhunga faction of the MNF which is avowedly anti-Laldenga. It is currently negotiating with the Mizoram Government the modalities of its laying down of arms and some related matters for the resumption of the peace talks with the Centre within the ambit of the Indian Constitution. A dropout of Shillong's prestigious St Edmunds, Lalsangliana rose to the position of a captain and was a staff of the 'State Security Agency' (SSA) of 'President' Laldenga's office. He claimed to have masterminded the escape of Laldenga from Burma with

the help of the Pakistani Consulate at Akyab to Karachi in February 1972 after the fall of MNF sanctuaries in the Chittagong Hills Tract after the liberation of Bangladesh.

He disclosed that he was the man who contacted an Indian intelligence personnel at a hotel at Kabul in November 1973 in a bid to smuggle out Laldenga and his family from his exiled existence at Rawalpindi to India to start peace parleys. After his jet-shuttle diplomacy in the next two years between Kabul, Rangoon and Kathmandu he managed to get Laldenga to meet an additional secretary of RAW, Mr Hasanwalia, on August 29, 1975 at Geneva. After the meeting, according to Lalsangliana, Laldenga threw a towel, typed out a letter to the then Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi in which he offered to come to India to negotiate peace within the framework of the Indian Constitution. Laldenga arrived in New Delhi on January 24, 1976.

Lalsangliana's references to Laldenga now bristle with invectives. He calls Laldenga a "greedy, self seeker and traitor". He revealed that during the escape from Bangladesh, Laldenga took with him Rs. 3.50 lakhs for his family members and a skeleton personnel staff, keeping only Rs. 70,000 for his 800-member combat group. When he met Bhutto in Rawalpindi for the first time he demanded, of all things, a Mercedes car for his use in Pakistan. He charged Laldenga with starting the renewed unrest in Mizoram and failure to honour his July 1, 1976 agreement with the Home Ministry envisaging a solution of the MNF problem within the Indian Constitution.

Lalsangliana said that the Biakchhunga faction was in favour of a political settlement of the Mizo problem within the Indian Constitution. His faction consists of about 300 activists but they do not want a showdown with pro-Laldenga hardcores as that would mean spilling a lot of blood. Fond of foreign cars (he owns a Vanguard) and photography, Lalsangliana is not a problem for his father. Asked if his son is an embarrassment for him, Brigadier Sailo said smilingly: "Ask my son."

SANTANU GHOSH, Silchar

How Dhanbad's police murdered a trade union leader

AJAI KUMAR MISHRA reports on yet another tragedy in Dhanbad, the region which trade unionist A. K. Roy calls a "South Africa...a prison where helpless people cry all the time".

"Good morning, Mr Prasad. Can you please tell me something about the murder of Mr Rasik Hansda. Mr A. K. Roy's lieutenant?"

"Who says it was a murder?" reacted Mr R. R. Prasad, Superintendent of Police, Dhanbad.

"We suspect something."

"It was not a murder at all. He died in a lathi charge. Had the police any grievance against the particular person?" asked Mr Prasad.

It was a cloudy morning on June 11; a welcome day for the average Indian peasant, whose fate hangs in the balance until the monsoon arrives after the long, hot summer. But that morning a group of about 100 villagers living around Dhanbad were angry. They gathered near the office of the Area General Manager of the Bharat Coking Coal Limited (BCCIL), the public sector company which mines coal in the belt after the nationalisation of the coal mines eight years ago. The villagers were mostly adivasis, and they had come armed with their traditional bows and arrows. They carried red and green flags; those who could not manage to get flags simply carried some red cloth. Red was the colour of the Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union, led by the independent Marxist MP, A. K. Roy, the only non-Janata MP to win in March 1977 from the whole of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh). Green was the colour of the Jharkhand Party, created to promote adivasi interests (Roy, though not a member of the Jharkhand Party, is heard in its forums). The place was Godhur.

The demonstrators tied the main gate of the office with manila rope, and prevented the staff of the regional stores from entering. On May 31,

the villagers had given notice of their demonstration. Mr O. P. Manchanda had already written to the district administration requesting a guard, and an armed force had been posted there. Despite their presence, Mr Manchanda decided he could not face the demonstrators, and went straight to the BCCL's headquarters at Koyala Bhavan. No effort was made to hold any discussions with

A. K. Roy



the demonstrators. The dispute was over 24 acres of land, on which the offices of the AGM, the regional stores and the stadium had been constructed. The villagers claimed that it was their land which had been forcibly occupied by private owners of the collieries, and later taken over by the BCCL, and were demanding compensation. The BCCL authorities denied this claim.

The villagers had gathered to "occupy" the AGM's office. As a symbolic gesture they ploughed the open land in this area. Still nothing happened; the police kept quiet. The villagers raised provocative slogans: "GM sala chor hai" and "Hamari zameen do, ya khoon do". There was tension in the air.

Suddenly the peace snapped. A jeep, from Dhanbad, came, and despite resistance forced its way through the main gate. It stopped near the gate. The villagers thought that an officer of the BCCL had come on the jeep. Feeling that the forced entry of the jeep was a defeat for them, they charged the jeep and assaulted the man in civilian clothes sitting inside. The villagers had made a mistake. This man was not a BCCL officer, but an on-duty magistrate named S. C. Mishra. He received a head injury and was immediately rushed to the nearby Kenduadih hospital.

The police geared up. Soon, a fresh group of armed police arrived from Dhanbad and the police laid into the demonstrators with lathis and rifle butts, scattering them. Five people were injured, and could not run away. The police picked them up. Rasik Hansda was one of them.

On the same day, a much larger rally, to demand a redressal of

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A basti

similar grievances, had been organised at Maithan (where the DVC project is) by the Jharkhand Party. In fact, all the senior police officers were concentrating their attention there. A. K. Roy was also supposed to be there. But on hearing the news of the violence at Godhur, he rushed here, and reached Godhur within an hour. As soon as the villagers saw their leader, they regathered, this time in much larger strength. Roy was told about the injured men, and set about looking for them. He went to the Kenduadih police station but, to his surprise, found only three of the injured villagers in custody. What had happened to the other two, Rasik Hansda and Nepal Roy? He went to the Kenduadih hospital, which is small and is more of a first aid centre. The doctor there told Roy that since the condition of the two villagers was critical, he had advised the police to take them to the larger Sadar hospital at Dhanbad, which is about 12 kilometres away.

When Roy reached the Sadar hospital, another puzzle was awaiting him. Only one villager, Nepal Roy, had been admitted there. Roy went to the Central Hospital in Dhanbad, which is especially meant for miners. But here too he could not find any trace of Hansda. Roy next went to the Dhanbad police station; his enquiries drew a blank again. Finally, at six p.m., during his third visit to Sadar hospital, Roy was told that a dead body had been sent for post mortem. Roy had finally found Hansda: dead.

A K. ROY alleges that the police killed Hansda while he was in custody. "They even tried to dispose of the dead body at Simlabahal (on the way between Kenduadih and Jharia)," said Roy. I put this point to Mr Prasad, the SP. "What prevented the police from doing so?" countered Prasad. Roy had an answer to the police officer's counter question: "Had we not chased the authorities for Hansda, they would have disposed of the body".

According to the police, Hansda died on the way as the result of injuries sustained during the lathi

charge. R. R. Prasad denied Roy's accusation totally. "Since the Godhar road was blocked by the agitated demonstrators," he said, "the police came by the longer Kustore-Jharia road. Hansda died on the way". Why was there so much delay in submitting the body to Sadar hospital, which was done nearly five hours after the lathi charge, around 5 p.m.? Prasad replied: "Since all the senior officers, including myself and the Deputy Commissioner were busy at Maithan, the police probably waited for a senior officer's guidance". Eventually, the police handed the body over without any "guidance".

The post mortem report seriously damages the police version of the incident. If the post mortem is to be believed, when either the SP is telling only half the truth or the doctor who first examined Hansda at Kenduadih, and recommended better medical attention, is telling a lie. The post mortem says that Hansda had six ribs broken, three on each side. Both the lungs had been punctured, as also the heart, and the chest was bloodied. The report not merely indicated the brutality of the police, but also demolished the police version of an "on the way death due to lathi charge injuries". If the heart had been ruptured due to the lathi charge, then Hansda could not have survived for more than a minute or two. But the doctor who first saw the injured villagers at the Kenduadih hospital clearly saw that they were alive, and that is why he recommended that they be taken to Sadar hospital at once. Rasik Hansda should have been dead by the time he reached this doctor if the original lathi charge was the cause of his death.

It is true that Hansda died on the way to Sadar hospital, but not due to injuries sustained at the lathi charge: he was obviously beaten badly again while in police custody. The post mortem also points out that Hansda had wounds on his back, shoulder, neck and calves: this is indicative of additional beating. Moreover, there are further discrepancies in the police story. If a person dies in police custody, for whatever reason, a magistrate has to

send the body for post mortem. In the case of Hansda, the person who sent the body for the post mortem was the policeman in charge of the Kenduadih police station. According to the Sadar hospital, the dead body came at 4.30 p.m. But the policeman who sent the body has not mentioned any time. There is something which is even more absurd. The policeman who sent the body for post mortem has mentioned on the dead body challan that the "dead body of Rasik Hansda, who has been killed by some anonymous persons, is being sent for post mortem". If Hansda was in police custody, how could "some anonymous persons" reach him to kill him? Obviously, even the cover-up by the police has been inefficient.

THE causes of this unrest lie in the history of the tribal belt of Chota Nagpur. The adivasis have been looted and exploited; their rich land has been usurped from them by private mine-owners who made millions and gave little or nothing in return. Legality was always been a tenuous argument in an area so rich in profiteers, thugs and rapists. This disputed 24 acres is a good example of what used to happen. In 1926 the Godhar collieries started operations. In the 1930s the owners gave some money to the villagers, in return for which they mined all the land and expropriated the wealth. This particular 24 acres has, in fact, been mined in the past. The place where the stadium stands was filled by an owner in the 1950s and a stadium was built.

But the villagers never lost their legal right over this 24 acres; they have been paying taxes to the Government on this land in their names. When the BCCL took over the mines after nationalisation it inherited all the land in possession of the old owners. According to Mr Rajendra Singh, director of personnel at BCCL, "the political leaders with vested interests have exploited the sentiments of the local villagers; the Godhar incident is a classic example of how political leaders turn the situation violent". Mr Singh claims that "BCCL has the legal right to the so-called disputed land". He referred to the Coal Mines Nationalisation Act which says: "All the property pertaining to mines nationalised under the Act have been vested under the Government company, free from all compensation, any liability as to right title of interest regarding to such vested property shall not be enforced against the Government company".

Mr Singh points out that "We got his (disputed) land from the previous colliery owner under the nationalisation act and we are not bound to give any compensation — in cash or in terms of employment". He adds, "This land was in the colliery's possession for the last so many years. This trouble started only after the Emergency".

On the other hand, Mr A. K. Roy is quite categorical that the villagers have a legal right to the land. He

points out that the last tax was paid by the villagers. The Deputy Commissioner, Dhanbad, Mr K. D. Singh, later confirmed this and added that "there had been a negotiation between the BCCL and the villagers. The then SDO, after enquiry, certified that 24 acres of land, which includes the incline, the AGM's office, the stadium, workshop, and regional stores, belongs to the villagers. He recommended that BCCL should give 12 jobs (to these villagers in compensation) which the BCCL refused". The Kamgar Union had first raised this issue in 1973, and in 1975-76 the agreement was worked out.

Mr Rajendra Singh is, however, firm. He pointed out that even if the BCCL wanted to it could not buy the land of the adivasis, which was protected under a State Government act for scheduled castes and tribal classes (the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act), without the written permission of the DC. He said, "Previous colliery owners had adopted a practice and by offering a few jobs. In some cases, the owners got the land legally transferred in the name of the colliery ... Not only under the nationalisation act, but also by virtue of the 'adverse position' we are not bound to give any compensation. Had any land belonged to any villager he should have filed his claim before the Claims Commissioner". Mr Singh pointed out that it was a practice of some disgruntled elements in the area to create trouble for the BCCL, even in cases where there was not the remotest chance of a dispute. The unemployed youths in particular frequently obstructed the normal functioning of collieries by organising demonstrations, gheraos etc. During 1973-79, there had been six murders, 135 strikes, 35 gheraos, 71 demonstrations, 19 assaults, 20 hunger strikes, three clashes, 30 stoppages of work, and three cases of go-slow, resulting in the loss of 3,97,159 mandays and a loss in production of 2,99,270 tonnes.

Mr Rajendra Singh explained his helplessness: "The BCCL is overstuffed. What we need are technical hands. We advertise the posts. They (the villagers) should apply and compete in interviews. If they fulfil our job requirements, only then can we absorb them". That, however, is the tragedy: In an area where people are fighting for their next meal, how can anyone expect job applicants to have technical expertise?

The truth is that the BCCL does not know how to handle the problems of the local people. As a public sector unit, it is expected to, first, behave differently from the private owners who exploited the land and its people in the past. Second, it is expected to have some solution to the socio-economic problems that a large undertaking creates wherever it is situated. But there is no effort made on these lines. The exploitation, directly or indirectly, continues unabated (see SUNIL K. GUPTA, March 11) in the Dhanbad belt. Money, muscle, and political skulduggery continue to rule at the expense of the poor

and the downtrodden. And when one uses the oft-used word "downtrodden" one does not use it as a cliché. The poor in the region must be among the poorest in the country. The people live in a primitive condition: their drains, where they exist, are choked and crawling with worms. There is no water, light or education in the *basti*. The only industry that exists is the ultimate industry of the poor: prostitution. And the base of the prostitution, symbolically, is near Koyala Bhavan, the headquarters of the BCCL at Saridhda.



Rajendra Singh

Often, the BCCL behaves exactly as the previous private owners did. During the Emergency, in 1976, the company forcibly acquired 70 acres near Bhowrah. At that time Mr A. K. Roy, along with many of his lieutenants, was in jail. When he was released after March 1977 he pursued the matter and in September 1978, in the presence of the district authorities, the Kamgar Union and the BCCL reached an agreement that the BCCL would give 40 jobs to un-

employed youth of Jahajitand village as compensation. The BCCL has not yet given a single job in pursuance of the agreement. It is true that the BCCL may have a point in the case of the disputed 24 acres at Godhur, over which the murder took place, but how can the BCCL justify the 3.5 acres it acquired at Godhur on which the regional stores were constructed, and for which no compensation has been paid as yet? In fact, the BCCL has continued the old policy of a lumpsum payment for acquisition of land. The BCCL has even acquired Bihar Government land illegally at Bhowrah — Plot Numbers 328, 341, 342, and 352. The Bihar Government has many lawyers to fight the BCCL, but where will the poor villagers go?

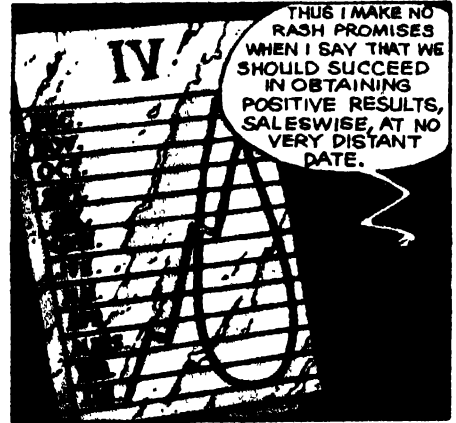
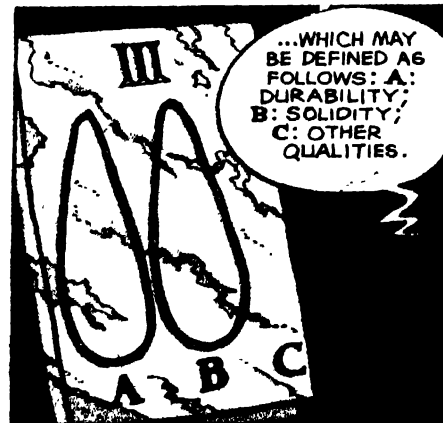
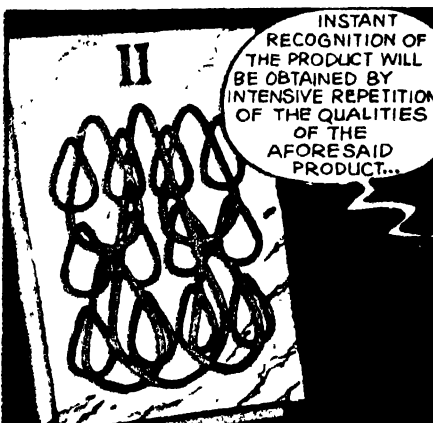
It is a sad truth that the established trade unions are taking no interest in the rights of the villagers. The only union which is trying to help them is the Kamgar Union of A. K. Roy. All the major unions of the country, the Congress INTUC, the Socialist Hind Mazdoor Sabha, the Communist CITU, and even the Jana Sangh Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh maintain a presence in this area — but no one has any time for the adivasis.

A. K. Roy sums up the situation prevailing in Dhanbad in clear terms, which should make the great trade union leaders, and the champions of the oppressed, hide their faces in shame: "Outsiders are bloodsuckers who feed on the local people. Not only have they exploited the abundant mineral resources, but they have also exploited the adivasi villagers by snatching their land at 'throwaway prices, or without giving any compensation. This field is a sort of prison, where helpless people cry all the time. It is a colony. It is like South Africa, where the outsiders are ruling". ■





THE FOLLOWING
PASSAGE WILL BE
DIFFICULT
FOR THOSE OF YOU
UNACQUAINTED
WITH THE ANCIENT
BUSINESS WORLD
TO UNDERSTAND,
ESPECIALLY AS,
THESE DAYS, SUCH
A STATE OF
AFFAIRS COULD
NEVER EXIST,
SINCE NO ONE
WOULD DREAM OF
TRYING TO SELL
SOMETHING
UTTERLY
USELESS...



A FEW DAYS LATER,
ON EVERY WALL
IN ROME...

YOUR DEAREST WISH...



IT'S BIG, IT'S
BEAUTIFUL,
IT'S A
MENHIR



SALE IN ALL THE BEST
BATHS AND FORNAMS

YOU OWN A VILLA, A
CHARIOT, SLAVES...
BUT...



DO YOU OWN A MENHIR?

AND NOW, FOLKS, AS WE
WAIT FOR THE NEXT ACT,
THERE WILL BE A SHORT
INTERLUDE...



IT'S THE RIGHT ONE,
IT'S NOT THE LIGHT ONE,
IT'S A MENHIR...



AND THE RESULTS OF THE
PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN ARE
NOT LONG COMING IN...



Inside an RSS camp

Culture is not only song and dance as C. JOSHI found out when he visited an RSS camp held in New Delhi recently. Photographs are by MANDIRA PURIE.

THEY ROLLED PAST: MEN OF all shapes, sizes and ages. Tall men, thin men, bald men and hairy men in the dull uniforms — khaki shorts, white shirts and black caps with long lathis. The shrill whistle, the roll of drums and the faint strains of a bugle, obviously played by an amateur, could be heard. They — a majority of them small shopkeepers and traders from the little towns in Delhi and Haryana — had left the monotonous existence of bickerings and black-marketing in their trade to be part of a dream. They were the frontline forces who would initiate the great Hindu *Rashtra*.

Sweating profusely a middle-aged man stumbled as he tried to do a quick left turn...Inside a sparsely furnished room Mr Rajendra Singh, the Secretary General of the RSS sat in a half-lotus position surrounded by

his lieutenants from north India. "No political Party, not even the Jana Sangh can deliver the goods. What is required for progress is a change in character, discipline and the inculcation of cultural and moral values..." he was saying.

After a decade the RSS suddenly decided to hold its advanced training camp for Northern unit leaders in Delhi instead of the usual small district town. The normally publicity-shy RSS had invited correspondents to visit the camp. An oft-repeated but seldom granted dialogue with the RSS General Secretary was thrown in for good measure.

It took the correspondents a good half an hour to trace the RSS camp hidden away on the grounds of a public school in West Delhi's Punjabi Bagh. At the gate the newsmen were stopped by an RSS volunteer on "sentry duty". He was emphatic about

not letting anyone in. Admission to the camp was not going to be granted. When voices were raised, beaming senior officials hurried to "invite" the correspondents in. Obviously somebody in the hierarchy had forgotten to tell the man at the gate that "guests were expected".

"We are a cultural organisation," Mr Rajendra Singh (Professorsaheb to his admirers and Rajju Bhaiya to his friends) told the journalists. Before some of them could speak out the RSS boss defined culture. "Culture is not only song and dance performances. We are a cultural organisation in the broadest sense of the term, for it encompasses history and national ethos." Groups of volunteers thumped past and an occasional *Swayamsevak* took courage to peep in.

It was the turn of the "guests" to start asking questions. "Why did you invite us?" asked a journalist.

"Because we wanted you to see for yourself," the smiling RSS General Secretary replied.

"Is everybody allowed in... an open camp?" the journalist asked again.

"Of course," said the RSS leader. "But with permission. That is because we don't want anything stolen..."

Behind us a senior *Swayamsevak* (volunteer) hastily whispered to a colleague to escort two photographers who had decided to take an unescorted stroll through the camp. A benign Rajendra Singh continued the conversation in the best *Gurukul* traditions. What did the RSS mean by Hindu *Rashtra* and Hindu culture? Did it not have purely religious-racial connotations?

"Hindu culture does not mean only religion but encompasses the national ethos. That ethos was Hindu, later religions and ruling elites may have affected the civilization but culture is permanent and civilisation transient. India is a Hindu *Rashtra* because its permanent culture is Hindu..." Obviously satisfied with his semantics the RSS leader adjusted his dhoti and waited for the next volley of questions.

What did he mean by Indianisation of Indian minorities? What about the successive cultural and socio-political influences on Indian history which have become a part of our way of life?

"We accept that the influences have taken place. But Indian culture must be Indian. Ganga water is the water of the Ganga. We do not analyse it as 10 per cent this and 40 per cent that ... Similarly the basic culture which is permanent must be Indian and that is Hindu."

Pat came the next question: How did he account for the virulently anti-Muslim image of the RSS?

"We are not anti-Muslim. But Indian Muslims, from the time Pakistan was created, looked outside hoping that Pakistan would overcome



**Everybody is allowed in
But with permission.**

India. After three wars with Pakistan the Indian Muslims have started realising the futility of this approach and are looking towards India as their homeland. But it is a gradual approach. We will accept every man irrespective of his religion as an Indian when he can pray in his own way but he must accept that his cultural heritage did not come from Turkey or Iran, Rome, Germany or Great Britain but is rooted in Indian soil."

The RSS has asserted that it just wanted to educate Indians. Why then did it not invite people from different faiths to address or talk to RSS members at the *Shakha* level to dispel any misconceptions? Had the Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid, for example, ever been invited to a *Shakha* to answer criticisms of Muslims being anti-Indian?

"We don't believe in this show-manship. We have continuous dialogues. For example when I meet Mr M. C. Chagla or Christian or leaders from other faiths we exchange views. There is no truth in the allegation that we try to brainwash our cadres. They are given proper instructions by our own people, who know Indian history and culture."

The RSS had always opposed Gandhi and the builder Guru Golwalkar had been a particularly virulent critic of Gandhi. How did he account for the recent spate of complimentary references to Gandhi by RSS leaders?

"We do not believe in total support to leaders or policies. We are quoting only those aspects of Gandhi which we support. We are not Gandhians in terms of total acceptance" (A voice piped in to ask about the sudden discovery of positive points in philosophy. This interruption was ignored).

If the RSS was not a para-military organisation and believed in the creed of non-violence, how did they account for military drills and an atmosphere of an Army camp?

"We believe in non-violence but that does not mean that we will not resist anti-national activities. We are human beings. If there is a danger to the nation we will meet force with force and we are prepared for it. Because of the karate craze we have also started training people in Indian versions of karate."

But who decides that there is a danger to the nation? The RSS leadership or...

"The people..."

But the RSS does not indulge in

**Democracy does not mean
5 lakhs people getting to-
gether. It is not a British
concept only.**



politics, being a cultural organisation; how will it know what the people want?

To this, Rajendra Singh was silent. It is alleged that the RSS is a pyramidal dictatorial organisation which does not believe in democracy and has not conducted elections in its own organisation.

"Democracy does not mean 5 or 7 lakhs people getting together. We have our own elections in our own indirect way. The *Shakhas* send representatives to the district, the district to the State and the State to the centre. The centre in turn chooses the office-bearers. Democracy is a wide term. We settle everything at all levels by discussion and we are a cohesive organisation. Democracy is not a British or a western concept only. Why should we accept it as they want us to accept it? Everybody says that he is a democrat—the Soviet Union, China, America etc. In this country those who accuse us of not being democratic are the same people who have been appointed on an ad-hoc basis and keep postponing elections. People had said that only persons from a particular caste and a particular region could become an office-bearer of the RSS but I don't belong either to that caste or region."

When could people expect a Harijan or a Muslim to be a leader of the

Rajendra Singh



RSS? Or did Hindu Rashtra imply the age-old systems?

"We don't believe in show window displays (Mr Rajendra Singh is the first non-Brahmin to be an office-bearer). It is a process of development. Perhaps sometime in the near future some Harijan or Muslim may be an RSS leader but it depends on the process of development."

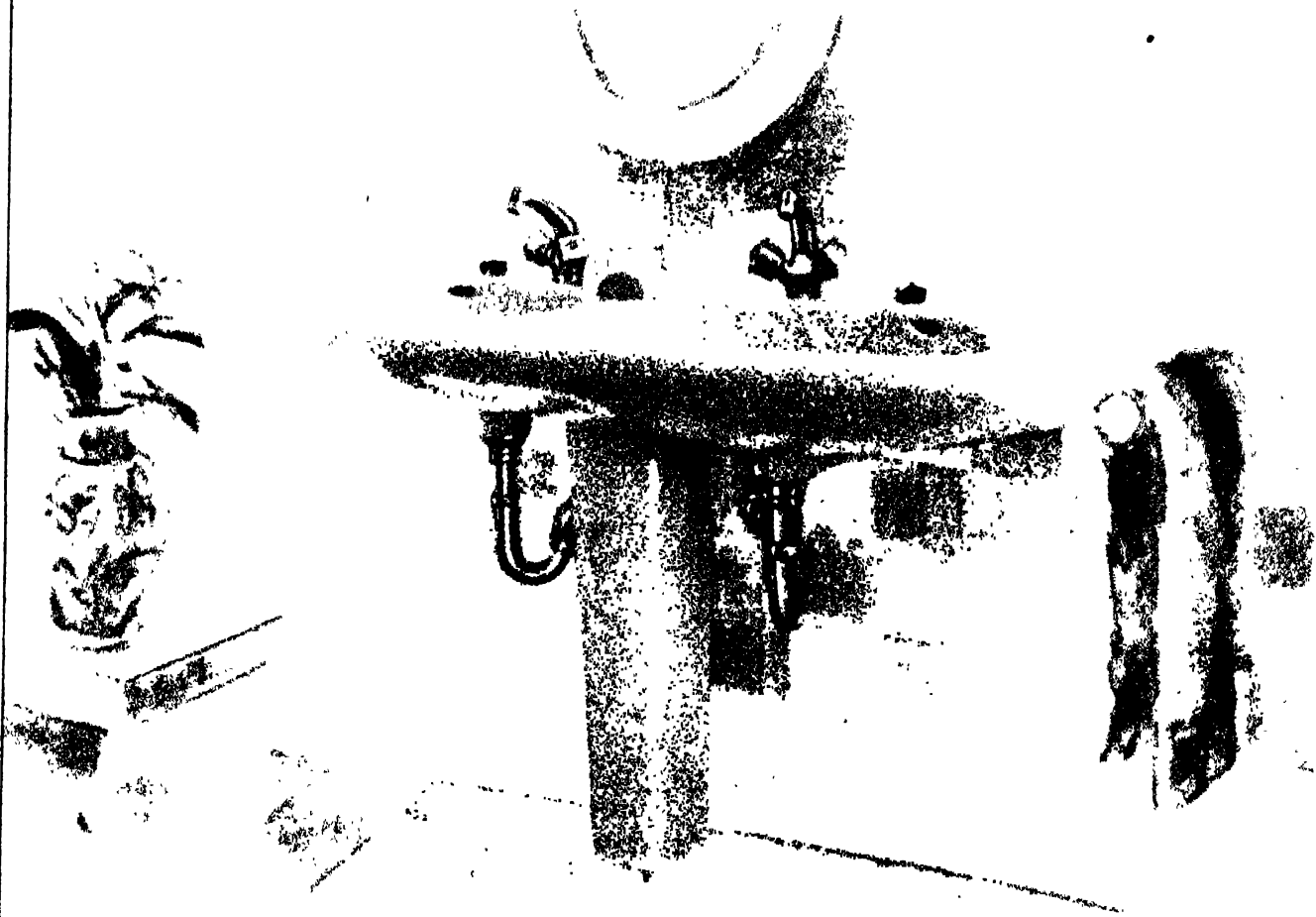
Back on the parade grounds in a neighbouring school the instructor gave his orders in Sanskrit. "Baam brata" (Left turn) "Dakshin brata" (Right turn), he shouted to the marching columns. A pot-bellied trader was caught on the wrong foot. "You are out of step, Narendra", the platoon leader told him. The saffron flag fluttered as little men bowed to it each fulfilling his little dream of being a part of distorted history. ■

This article, and the dialogue with Mr Rajendra Singh, General Secretary of the RSS, is not in response to the invitation we gave to Mr Singh to talk to us (in SUNDAY June 24) and begin by answering Mr Madhu Limaye's charges against the RSS published in our June 10 issue. This report was sent in by a newsman who was part of a team of reporters and photographers invited by the RSS to visit one of their camps. The report once again, exposes the nature of the RSS.

We again ask Mr Rajendra Singh to respond to our invitation to reply to the charges we have published against his organisation. Meanwhile, we would like to inform our readers that RSS leaders are continuing their campaign against SUNDAY in public: for instance at a Press conference held by Mr Rajendra Singh after an RSS camp at Sindri. Among other things, Mr Singh displayed his ignorance about our circulation. We would like to inform him that our print order is now 215,000 copies every week. And our readers expect an answer from him.

Editor.

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A matter of £2 million

Sharing the Nizam's leftovers

INDIA AND PAKISTAN RECENTLY agreed to a 60:40 division of a £1 million deposit of the former Nizam of Hyderabad in a London bank. This simple decision has a fascinating story behind it; it rings down the curtain belatedly on a drama enacted 30 years ago. A lot has changed since. Relations between India and Pakistan have improved immeasurably. Most of the actors in the drama are dead. And the deposit has grown to £2.5 million with the accumulation of interest.

To recall the circumstances in which the deposit was made is to recall the intrigues which preceded and followed the "police action" by India in the constitutional curiosity which was once the State of Hyderabad. It claimed sovereign independence for itself and declined to accede to India when the country attained Independence. Hyderabad signed, instead, a Standstill Agreement on November 29, 1947 which provided that all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concern including defence, external affairs and communications which existed between the British Crown and the Nizam before the transfer of power would be continued as between the Government of India and the Nizam. Both were to appoint Agents in Hyderabad and Delhi.

Within a few weeks of the accord, which was to last a year, the Government of India learnt that the Nizam had advanced a loan of Rs. 20 crores to Pakistan in the form of Government of India securities and that the loan had been negotiated by the Nizam's Finance Minister Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, brother-in-law of Prime Minister Laik Ali, while he was actually conducting negotiations on the Standstill Agreement. All efforts to secure Hyderabad's accession to India failed. India went so far as to offer in May, 1948 an agreement whereby Hyderabad could have enjoyed a very special status, indeed—formally outside the Union though linked with it by agreement in regard to defence, foreign affairs and communications. The Nizam would have had to agree to introduce responsible Government in gradual stages. The Nizam rejected the offer and, as his relations with New Delhi got worse, sent a delegation to present his case to the United Nations in late August 1948. It was headed by none other than Moin Nawaz and he stopped in Karachi en route to UN.

In the early hours of September 13, Indian forces marched into Hydera-



The last Nizam of Hyderabad

bad. It was a quick affair. Laik Ali resigned as Prime Minister four days later. On September 18, Major-General J. N. Chaudhuri took charge as Military Governor. On September 23, the Nizam cabled the UN Security Council, then sitting in Paris, withdrawing his case.

By then Moin Nawaz had virtually gifted £1 million to Pakistan. On June 26, 1948 the Nizam had issued a *firman* for the purchase of machinery abroad and earmarked funds for that purpose in two bank accounts. We do not know yet the magnitude of the amounts. They must have been considerable. Suffice it to say that by September there was standing to the credit of the "Government of Hyderabad" with the Westminster Bank £1,007,940 9s. Two persons alone had power to operate the account, namely, Moin Nawaz and Nawab Mir Nawaz Jung Bahadur, the Nizam's Agent-General in London. On September 16, Moin or Mir, it is not quite clear from the court proceedings which of the two, called on Habib Rahimtoola, a former Bombay businessman, then Pakistan's High Commissioner in London at his residence in Hampstead and asked him to accept a transfer of the funds. Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister was present and played a decisive role in the affair.

Rahimtoola objected on the ground that the Government of Pakistan should not be involved, but his objection was overruled by Sir Zafrullah, who directed him to agree to a transfer to an account in his name but to be described, as the High Commis-

sioner of Pakistan. Sir Zafrullah also directed Rahimtoola to sign the necessary specimen signature forms, and he did so. Rahimtoola later said that he would never have agreed to the transfer unless he had been expressly instructed to do so as High Commissioner for Pakistan by Sir Zafrullah under whose instructions he was bound to act. He claimed that it was never suggested that he was to accept the funds on his own account as a private individual as agent or trustee for the Nizam. Had it been so suggested, he would have refused to do so, as he would have considered it improper so to act while holding the position of High Commissioner. Rahimtoola professed to be ignorant as to whether the moneys so transferred to him were personal moneys of the Nizam or State moneys and whether Moin or Mir had been given any instructions on the matter.

On September 16, Moin gave written instructions to the Westminster Bank to close the Nizam's Government's account. "By transfer of the balance to the credit of Mr Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola, High Commissioner for Pakistan in London, whose specimen signatures are enclosed herewith."

The Bank received this letter by hand on September 20—three days after the defeat of the Nizam's forces—and immediately carried out its instructions, and so informed Rahimtoola on the very same day. Two days later a series of cables started to arrive from Hyderabad asking the bank to make arrangements that no withdrawals were permitted from the Nizam's account until further instructions were received from the Nizam and to arrange for a re-transfer of the debt. Some of these cables were routed through the Government of India. It was too late. The title of the account in the books of the bank to which the transfer was made was "Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola, High Commissioner for Pakistan in London."

On September 28, the Nizam himself asked the Bank to re-transfer the fund in his own name or that of his Government. To the cables he received Moin returned "soft answers" assuring the Nizam that the funds were in safe hands but also asking for specific written instructions, which, in fact, were never despatched.

In 1950, the Bank learnt of the Government of India's claim to the money. On July 8, 1953, Rahimtoola (who had some seventeen months previously ceased to hold the office of High Commissioner for Pakistan in the United Kingdom and was then Ambassador to France), acting on the instructions of his Government, asked

the Westminster Bank to transfer the debt, to the name of Mr M. A. H. Ispahani, then High Commissioner of Pakistan in the United Kingdom. The bank refused to do so, referring to the fact that, shortly after the transfer, the Nizam's Government had objected to the transfer and also to the fact that the Government of India laid claim to the debt. Lengthy correspondence ensued. Finally, in 1954, the Government of India filed a suit in England against Moin Nawaz, Rahimtoola and the Bank for recovery of the money with interest.

The litigation was not handled too well by the Government of India. The account of the crucial September 16 meeting given by Rahimtoola in his affidavit was not challenged. Yet, it is an incredible one. Things could not possibly have been arranged so briskly and without legal advice. More than one court, including the House of Lords, remarked that Rahimtoola was not cross-examined at all. Before the trial court it was not even alleged that in transferring the funds the Nawabs had violated the Nizam's instructions. The trial judge, Mr Justice Upjohn, observed "No one has sworn that the transfer was against the personal orders of the Nizam; it was only sworn that no trace of any such order could be found. In these circumstances I do not accept it as proved that Moin or Mir acted in breach of his duty as an officer of the

Nizam."

He upheld Rahimtoola's preliminary objection that he had acted not as agent of the Nizam but of Pakistan in all he did and a sovereign State could not be sued against its wishes. The judge acknowledged that Pakistan had no "equitable title" to the money. That title vested in the Nizam alone but since he could "reach the debt only through Rahimtoola," the bank could not be sued, either. The crux of his ruling was simple—"The present transaction was an inter-Governmental transaction; let it be solved by inter-governmental negotiations."

This ruling was given in July 1956. On November 6, 1956 the Nizam swore an affidavit in which he said "At no time did I give any direction or sanction...to the said Moin...or to any other person to transfer the said sum of £1,907,940 9sh. or any part thereof to the defendant Rahimtoola or to the Pakistan Government or to any person representing the Government of Pakistan."

This affidavit was tendered before the Court of Appeal consisting of three Judges and they unanimously ruled in favour of the Nizam—read, India. "On the face of the evidence as it now stands, it must in our judgment be taken as clear that the transfer was effected in breach of the duty of Mir and Moin to the Nizam and without any authority from the

Nizam in fact."

On the question of immunity, they held that the transfer to the High Commissioner was not one to the "principal officers of the State which would identify its holder with the State." Besides, there was no evidence to suggest that Pakistan had any "beneficial interest" in the money.

In November 1957 five judges of the House of Lords unanimously reversed the Court of Appeal. They recognised that the Nizam's charge of breach of authority by Moin or Mir had not been challenged but held that this was immaterial. They decided against him on the crucial issue of State immunity.

The House of Lords held that Pakistan was the "legal owner" of the funds without having the "equitable title" or "beneficial interest" which vested in the Nizam. The latter could displace the former by litigation but Pakistan could, as a sovereign state, refuse to participate in the exercise altogether.

Two decades later India and Pakistan have joined hands to recover the money from the Bank. They have also agreed to share the costs in the same ratio of 60:40 if they have to sue the Bank. There is, thus, more than a faint hint that the Bank might decline to part with the money on some legal grounds.

A G NOORANI, Bombay

The meaning of Bangalore '79

Urs sets the ball rolling

EVEN as enthusiastic volunteers of the infant Karnataka Congress had seized the historic "splitter edifice", the Glass House in the heart of Bangalore's Lal Bagh Gardens to give finishing touches to the July 4 convention of Congressmen convened by Devaraj Urs, R. Gundu Rao, sacked ministerial colleague of Urs and a leading light of the murky Congress rump in the State, was addressing the Press in a city hotel to predict the collapse of the convention the next day because "Urs is a force if he is with Mrs Gandhi but a big zero without her". The next day, Gundu Rao earned the sobriquet of being a "worm" for this remark from the flashy Tarakeswari Sinha, the latest Indira supporter to join Urs. But while partisanship can be imputed to both the remarks, the fact remains that Urs did not prove a zero, nor did the convention flop. If anything, it only revelled in a glory which was least expected of it and, as for Urs, he found himself pitchforked into the national scene in a big way on the wings of its emphasis.

The huge AICC-standard dais Urs had laid out for the convention faced north this time! The dais had faced west on both the previous occasions when the Congress split at



Tarakeswari Sinha

this very jinxed venue. The changed direction to face the north was on astrological advice. Urs shone amidst the ruins; all those assembled on the dais had been once pied pipers in the Indira entourage particularly during the Emergency; they had been thrown out lock, stock and barrel by the electorate. Not more than a handful of the nearly 1,000 delegates who came to the convention from all parts of the country had their political images intact.

In more senses than one, it was Urs alone who soared well over them and the situation was not without its tell-tale irony since they were the very individuals whom he had

accused not long ago of throwing the Indian National Congress to the mercy of moths. The little men with one-time big names had now rushed to Bangalore at his bidding burying their bruised egos and putting on a facade of gratitude. This, truly, was their moment of political rehabilitation—a veritable god-send. C. M. Stephen wasn't perhaps far wrong when he described the convention as a conclave of rejects. It suited him politically to brand it thus, but it was also a fact that the convention itself found the heavy-weights even in the Swaran Singh Congress physically shying away from it. But they regarded the event with more than hesitant approval and the affable Sardarji himself sent a message to it stressing how vital the unity of Congressmen was at the present juncture. Mr Chavan who has his own reputation of a cat on the wall who instinctively smells the arrival of the next milk pot, had two telephonic conversations with Urs from Bombay. It was a full year since they had exchanged even so much as a greeting but they seemed to be warming up towards each other again. Siddharth Shankar Ray, a staunch Urs ally, sent a telegram from far-off Siliguri regretting that he was stuck there and so couldn't come to the convention where his heart was. But the other known Urs cronies were there in full strength,

Tara Chakravarty

notably Rajni Patel, the one-time Bombay Congress boss who preceded Urs in falling from Mrs Gandhi's grace, Unnikrishnan, Das Munshi and, last but not the least, Chandrajit Yadav. This assemblage also gave their detractors a seemingly legitimate question to ask. "They have always been ganging up together. So what's new in this?"

The question wasn't unjustified because the turn-out from the Congress(I) camp certainly wasn't as reassuring as Urs would have liked it to be. Mr N. K. Tripude of Maharashtra of course was a logical morale-booster, but ill-luck confined him to a hospital bed with a nasty attack of ulcers. A bonus, if she can really be considered so, was the aging glamour woman, Tarakeshwari Sinha, now a caty Indira baiter. With her came Daroga Prasad Rai, former Chief Minister of Bihar. But there were hardly any more Congress(I) heavyweights in sight. The biggest disappointment was Andhra Pradesh from where busloads of Indira's dissidents were expected to converge till the last minute. But for Keshavalu, a minister sacked by Mr Channa Reddy, and a couple of other disgruntled MPs and MLAs, the turn-out from Andhra Pradesh was ostensibly disappointing. Uttar Pradesh, Mrs Gandhi's long-time stronghold, Punjab, Hariyana, West Bengal, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Kashmir and a couple of smaller States sent small teams of political punies dotted here and there by some familiar names.

In spite of this, only a political novice can write off the convention as of no long-term political import. The solid support lent to it by some stalwarts like C. Subramaniam, T. A. Pai, V. P. Naik, Vasant Dada Patil, Abdul Gaffoor, S. C. Shukla, K. C. Pant and D. K. Barooah certainly cannot be made light of. The alacrity with which most of them plumped for Urs as some kind of a Messiah who had dramatically arrived on the scene for their deliverance will send its own reverberations round the country pretty soon and Urs should be all over the place by the end of this month after being rid of the attack of herpes which had left him a cripple all these days.

AS a person with the most credible image of all of them right now and as a politician who has shown the same remarkable acumen and uncanny sense of timing as Mrs Gandhi's during her heyday, Urs is bound to try hard to remove any credibility gap the convention might have left behind. The dramatic personae of the convention has made the gap inevitable, but Urs has shown every sign of sustaining a process he has initiated quite unexpectedly but certainly not unwittingly.

Urs, more than anybody else, realised that for the convention to prove a real turning point in the country's politics, he had to make it something more than a mere exchange of platitudes. Most of his old

colleagues might have seen it as the right opportunity to come out of oblivion but he had no such problems. He was very much a colossus in his own State and knew that even without the convention his road to national eminence wouldn't be all that long. But if the convention could provide a short cut, there could be nothing like it. But he knew by his now-famous instinct that unless he gave a plausible ideological content to the convention, it would end up as an exercise in futility. The only resolution the convention adopted amply reflected this thinking. The stresses it laid on land reforms and reservations for backward classes in the services and educational institutions was purely Urs' handiwork. These are the two planks on which he had made his own position in Karnataka invincible. It is acknowledged on all fronts that Karnataka's record in the implementation of land reforms—which are by themselves the most progressive in the country—hasn't been matched by any other State. As for reservations, for backwards, it is as high as 58 per cent in this State—a factor which has been the most frustrating to Urs' political opponents. As much as 15 per cent of these reservations is in favour of economically backward people with an annual income of under Rs. 3,600, irrespective of their caste or community. Mr Karpoori Thakur found the ground knocked out from under his feet when he attempted some such feat in Bihar. But Urs had planned for the success of these reforms from the very day he gave tickets for the Assembly elections. Those he hand-picked were admittedly political cubs, but ones who would never disagree with Urs' socio-economic theories, hailing as a large number of them did from the backward classes.

The Congress, when it gets united again after next month's pre-split AICC session, is sure to hear a lot from Urs about these very theories which his colleagues also articulated endlessly when they were in power but without meaning to adhere to them. It is even possible that Urs himself will be heading the Party to ram these realities down their gullets with greater authority. A well-orchestrated demand was heard at the convention that Urs and none else should lead the united Congress.

After the euphoria of the convention has died down, this is the question which will loom large on the Congress horizon—will it be smooth sailing for the new "conclave of rejects" or will personal equations, which have always plagued the Congress through its several transformations, make nonsense of the heart-warming Bangalore camaraderie? Urs has no doubt been marked out as the coming man, but how will the other war horses, bruised and battered though they are, resign themselves to places in the second rung after enjoying the limelight in varying measures in

C minor

IT was almost as if even the sound engineers were in league with the All India Convention of Congressmen (note the acronym) held at the Glass House in Bangalore under the auspices of Devraj Urs' Karnataka Congress Party. During the three-hour break, between speeches that seldom wavered in their contents, just after lunch pan-chewing delegates were treated to "Star Wars", "Electric Dreams", "Soul Makossa" and "Love in C Minor". Was the choice musical of the note 'C' also coincidental? Of course, whether the three thousand delegates assembled under the large dome that generally houses the year's choicest flora appreciated the music, is another matter.

It all seemed more a matter of being seen in the right place, which on July 4 meant pledging ones allegiance against Mrs Gandhi in general and her son Sanjay Gandhi in particular at the Glass House. If the speeches were familiar and repetitive, calling for unity and rally round the flag, boys' the banners around the hall were more so. Here's a mouthful "Demolish Dictatorship", "Save the nation from Anarchy", "Principles are more important than people" (sic), "Authoritarianism will not bring progress", "Party discipline is a Must", "Let us be Participants in Achieving our Goal", "Long live Democracy", "Long Live Devaraj Urs", "Get united to retain democracy", "Unite to Walk Right Path". There was no doubt as to who was the hero of the day. Even as speaker after speaker praised him skyhigh, the grizzly Mr Urs sat smiling, sporting a Muslim fez like cap, on the dais among the khadi cotton and silk kurta clad. And to ensure that there was more than mere politicking around, leaflets listing the "Economic and Political Resolutions" of Mr Urs were being freely distributed. Resolutions notwithstanding, probably the only interesting piece of literature that day was the contribution of some unknown poet who paid homage to Mr Urs with a poem printed overleaf the resolutions which had Mr Urs in colour on its cover.

*Forward With Him
Principles and policies count
says Devaraj Urs un-Bent,
The warrior knows his mind,
His cause and concern sound!
He speaks for the suppressed,
and fights for the oppressed.
Forward we go with him."*

A CORRESPONDENT



You'll find the *diodon hystrix* or porcupine fish in most of the world's tropical waters. What makes it remarkable is its ability to expand to twice its size in moments of crisis. In fact, it owes its success to its ability to expand. So do we.

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their halcyon days? Will a time not come when they may be tempted to dub Urs no less authoritarian than Mrs Gandhi because many have found a striking similarity in their styles of functioning? It is these equations which have to be sorted out before the impending Congress unity can flower into the much vaunted Third Force that is to envelop even the former Congressmen now in the Janata fold. At that stage, the personal equations may get to be even more grave, considering the big names on the other side of the fence who are ever so jealous.

These apprehensions notwithstanding, the Bangalore convention has certainly played a significant role in that it has set things moving in a situation which has been rapidly getting desperate. It has succeeded in inspiring a new thinking and, to a considerable extent, in giving Mrs Gandhi herself the feeling that her isolation in Indian politics may at last become a palpable reality which even the blind can perceive.

Thanks to the muscle power Urs

has displayed, she is today sadder for losing one of the only two States her Party had been ruling. There are ominous signs of Urs and his men avenging her affront to them by making Channa Reddy's seat unsafe for him. Her Party has been reduced to a pathetic rump in Karnataka, where she won't get another opportunity to try and establish her charisma till the next elections. Neither Urs nor the Janata Party is over anxious to oblige her with a mid-term poll to the Assembly. Apart from reversing the progress of fragmentation in the Congress the Bangalore convention has heralded the arrival of a giant in the form of Urs on the national scene. It has thus projected before her a formidable double problem and before the country a hopeful, interesting — if a little inscrutable — political development which might at least end the present impasse even if it does nothing more.

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT,
Bangalore

Sanjay in politics

It is now official

THE Sanjay dilemma is over. The July 8 'unanimous' resolution of the Indira Congress Parliamentary Party asking Sanjay to be a member of the Party has finally ended years of consistent lying, falsification of records and an amazing variety of small talk that Congressmen have indulged in to build a smokescreen around Sanjay. The seal of official approval on the virtual dominance of the Congress (I) by Sanjay Gandhi has been on the cards for quite some time. During the Emergency of course there was no need for it but after the March 1977 elections, there was a general feeling in the Congress that the young man had done enough harm and it was time he lay low.

That, however, was not to be. By the end of 1977, Sanjay was back in circulation although there was a studious attempt by his mother to explain that he was "not at all interested in politics". Sanjay's hand became even more evident after the 1978 split in the Congress, with most of the old guard gone, it was his band of mercenary vagabonds that began to be known as the Congress (I) organisation.

It was only in the first flush of euphoria over her victory at Chikmagalur that Mrs Gandhi let the cat out of the bag. "My son is with me in politics", she told a newsman shortly after she won at Chikmagalur and was preparing for a series of electoral victories in northern India. She would deny this later after her electoral ambitions in northern India miserably flopped and she herself was arrested for contempt of



Vasant Sathe

Parliament in December 1978.

Sanjay's power, however, grew steadily inside the Party despite protests from many sections of the Party, particularly from Karnataka Chief Minister Devaraj Urs who had helped Mrs Gandhi win from Chikmagalur. Sanjay Gandhi became the issue at almost every State Congress committee and factionalism between pro and anti Sanjay groups became rampant in the Party. The Karnataka controversy brought all the anti-Sanjay groups together on the same platform against his domination of the Party. The Bangalore convention, while laying the basis of a unified Congress made Mrs Gandhi even more a prisoner of Sanjay.

Vasant Sathe, an ardent supporter

of Mrs Gandhi and now consequently of Sanjay as well, has an interesting theory about the relationship between the mother and son. "She is terrified that nobody will defend him either in the Party or outside if the Janata Government puts him in jail. She has often told me, 'Vasant, everybody is ready to abandon him, how can I forsake him at this critical hour?'" said Sathe. Sanjay himself has few illusions about what most Congressmen feel about him. He knows that with very few exceptions, most members of the Indira Congress dislike him intensely and feel that he is being foisted on them. Besides there is his public image which would be a considerable drag on the Party's electoral fortunes. Even devoted admirers of Mrs Gandhi like Sathe admit, "Sanjay was hoisted to power in a helicopter during the Emergency." All these odds that are stacked against him, however, have only made Sanjay more determined to control the Party and run it according to his wishes. Now that most of his vocal antagonists have left the Party or are getting ready to do so, his official entry into politics is only to be expected.

The July 8 meeting of the Congress(I) Parliamentary Party seemed strangely like the various meetings held during the Emergency. Congressmen tried to outdo each other in praising Sanjay and saying how it was absolutely necessary that he became a member. People like Charanjit Channana spoke at length on how the Emergency demolitions were very good for the people. The meeting which was called to discuss the Party's strategy in Parliament spent more than five hours discussing Sanjay Gandhi! One of the few at the meeting who, albeit unknowingly, brought out the crux of the matter was Vasant Sathe. According to Sathe he had asked Sanjay why he was so keen on joining politics. Sanjay had replied that since the Indira Congress was not interested in defending him, he had no choice but join politics. "It is time we made up our minds about the role of Sanjay Gandhi. Sometimes we say he is in politics and sometimes we deny this," Sathe said. The official reentry of Sanjay into the Congress(I), however, is not just one-sided. While it is true that Mrs Gandhi has lately come closer to Sanjay because of her fears that he would be abandoned by her Party, it is equally true that Sanjay and his mercenary gang constitute perhaps the only organisation that she has left to carry on any agitation. With her Party's strength in Parliament depleted by defections Mrs Gandhi can only hope to survive politically by taking to the streets. In this, Sanjay could perhaps render her valuable help. The first test of this would be the October 2 agitation which the Indira Congress is planning throughout the country. It would then be time for Sanjay to show his muscle-power, this time officially under the aegis of the Congress(I).

AJOY BOSE, New Delhi

The Loknayak returns

Patna welcomes him back with open arms



Asoke Kumar

THE Russian-built Tu-124 aircraft with the orange, white and green roundels of the Indian Air Force made a perfect landing at Bihta airport, near Patna, shortly before noon on July 7. As the jet engines throttled back to a muted whine, slowed to a halt, hordes of people jostled each other in their eagerness to catch a glimpse of the passenger, 77-year-old Jayaprakash Narayan. The same people had watched JP leave for Bombay on March 19 and had wondered whether they would ever see him alive again.

JP emerged with his face wreathed in smiles and the armchair he was in was carried down the steep steps to the ground. All around him men, women and children chanted "Loknayak Zindabad, long live JP" and the sound reached a crescendo as the frail old man approached. It was not easy to get him to the waiting car, a dark blue Mercedes Benz sedan, for the crowd milled around him in ecstasy. They had brought garlands of marigold and jasmine for their leader but the doctors refused to allow JP to accept them. They could not afford to take even the slightest chance of infection. And so the crowd kept their garlands as the car, with JP in the front seat, left for Patna.

With JP, in the car, were the people who had, in their own special ways, battled to keep him alive at Jaslok Hospital, Bombay. There was Seth Manthradas Assomull, the Chairman of the Jaslok Trust, along with his wife; the cardiologist, Dr. A. B. Mehta who had performed the miracle of resuscitating JP when his heart stopped beating; the nurse, Miss M. John and his constant companion (and private secretary) Mr Thomas Abraham. As the car sped towards Patna, an hour's drive away, the sun blazed overhead but JP withstood the journey well. Even as the car passed through villages and the countryside, people left whatever they were doing to turn and watch the car as it went. JP greeted each little knot of people with folded hands. Very soon the bumpy road came to an end and the car reached Patna. The welcome he got was tumultuous and he was cheered all the way to Kadam Kuan, where his house is located. Along the road a number of arches had been erected

by way of greeting. In front of his house "Prabha Smriti", named after his late wife Prabhawati, stood a group of boys clad in khaki, with red scarves—members of the Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini. They had waited a long time for this day and there was jubilation in their voices as they chanted: "We shall continue our march. Nothing will stop us." As the car entered his residence, the sight was even more touching. There were no slogans: just mute faces with tears of joy on some of them even while the eyes sparkled. There was a time when they had sat around their master's portrait and beat their chests in grief, expecting never to see him again. They were the members of JP's unofficial ashram—the men, women and children who looked on the aging leader as a sort of god. The loyal secretary, Mr Sachidanand, opened the front door of the Mercedes but JP got out unaided although several hands reached out to his shoulders to support him. It seemed as though the frail old

man found it difficult to believe that he was actually home. The armchair was lifted by volunteers and moved along the verandah where groups of women had clustered in greeting. It seemed as though light had entered the house again, bathing everything inside with new life. There were marks of *alpana* on the freshly-scrubbed floors to mark the auspicious arrival and there were scrawls on the walls too: "JP, you will live long, give us light".

At the foot of the staircase, a woman approached him, conducted an *urati* and put sandalwood paste on his forehead. He was then carried to his bedroom, upstairs. But his admirers refused to leave and crowded at the doorway, to be as close to their leader as possible. Finally, the security guards pushed them back and cleared the entrance. But JP's admirers were not disappointed. Soon, the Loknayak emerged from his bedroom, walked briskly to the verandah and said: "I am feeling most happy."

JP loves his home—and for good reasons too. Memories of his wife surround his house at Kadam Kuan and as he says, "I feel she is around me when I am here." He has often expressed the wish that he spend his remaining days at "Prabha Smriti", with the Ganga flowing beside it. On his return to Patna he said in a choked voice: "When I had left Patna a few months back, I had not expected that I would see the face of Mother Ganga again. But she has brought me back to her bosom. I must say that it is her divine love that has enabled me to survive."

S P SAGAR, Patna

'I approached the PM'

THE drama involving P. N. Balasubramaniam, friend and business associate of Kanti Desai continues. Last week we reported the happenings starting from June 4 when there was an income tax raid on his house in Golf Links, Delhi and his mysterious disappearance from the country around June 16. We are now able to report that Bala, who has claimed to be quite ill, is doing a fair bit of travelling around Europe. For one thing he was in London on July 3 long enough to dash off a long cable to his lawyer Mr D. K. Garg.

From the cable it seems that we were slightly off the mark in saying that Bala surfaced in Frankfurt. Actually he showed up in Konigstein about 35 km from Frankfurt. There he met all the right people. First it was Mr Tonpe, additional principal secretary to the Prime Minister. He

also met Kantibhai and other officials of the Prime Minister's secretariat. What urgent matters of state were the subject of these meetings with several members of the Prime Minister's staff can only be guessed. What is most significant is Bala's following cryptic reference to the Prime Minister himself: "I also approached the Prime Minister in West Germany".

It was quite in order for the income tax men to lock up under seal Bala's papers in his cupboard in view of the stay order granted late on June 4. But the crucial fact remains that the seal was broken. The income tax and enforcement people did not draw a blank. A few papers were seized despite the stay order, provoking Bala to level contempt of court charges against the income tax men. Possibly there is something incriminating in the papers.

Delhi's watery politics

The Jana Sangh slipped and fell in

THE strike by the Delhi Water Supply employees which left the Capital gasping for drinking water and totally unbathed for more than two days, is a direct result of the local Jana Sangh bosses trying to be too clever. And while the attack by Mr Raj Narain shook the RSS-Jana Sangh lobby, this strike antagonised the unwashed masses against it. Ever since the Jana Sangh took over the Delhi Administration two years back, it has been desperately trying to capture all sectors of life in Delhi. Trade unions have been a chief target because the working class has generally rejected the Sangh in no uncertain terms. The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), the trade union wing of the Jana Sangh, was virtually non-existent during the Congress rule but during the past two years the Jana Sangh has been assiduously building up the organisation—not through actual trade union struggles but by using its administrative stranglehold over Delhi.

The usual tactic of the Jana Sangh bosses was to encourage the BMS-controlled unions in the various civic services in the Capital to make a minor demand which the administration would immediately concede. This is in spite of the fact that none of the BMS unions are even recognised, and in most of the civic services are in a negligible minority. Demands of all other unions have been generally ignored, regardless of their standing and following but whenever the BMS has given an agitation call, the authorities have hurriedly called them for consultations and negotiations.

This strategy, which has helped in strengthening some of the BMS unions backfired badly this time. The Water Supply Undertaking had set up many committees since 1973 to study the employees' case after the staff of DESU were supposed to get a 66 per cent pay hike on the recommendation of the Shiv Shankar Committee. The civic corporation however argued that the 66 per cent pay hike would go against the ceiling enforced by the Third Pay Commission. They also stressed the fact that municipal resources cannot bear this additional burden since they are already facing an accumulated deficit of Rs 21 crores. Now the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh union in the Delhi Water Supply—Jal Mal Karmachari Sangh—which was not even a recognised union and commanded only a minority following recently demanded that the committee's recommendation be implemented. This call has been given several times before by various other unions but the authorities had ignored it. This time when the BMS gave the call, the authorities invited it for negotiations but totally ignored

the other unions, including the largest union which is affiliated to the INTUC. The understanding was that only certain demands of the BMS would be agreed upon and while not agreeing to the 66 per cent pay hike, the Sangh authorities would at the same time boost the image of the BMS among the workers with the announcement of some benefits.

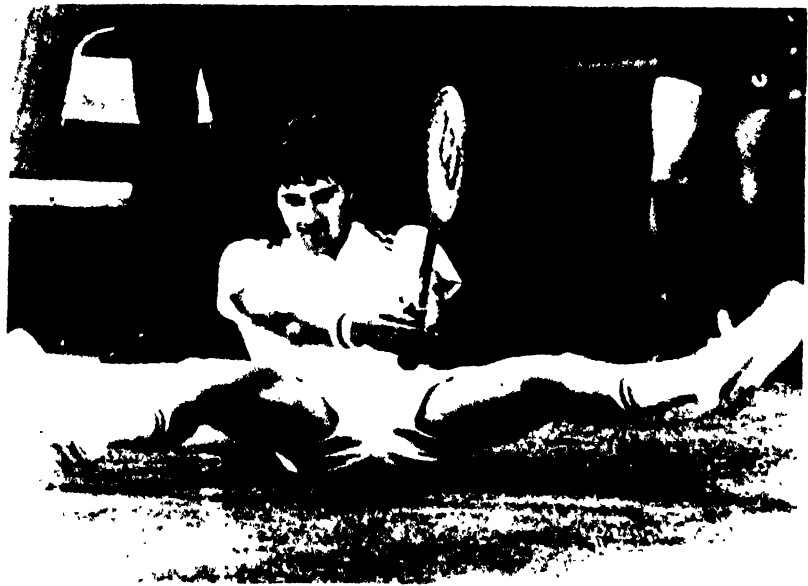
So when the union leaders met the Executive Councillor Madan Lal Khurana and the Delhi Mayor R. K. Gupta—both Jana Sangh diehards—an "agreement" was easily reached. The problem arose however when the other unions refused to go along with the BMS union in calling off the strike. The BMS was caught in its own trap. If it still insisted in calling off the strike, its image would only deteriorate among the workers and so it reluctantly backed out of the talks with the authorities. This sudden unforeseen development caught the Sangh bosses absolutely by surprise and they were quite incapable of dealing with the situation.

On Thursday, July 11, the em-

ployees struck work and the people of Delhi woke up to bone-dry taps. An announcement was made in Parliament by Water and Housing Minister Sikandar Bakht, informing the House of the strike by the Water Supply employees but at the same time assuring that army technicians had been called in and that by the evening normal water supply would be restored. The situation however worsened by the night with wide-scale sabotage and next morning there was hardly a colony in the Capital which had water. In Parliament, where the crucial no-confidence motion debate was going on, angry Opposition members refused to sit in the House until normal water supply was restored. In the Rajya Sabha, the CPI leader Bhupesh Gupta who brought an empty tumbler along with him screamed, "We have so far witnessed a fast flood of lies and calumny. What we, however, want is water". At the Lok Sabha, Commerce Minister Mohan Dharia suggested that the House be adjourned for the day after the Opposition benches kept heckling the Speaker. So in an unprecedented decision, both Houses of Parliament were adjourned for the day not because of the political crisis but because of the water crisis.

AJAY BOSE, New Delhi

OH, WHAT A FALL !



Wimbledon has never been quite the same for Jimmy Connors after his maiden win in 1974, when he crushed veteran Ken Rosewall in straight sets. The next year he reached the finals again, only to bow out to compatriot Arthur Ashe. In 1976 Connors lost to the big server from Lookout Mountain, Tennessee — Roscoe Tanner — in straight sets and he reached the finals again in 1977 and 1978 only to be flattened by Sweden's Bjorn Borg. This year he lost to Borg again in the semi finals, and managed to take only seven games off the Swede. Immediately after the match, Connors stormed off the court, into a chauffeur-driven car and caught the first flight from Heathrow. In between, he found time to tell Wimbledon officials to put their tournament in an appropriate place.

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Shanghai's Liberation

Shanghai, the home of three members of the Gang of Four, is a political city, and far more colourful than Beijing. S. NIHAL SINGH, editor of "The Statesman," spent a fortnight in China and recorded his observations in the form of a book. These exclusive extracts are from the result of that China trip, "The Gang and 900 Million" (Oxford and IBH Publishing in association with Nachiketa Publications Ltd, Rs 32).



AS I flew to Shanghai, I was reminded of the Swissair hostess's remarks on the flight from Bombay to Beijing. "It is difficult to know the Chinese," she had said. "But they do not look unhappy. Of course, I'd rather live in Switzerland."

There was no frisking or examination of hand baggage before departure—the blessings of a Communist State! And there was a variation in the usual opening gambit on the plane's departure. In conformity with the Chinese proletarian mores, the words "Ladies and gentlemen" had been

dropped. The announcement simply said: "Good morning passengers." The air hostess's uniforms were made of finer material than the common Mao jacket and trousers and were woollen, but the trousers stayed floppy. I had wondered why the Mao jackets were worn so loose, only to discover that all the woollens—layers and layers of them—are worn underneath.

A first generation Singapore-born Chinese had come to Beijing on a business trip. It was only about five years ago, he said, that the Singapore Government allowed ethnic Chinese under 40 to visit China. "We won't be indoctrinated because we have comfortable homes, beautiful cars and conveniences. Is this Communism?" he asked rhetorically. Surely Mao's greatest contribution to his country has been that he related an alien creed to the Chinese past and values. They do not talk about a New Chinese Man, as they do in Russia about the New Soviet Man, but the Chinese believe that their country is unique in its practice of Communism.

Are the Chinese inscrutable? As their appetite for the good things of life increases, they will probably become less so. The contaminating influence of increasing numbers of tourists and foreign residents can only grow. A Chinese customs inspector recently made a request to an American diplomat to bring him some tapes the next time he was on leave. The young Chinese want to dance Western dances and the glamour of an interpreter's job for the Chinese student carries its own commentary.

Whatever the cost of the Chinese variety of Communism, nobody starves in China.

LO SHICHONG, who was to be my interpreter during my stay in Shanghai, had the savvy to say in introducing me to Shi Chi that he had a rather long designation: Head of the Reception Office of Foreign Affairs of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee of Shanghai. Shi, who looked like a veteran of the Long March in his proletarian cap and the Mao jacket, turned out to be a delightful character. "Spring is the best time for



Flashback to 1972: residents of Shanghai inspect a news photograph of President Nixon with Premier Chou-en-Lai

South China," he told me. "Later this month a hundred flowers will bloom."

It is perhaps typical of the Shanghai air that we straightway launched into a political discussion. "Shanghai has the reputation of being a radical city," I began tentatively.

"That is the foreigners' impression," Shi said. "This was the base of the counter-revolutionary forces. The Gang of Four talked a radical language but only wished to usurp State power under the guise of these slogans. We suffered until the Gang was smashed but things have been improving during the last few years."

"What do you think about the Democracy Wall here? They put up posters in the People's Square. Some criticize the Government, some are confused, but we shall let them express their opinions. People who criticize our Party and Government are few. Western media have exaggerated the significance of the Democracy Wall."

"As the Western media have been exaggerating the significance of dissidents in the Soviet Union," I suggested.

"As far as I know, conditions in Moscow are totally different from those obtaining here," he reported.

Driving into the city, I found Shanghai to be a more urbane place compared to Beijing. There was some colour in the streets. It was raining and the yellow umbrellas and flowered blouses were a welcome relief from the drabness of Beijing. The Jinjiang Hotel where I was put up was very much part of the *ancien regime*. There were chandeliers in the dining room and the waitresses were smarter, despite their baggy trousers. At least one of them was pert and almost coquettish and had a more feminine haircut, instead of the inevitable two bunches held together with rubber bands.

THERE are more than 140 workers' complexes in Shanghai, as behoves an industrial city with a population of about 5½ million. One such is the Tien San Workers' New Residential area. It was originally a stretch of farm land. Started in 1952 with State funds, it houses 61,000 people in 16,000 households. Most residents are workers of the textile and steel mills and machine tool plants in the area, but there are also school teachers and shop assistants. This complex has all the paraphernalia of a residential complex: kindergartens, schools, hospitals, clinics, food and garment stores. Cheng Uri, who greeted me outside the reception room of the complex, modestly described himself as a cadre of the Street Office. On one wall hung the symbols of the Chinese version of Communism: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and on another Mao and Hua. I had come to expect this as a standard format for every office in China.

Mr Cheng said the average rent was 23 fen (cents) for a square metre of bedroom space. A husband and wife with two children would probably get 15 square metres, and two single persons might have to share a room. The housing complex's problems are that welfare services often lag behind needs and growing families need more space. The days of the Gang of Four were bad for this complex, according to Mr Cheng. Children were not keen on studies, people did not pay much attention to improving the standard of living. New construction came to a halt. Indeed, Mr Cheng's conclusions reflected the prevailing wisdom. "The Gang of Four's fallacy was that the richer you become, the more reactionary you are. As long as we remain socialist, we should improve the living standards." The average pay of workers in this area is around 65 yuan, but enterprises under collective ownership pay workers only about 33 yuan. Mr Cheng explained that many in the latter category were formerly housewives without an income. If they became jealous about the higher pay of workers

in State-run enterprises, they were educated.

I visited a workshop making brocade dresses for export. Women were busy at their machines: some were making buttons of dress material, others were packing dresses in plastic bags. This workshop in fact feeds a larger State unit which supplies it the material. The supermarket in the area was crowded and slushy. In the nearby clothes store, an attractive cotton print sold for 93 fen a metre while woollen material was 22 to 28 yuan a metre. "This is for the senior Party cadre," I told the interpreter. "Well, other people have money too," he answered.

I was asked to select a house to visit in the area. The steady drizzle inevitably led me to the home of the Sung family. Mr Sung Senior is 74, his wife 10 years his junior, and their 24-year-old son works as a lathe operator in a textile mill for 40 yuan a month. The Sung's combined pension is 150 yuan. They have two rooms and share a kitchen and bathroom with their next-door neighbour who was having her hair done.

The Sung's have a large-screen television set (a status symbol in China) in the son's room. The parents' room sported a gaudy picture of a seal balancing a plate and pictures of Mao and Hua. There was a sofa, two impressive Chinese chairs, quilts and blankets piled on a bed and a table and reading lamp. The son's room had a photograph of his girlfriend and a wall calendar showing a woman in a clinging dress. The Sung family pays 15 yuan for rent and gas, water and electricity charges. Food costs them 50 yuan a month and the total monthly expenses, including clothing, come to 110 yuan.

Mr Sung Senior proved to be a loquacious man. He said he liked reading Chinese classics and Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thoughts. "I was too poor to sup-



The face of the tramp is displayed in China as well, although his movies are dubbed in Chinese

port my family before the Liberation," he said, "Therefore, I came to Shanghai in search of work. I could not afford to marry until I was 47, after the Liberation. History teaches us what we were and what we are." Mr Sung Senior seemed somewhat apologetic about his fondness for classics. "Some of the old writers were given to Big Power chauvinism which, Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is not right."

Mr Sung Senior wakes up before six, does his exercises, goes to an "activity centre" to play chess or other games. He also watches television. "I recently saw *Awara* on television. I liked it," he volunteered. Indeed, he was a benign old man who seemed content with his lot. What is the next big thing in his life? I asked.

"The next big thing is to prepare myself for my son's wedding which will be in a few years' time. I reckon I'll spend a thousand yuan on it, not on the marriage itself, which costs a few yuan, but on clothes and furniture". In the kindergarten, the last stop in the workers' new residential area, my arrival was announced by the warning clap of Mrs Sun, a dumpy woman. Children sang a welcome song, crowded round me to shake hands, said "how d'you do, Uncle" and wanted to be picked up.

In one section, the task set for children was to thread tiny beads on a wire contraption — to teach them the value of labour, it was explained.



A Chinese department store is full of eager shoppers. There are crowds at the clothes counters, for musical instruments, for shoes, for practically everything. Material for women is resplendent with flowered patterns, particularly in silks — who wears them? The consumer instinct was very much in evidence. Cotton is cheap in China, though rationed. Lo Sih-chong reminded me that this particular store predated the Liberation. "It was then a store for the rich," he added. "You had to be well-dressed to be allowed in".

Shanghai's architecture is very mixed, reflecting its past. British, French and German styles rub shoulders with the traditional Chinese forms, and the new, representing a particularly hybrid mixture of proletarian Chinese and Russian Communist modernity. Streets bustle with cyclists, honking cars and blue-jacketed pedestrians. Clothes dry on bamboo poles. Men and women eat ice cream bars on streets, and here and there one sees patches of colour. Billboards advertise toothpaste as well as the year 2,000 — the projected new millennium of Chinese Communism. Among the films playing in dubbed Chinese versions are a Charlie Chaplin retrospective, *Monsieur Verdoux*, Hamlet and Raj Kapoor's *Awaraz*. Lo had never heard of Pasternak or the *Zhivago* film. He said films were still imported from the Soviet Union, particularly those dealing with Lenin.

At the antique shop run by the State there is pricey porcelain. An English-speaking salesman speaks knowledgeably about contemporary painting. Most of the works on display are done by members of the Shanghai Painting Institute but they are the work of men past 70.

The Bund and the Park (the Chinese were barred from the park in the days of the Concessions) are favourite spots for a Sunday afternoon stroll. They present vistas of blue jackets with an occasional purple and green. A Shanghai couple hold hands on a bench for a brief moment.

The Friendship Store nearby — a chain of shops in the major cities for foreigners — is full of tourists. Chinese articles, particularly embroidery and silk, sell like hot cakes. China is, after all, still the new unexplored market for tourists.

Sales girls have their transistors tuned into the English lesson.

THE film *Where Silence Is Hushed* is based on a play symbolising the April 5 movement. It is part of the policy of deification of Zhou (formerly written Chou) to counteract the influence of the Gang of Four. The film has just been released and is in the best traditions of Bombay cinema. Kissing is represented by peach blossoms and there is thunder and lightning at appropriate moments. The story is about a noble boy, his revolutionary mother, his noble girlfriend, a bad man, his good son and a tortured wife. The bad man's wife exposes



her husband — all for a good cause — and the hero and heroine go out to face prison and hardship. The bad man is, of course, very bad. The revolutionary mother has suffered imprisonment for her alleged counter-revolutionary activities. She is innocent and still thinks of contributing to Party funds even as she is dying of cancer of the liver.

To make sure the audience does not miss the moral, a documentary on Zhou Enlai and the April 5 movement is screened immediately before the feature film. The good Premier Zhou — the dead retain their earthly designations in today's China. Audience reaction to the film was appropriate, although one couple seemed more interested in necking.

Later, Shi asked me what I thought of the film. "I thought it made its points with a sledge-hammer," I answered.

Q: You are looking at the artistic, not the political aspect of the film. You prefer obscurity.

A: No, I do not. But a point can be made forcefully and with subtlety. Besides, you cannot separate the artistic from the political aspects.

Q: To those of us who have lived through the days of the Gang of Four, the film portrays competently the issues involved. The playwright Xiong Fuxian is a worker in a Shanghai factory and when he wrote it the Central Committee had not reversed its decision on the counter-revolutionary nature of the Tienanmen incident. The writer took a risk and the director was afraid to lend his name to it. It was first performed by an amateur group in Shanghai in a production unit. The Central Committee reversed the decision on the April 5 demonstration last autumn and the play is now being performed by a thousand groups around the country. What do



you think about the political aspect of the film?

A: I am a foreigner looking at it from the outside. I think the Chinese will take it as defecation of Zhou as a counterweight to the influence of the Gang of Four.

Q: I think the character of the heroine was originally weak and they have tried to put some life into it. The girl is 30 and should have been mature politically. The mother who informs on her husband was not played well. She should have portrayed the great struggle inside her. The father too was weak. But the other characters acted well. I think the film does succeed in making its point.

A: So you have five good people and one bad man.

Q: If the followers of the Gang of Four were in a majority, we would be in trouble. One of the weaknesses of the film is that it is an adaptation of a State play. That is why there is too much of talk. Looking back, some of the things that happened during the days of the Gang of Four were ridiculous, but they did happen. In hospitals, doctors were made to sweep the floors; nurses stood in for doctors and it was suggested that doctors, nurses and cleaning workers were equal. I think the attitude of the hotel and restaurant workers is not good even today. The Gang of Four thought waiters should not serve; diners should help themselves. We call these internal wounds. It will take us many years to get rid of the evil influence of the Gang.

Tuesday, April 10



I had never watched an operation performed on a human body, and it was with some trepidation that I accepted the invitation of the Tah Hua (Great China) District Hospital to witness an appendicitis operation. The point of it was that they used the acupuncture method to anaesthetize the patient. The patient — a young woman worker — was already on the operating table. She had two needles on her right ear and two in her legs. A nurse was massaging her forehead while I watched from behind a glass door, feeling somewhat

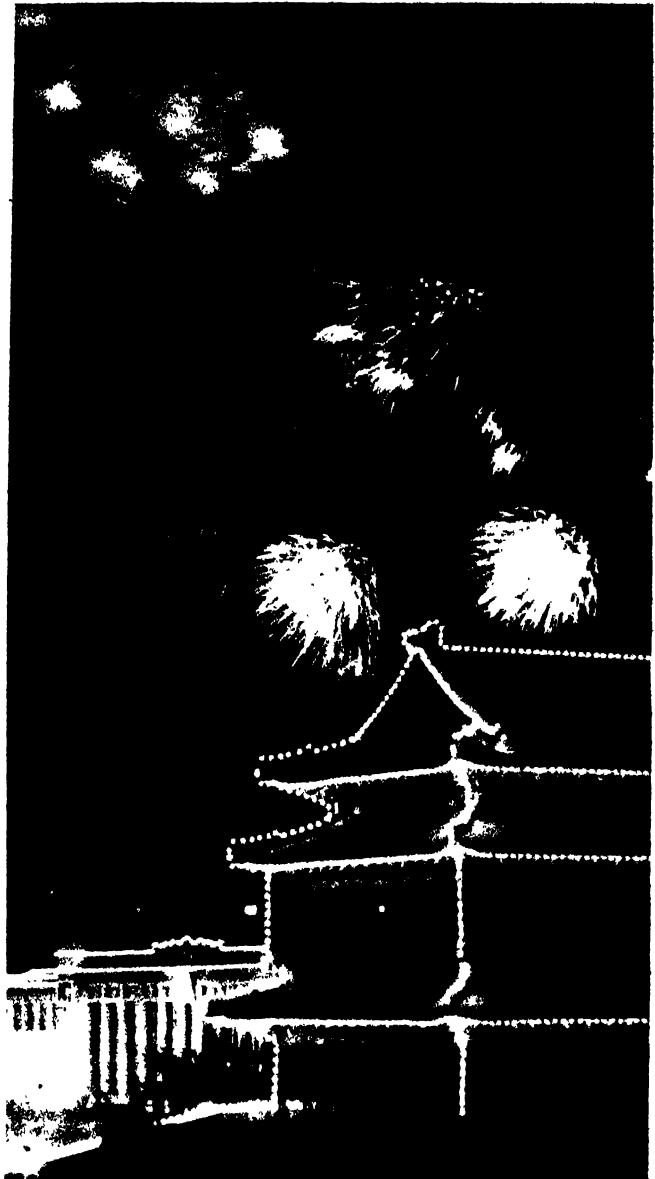
guilty for intruding on a very private event.

I had a queer feeling in the bottom of my stomach as the doctor made the incision. It took him less than 10 minutes to take the appendix out and stitch up the incision. The acupuncture needles were taken out, the wound was dressed and the patient was helped on to her feet and led to her ward. She waved and smiled weakly as she went by; doubtless she had been told that a "foreign friend" had come to watch the operation.

Mrs Liu Lichen, the acupuncturist, told me that the hospital had performed more than 300 operations using acupuncture to anaesthetize patients. The method was safe, had no side effects and could be used in rural areas. But it had limitations because it caused uneasiness and nausea during some operations.

The Tah Hua is a relatively small hospital, with 70 beds and a staff of 160. It also treats 700 outpatients a day. The hospital's responsibilities include the medical care of the staff of 80 factories and the area's population of 109,000. Mrs Lu was vocal on the evil days of the Gang of Four. In accordance with the philosophy that doctors, nurses and cleaners should be "integrated", nurses did doctors' jobs and even performed some operations. The nurses often made wrong diagnoses and came out of the operation theatre to consult doctors during operations. Being small, the hospital did not practise this system for long. Mrs Liu said experienced doctors did not dare to read medical books or improve their skills for fear of being accused of being an expert. The hospital library remained empty. "Nurses did not look after patients properly, with the result that most of the work had to be performed by the families of the sick. During those days the sick ward was a vegetable market in the morning, a restaurant at noontime and a hotel at night."

Dr Wang, who had performed the operation I had



witnessed, joined us at this point. He was a modest man with a receding hairline. Both he and his colleague, Dr Chen Pai, had studied medicine in China. Did they plan to go abroad? "We should also learn from abroad, but Chinese pharmacology is a treasure and much remains to be explored in it," Dr Wang said. "The principles of acupuncture, for instance, should be researched."

Dr Wang said heart, kidney and liver transplant operations had been performed in China. The heart transplant operation was performed in Shanghai last year. It was reported in the newspapers as the first such successful operation performed in China. As far as he knew, the patient was still alive. Dr Wang's interest in heart transplants seemed limited. He said all heart diseases could not be cured with a transplant, and the heart, after all, just played the role of a pump. The function of the kidneys, however, was more complicated. The Chinese were prone to respiratory, cardiovascular and heart ailments.

Doctors at the hospital work eight hours six days of the week and are, of course on call for emergencies. They undergo one session of political study each week. Dr Wang said with a smile. "We discuss articles on developing our economy and the need for persistence in socialist orientation, Party leadership, proletarian dictatorship and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought."

Tah Hua does not conjure the picture of a model hospital and many of the facilities are primitive. But as with so many things in China, it works — and works well.

COME what may, some stars will never forsake their annual trips to London. People like Rekha, for instance. She had created such a big controversy about the *Namkeen* shooting, and now, a month later, it is still a mystery whether Gulzar removed her from the film or she "walked out" as she has been telling everyone. She went to London all the same and had a rollicking time there. So whoever tells you that she is going through a bad spell of nervous breakdown, professional slump, physical setback, etc., isn't telling you the truth. Even Neetu, who has just a few films to finish before she gets married and is in a hurry to complete them, wanted to go to London for her pre-wedding shopping, could not stick to her plans. But Rekha just turns in the wind and follows any direction it leads her to. So waste no pity on the girl. She is

Kishore Kumar



Zarina: on a different trip

having a nice time and is even back at her old game of ditching producers, walking out of their sets and creating all the accompanying tension.

IT is difficult to decide whether Kishore Kumar's eccentricity increases when he is having a "chakkar" with a girl, or he is like that at all. (I mean you only notice him when he is getting involved with a girl and not much otherwise.) Now, everyone knows that he and Leena Chandavarkar are having a really whopping affair. But the fuss he has been making in trying to keep his visits to her flat a secret! He sneaks into the entrance of the building and hides behind one of the walls, and keeps peeping out to see if the way to the lift is clear. In doing this, he is seen by more people than would have been the case if he had walked straight into the lift. Then (when he has been seen suspiciously eyeing the lift by a sufficient number of people) he dashes out from his hiding place and runs into the lift. Isn't that crazy? Leena's parents are

very sore about the Kishore Kumar development as she has just been through a tragic marriage. Knowing Kishore's record with girls, any parent would disapprove. But the biggest mystery is what the *beti* sees in the man in spite of his past.

IT was a stormy, rainy day with sea winds lashing the city and flats facing the sea bearing the brunt of the monsoon's fury. But there was another kind of fury raging in one of the sea-facing flats at Bandra! Bags were being loaded into a car, sisters were running up and down the road, into lifts and out of them and there were bags outside the flat too, waiting to be loaded into the car. Zarina Wahab was standing in front of the mirror and furiously brushing her newly-grown waist-length hair, everything else ready for departure. Then she flew down the building and into the waiting car, where sat another girl. She was being different. She was going to Singapore, with this girl friend of hers. She had managed this nice one-week gap between her shootings, so that she could

take this holiday which was mainly for shopping. Otherwise with the weather hot and rainy in Singapore, who else but a filmstar badly in need of a wardrobe overhaul would make such a desperate dash to the shopper's paradise? Zarina is like Hema Malini; she prefers the East to the West.

IT is surprising that a small, unpretentious film like *Jurmana* can kick up such a storm. First of all it began inauspiciously, just after the completion of *Alaap* which with the Hrishikesh Mukherji-Amitabh-Rekha mix had flopped badly. So they all wrote off *Jurmana*, with the Hrishida-Amitabh-Raakhee line-up even before it was released. But this surprise-of-the-year has turned into a big success. And all those who had spoken against the film are now busy trying to retract their words, justify their predictions or deny their earlier comments. Everyone connected with the film is happy, most of all, the producer Debesh Ghosh, whose first film *Charitraheen* flopped in spite of the Shakti Samanta-Sharmila-Sanjeev billing.

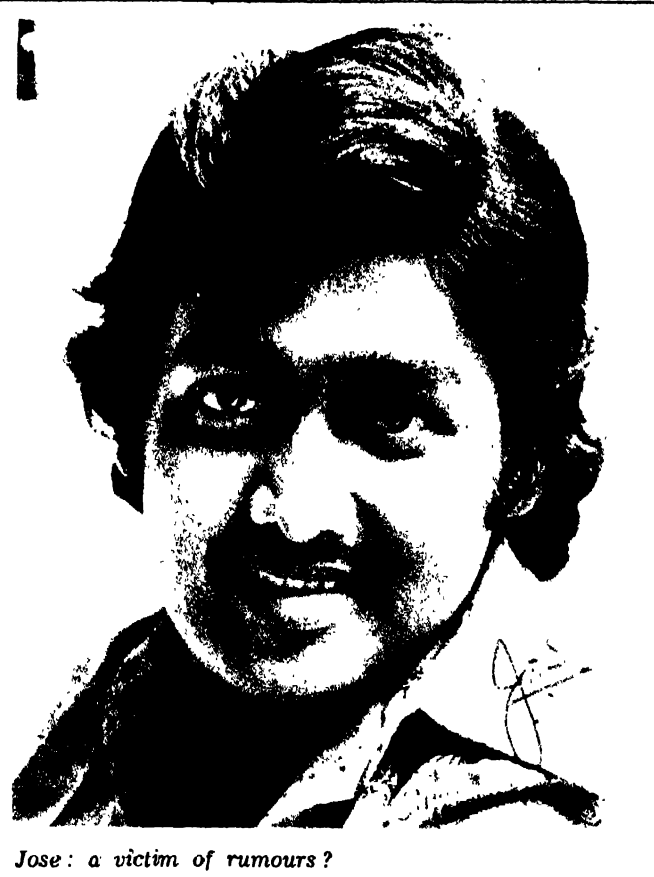
SUNIL DUTT has just come back from a hectic round of London where he had been presenting Lata's shows to full houses at the Albert Hall and the Paladium. The shows were seen to be believed, he said. He has known Lata for so many years and yet he cannot help marvelling at the magic she can weave through her songs and the crowds she can draw the world over. Both Nargis and Sunil worked together for the shows. Sunil came back to direct *Rocky* which he had been working on just before he left, while Nargis and the girls stayed on for some more time. Sunjay, who was also in London taking some useful training in Western dance for the film, came back with his father although he was not needed for the film. Sunil's explanation: Let him watch the progress of the film and see how it is being directed and worked on, after all, it is his debut. With a father like Sunil, who fears for the future of sons like Sunjay?

WERE Seema and Jose arrested and taken to a police station from a Madras hotel? Jose's mother heard the rumour and telephoned him from Kerala, wanting to know what exactly her son was up to. So many film-artists these days are walking in and out of police stations (only the other day Rajnikant was fined Rs 200 by a Madras court for creating a fracas in a movie house) that the mother had reasons to believe the rumour. Says Jose: "Some interested party must have spread the rumour. I'm acting with Seema in half a dozen films. And I find her an extremely cooperative artiste. And in between the shooting, I relax and dance with her which she enjoys very much. And our friendship ends there. Another reason for spreading the rumour is that the most popular director in Kerala, I.V.Sasi is directing four films I am acting in and Sasi and Seema form a mutual admiration club of their own..."

Jose, Seema and Shoma Anand are featured in *Aarattu*, an I.V.Sasi film that's nearing completion. While returning from a late show of a film, the car in which Sasi, Jose, Shoma and her mother were travelling met with an accident. "It could've been a major mishap—but we were lucky," recalls Jose. The next day filmmakers and distributors in Kerala were making long-distance calls, wanting to know how Sasi was. For, in Kerala Sasi's name is highlighted more than other artistes. Jose worked for Sasi for the first time in *Jnan Jnan Mathram*, a hit, and he now believes that his career will prosper under Sasi's guidance. Among Jose's current co-artists are Jayabharathy, Ambika and Vidhubala.

KANNADA box-office champion *Rajkumar's* singing has proved as popular as his screen presence. And his songs in *Huli Halina Mevu* (music: G. K. Venkatesh) have become super hits. He has sung them along with S. Janaki and P. Sushila. Though Rajkumar has been

Subha



Jose: a victim of rumours?

singing his own songs only for a few years now, his fans would like to listen to his own voice and producers dare not bring in any other singer as Rajkumar has been doing justice to the songs. A devotional album of Rajkumar's songs, dedicated to Sri Raghuvendra Swamy of Mantralaya, is also selling well. Rajkumar has rendered the soft numbers (music: M. Ranga Rao) with an earnest devotional fervour.

And recently he had a rare privilege to sing a bhajan, written by friend lyricist Udayashankar, in the presence of Lord Balaji at Tirupati. It was a private affair.

DIALOGUE writer and assistant director *Bhagyaraj*, who became a hero overnight through *Pudiya Varpugal* is reluctant to face the studio cameras again. His singular ambition was to direct a film on his own, and he's doing that now (he isn't in it). Maybe after the release of this film, *Bhagyaraj* may do a role or two. Producers haven't given up hope

as yet. If mentor Bharati-
raja can act in a film, why not *Bhagyaraj*, who is any day more photogenic than his guru.

MADRAS producers are genuinely proud of the fact that their film production is really streamlined and Bombay stars who fly down to Madras to participate in a locally produced Hindi film are never tired of praising the efficiency of Madras producers. But two Hindi films were prolonged beyond reasonable delay. *Yuvraj* was to be released in February '78 but the "patch-work" took more than a year. And *Dil ka heera*, still under production, starring Dharmendra and Hema Malini, produced by journalist-editor Maniyan, was to be out last April.

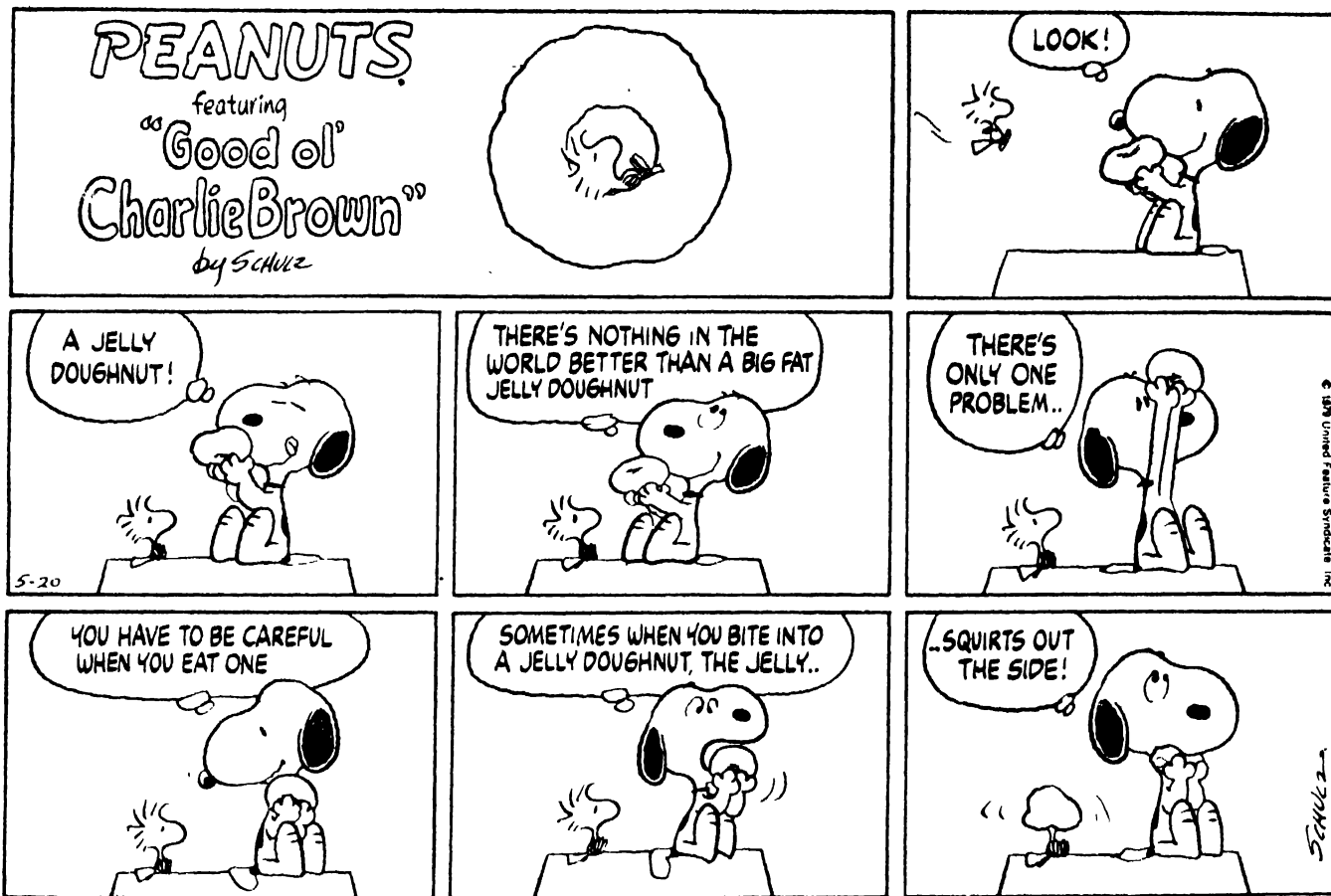
SRIPRIYA, it is hoped, will bring some luck to music-director M. S. Viswanathan. The veteran composer has invested money in half a dozen films which died young at the box-office. His newest has *Sripriya* as the heroine: It's

titled *Mangala Vadhyam*, and is produced under the banner of 'Saa ree gaa maa paa thaa nee films'.

COMEDIENNE *Manorama* has appeared in some 350 films till now and has greatly contributed to the super success of many of these films but when she's featured in the pivotal role, however, luck eludes the film. Look what happened to *Alankari*, a recent Tamil release which also featured politician, legislator and buffoon Isari Velan. The film turned out to be an unnoticed flop of the season. Comedian Cho's observation has to be remembered: Cho once said that it's very advantageous to be a comedian. "Only heroes and heroines are blamed for the film's failure. Whereas at times the comedians get credit for the extra success of a film". That's fine, but one knows what happens when comedians are featured in lead roles.

IT'S not often that makers of mediocre films get many assignments to direct films. Vishu Kumar, novelist turned filmmaker (he's an actor too), is an exception but Vishu who has made one Telugu film, and two Kannada films (his last completed film *Mother* awaits release) doesn't want to direct any film that's not written by him. "And when I'm busy making films, I do not find much time to write", he says. Why didn't he enter films after writing two dozen novels? Vishu is busy at the moment with *Akanda Brahmacharigalu*. The film is spiced with plenty of sex and should keep the box-office busy, he hopes. His controversial *Karavali* was banned by the censors for some time because the Mogaveera community in South Kanara district in Karnataka protested vigorously against its simple theme of intercaste affairs. The film wasn't allowed to be released in that district. And others who expected to see a generous display of fisher women's anatomy were disappointed. Naturally *Karavali* had a lean time at the box-office. Undaunted, Vishu decided to stay on in films.

PIOUSJI



VARIETY science

Sound idea

ABOUT six per cent of the population in industrialised countries have a hearing defect of some kind. Of these about half are deaf enough to warrant the use of a hearing aid and about two per cent are completely deaf in both ears, so that the most powerful hearing aids produce only a feeling of vibration in the ear. Twenty-two years ago, two Frenchmen, A. Djourné and C. Eyries, placed a wire in the region of the inner ear in a deaf patient and discovered that electric currents through the wire could evoke sound sensations in the patient. Since then, scientists in a number of countries have been working on ways of implanting electronic stimulating devices to recreate some kind of hearing for the deaf.

Most sounds in everyday life, speech included, are made up of a large number of frequencies, rather than one frequency. Place analysis (distinguishing of frequencies) along the basilar membrane (a membrane that runs along the interior of the cochlea, which conveys sound waves) analyses the sound into its component frequencies, because each component excites its appropriate place on the basilar membrane. Although there is

not very good resolution to this analysis, it provides essential information which the brain uses in interpreting and analysing the sound. Without place analysis we would not be able to understand speech.

When an electrode is used to excite the auditory nerve, (which conveys electrical nerve impulses to the brain) the inner ear is completely bypassed and the place analysis (which in any case does not work in a deaf ear) is not available. The electrode excites the same nerves regardless of the stimulating frequency. Although work is going on in France, America and Australia, on multiple-electrode implants to provide a crude kind of place information, there are many technical and surgical difficulties. For the next few years at least, the most useful approach seems to be to accept the limitations of single-electrode systems, and to work within them to provide the best communication possible.

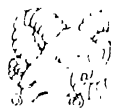
One of the most important differences between contrasting speech sounds depends on whether the vocal cords vibrate and the sound has a well-defined, low pitch related to the frequency of vibration. In unvoiced sounds the vocal cords do not vibrate and there is a more noise-like quality. Contrasts between voiced and unvoiced sounds enable us to distinguish between the

oppositions that occur most frequently in English (for example, to-do, sue-zoo) but they are not discernible in lip movements. In addition, the pitch patterns that make up intonation carry information about the whole structure of a sentence, the position of the stressed words and the mood of the person speaking. It turns out that the range of frequencies of vibration of the vocal cords during normal speech corresponds well with the range of frequencies our patients can detect, so a combination of lip-reading and transmission of speech components via an implanted electrode can, in theory, make speech considerably more intelligible than it is through lip-reading alone.

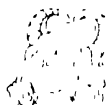
Dr Brian C. J. Moore of the Department of Experimental Psychology, Cambridge University, and a few other scientists have been using for experimental tests, a device called the laryngograph, developed by Professor Fourcin, to pick out the frequency of vibration of the vocal chords. The speaker wears a pair of discs, one on each side of his larynx (Adam's apple) and the output is a simple noise-free signal of fairly constant strength that can be fed almost directly to the implanted electrode. It has been found that this enables patients to discriminate between contrasting speech sounds (t-d, s-z) ■

Beginning July 22

This week the Sun, Mercury and Jupiter are conjoined in Cancer, Rahu and Saturn are in Leo. Uranus is in Libra, Neptune is in Scorpio, Kethu is in Aquarius, Mars is in Taurus and Venus alone is in Gemini. The Moon will be moving through Leo, Virgo and Libra from Cancer.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) Push forward all your activities to the utmost. You will succeed in solving some long-standing problems. A good week for undertaking journeys. Try and establish contacts with your superiors. Think of new plans. Children will get presents and ladies will have a good time. You need not worry about the health of your family members. **Good dates:** 22, 23 and 26. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) This is a period of trial and hardship. Your hasty nature may lead you to trouble. Your relationship with others needs reappraisal. Avoid controversies. Look towards the future with hope. Domestic matters need to be wisely handled. Do not go in for betting or gambling. Sickness in the family may lead to unexpected expenditure. A letter from a distant place may bring good news. **Good dates:** 23, 26 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 2. **Favourable directions:** South and West.



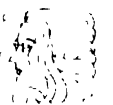
GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) This is going to be a difficult week. You may have to postpone many of your plans. You will find obstacles placed in your way. Do not go in for new ventures. Letters will not bring good news. Your family problems need all your attention. Some people may fall sick. Avoid speculation, betting and gambling. The coming weeks should brighten the scene for you to some extent. **Good dates:** 24, 26 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 3. **Favourable direction:** North.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) A favourable week for matrimonial affairs. This is the right time for both personal and business negotiations. A journey is forecast. Womenfolk will prove extraordinarily helpful. Some financial loss is possible at the week-end. Your success will solely depend on your own efforts. **Good dates:** 22, 23, 26 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) Handle your financial situation with great care and discretion if you do not want to face disappointment in the near future. This is not a favourable time for courtship and romance. Do not waste your money on meaningless ventures. Domestic problems will however be solved peacefully. Do not be afraid to adopt original business methods. Your health will improve. **Good dates:** 23, 24, 27 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 6. **Favourable directions:** East and South.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 23) A measure of success awaits you. Your business, social and intellectual pursuits will progress at a fantastic pace. Romance is in the offing and you may receive offers of matrimony. Act with discretion. Young people away from home should seek the advice of their parents on delicate issues. An unexpected event will bring immense pleasure. Your health remains good. **Good dates:** 22, 23 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 2. **Favourable direction:** East.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) This is going to be a successful week. Progress will bring pleasure. An elderly relative will prove helpful this week. Seek the advice of your elders on crucial and strategic issues. Make changes after careful reflection. Your health will remain satisfactory and all artistic activities will prosper. **Good dates:** 23, 24, 26 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 3. **Favourable direction:** South.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) This is a week of mixed fortunes. You will have to face many problems. Financial difficulties may upset many of your plans. Travelling is on the cards. This is a good period for love and romance. For businessmen letters will bring bad news. This however should not worry you. The domestic scene is peaceful. **Good dates:** 23, 25 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) The first few days of the week are really lucky for you. People around you will prove helpful. Debts and pending lawsuits will be peacefully settled. Some people are likely to get a transfer order. Others will change their residence. You may find it increasingly difficult to attend to your domestic problems. A short journey is likely. Don't be extravagant. **Good dates:** 22, 23, 26 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) You will realise some of your cherished desires. Your meetings with authorities will prove very helpful. Domestic problems will continue to pester you as before. Public figures will undergo mental worries and ordeals. This is a good time for those who will appear for job-interviews. Letters will bring good news. **Good dates:** 22, 23, 25 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



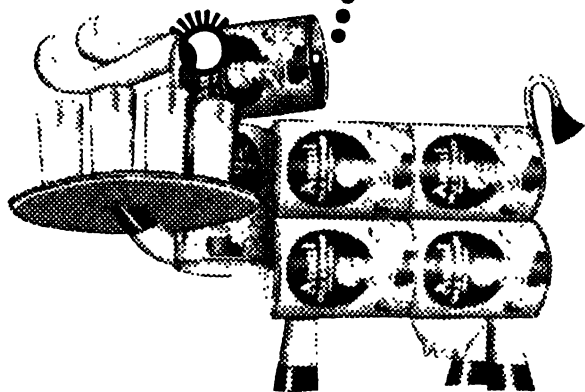
AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) Your noble intentions are likely to be misunderstood. A rather serious family problem is predicted; handle the situation with a lot of care and discretion. Take good care of your health. It is advisable not to make a mountain out of a molehill. You may have to go on a short journey. Debts and lawsuits will pose a problem. Letters will bring good news for you. **Good dates:** 22, 23, 24 and 27. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) Things will gradually improve by the end of this week. Many of your old problems will come to an end and this will lead to mental peace. For businessmen this is a lucky time. Letters will bring good news. Lawsuits will be decided in your favour. A favourable time for romance and love affairs. The financial front will remain good. **Good dates:** 24, 27 and 28. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 8. **Favourable direction:** West.

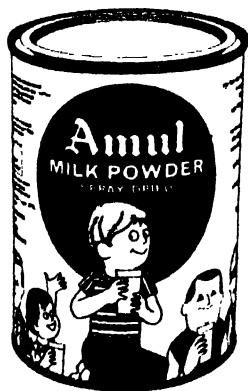
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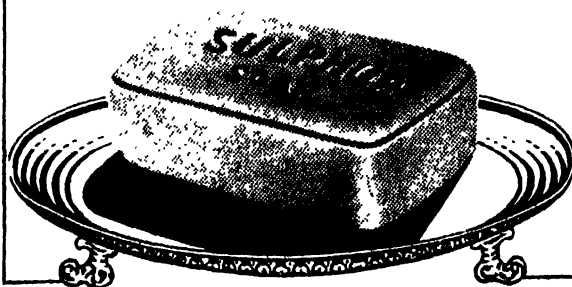
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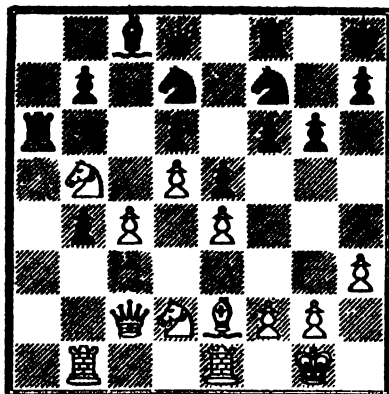
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chess

Cooper (Black)



Speelman (White) to play
Position after Black's 21st move

A new champion

The 1978 British Championship held in Ayer last August provided some very encouraging pointers for the future of British chess. Firstly, it was a sponsored event, being backed by Grieve, Grant & Co., a leading firm of London stockbrokers. British chess needs sponsorship. One of the reasons the Eastern Bloc countries are so strong in international chess is that they receive large scale official Government backing. The lack of such support in this country means that organisers will naturally look in the direction of industry and commerce for help. Hence the significance of the National Championship being sponsored.

The other encouraging factors can be seen from the result. 1st J. Speelman 8½/11; 2-3 A. J. Mestel, H. Plaskett 8; 4-5 P. Littlewood, S. Webb 7½. ... Of the top five Simon Webb, who is in his late twenties, is easily the oldest. A clear indication that the depth of young talent in this country is growing almost daily. Jonathan Speelman's victory, his first, marks an important milestone in his career. Nobody has ever doubted Jonathan's talent, particularly his great flair for combinations, but until a couple of years ago his play tended to be rather wild. Very good for the spectators, but not for scoring crucial points in top tournaments. Recently, however, he has managed to exercise much more control and put his play on a sound positional footing. I give an example of his newly developed style taken from round 8 of the championship. His blend of tactics and strategy shows remarkable maturity. Petrosian himself would be proud of such a game.

White: J. Speelman. Black: J. G. Cooper
King's Indian Defence

1. P-B4, N-KB3; 2. N-QB3, P-KN3; 3. P-K4, P-Q3; 4. P-Q4, B-N2; 5. N-B3, O-O; 6. B-K2, P-K4; 7. O-O, QN-Q2; 8. R-K1, P-B3; 9. B-B1, P-Q4; 10. R-N1, N-N5; 11. P-Q5, P-QB4; 12. P-QB3, K-R1; 13. N-QN5, R-R3; 14. P-R3, N-R3; 15. P-QN4, R-P x P; 16. P x P, P-B3. The thematic 15... P-B4 would be dangerous on account of the reply 16 N-N5.

17. B-K3, N-B2; 18. Q-B2, B-R3; 19. B x B, N x B; 20. N-Q2, N-B2. Too circumpect. Probably the time had come for 20... P-B4.

21. B-KB1; intending B-N4-K6.

21... P x P [overaw]. Black wants to plant a knight on B4, but he is given no time.

22. N x P1. An excellent positional sacrifice cutting right across Black's plans.

22... N x N. Or 22... R x N; 23. P-B5,

R-R3; 24. B x R, P x B; 25. R x P, with a commanding position.

23. P-B5, N x BP. Preferring to return the material rather than submit to 23... N-B2 24. B x R, which is the same as in the previous note.

24. Q x N, R-R7 25. Q x P. White's positional advantage is now clear.

25... P-B4; 26. Q-B3, P x P; 27. Q x P+, Q-B3; 28. Q x Q+, R x Q; 29. N x P1. Another neat combination.

29... N x N; 30. B-B4, R(R7) x P; 31. R x N, K-N2; 32. R-K7+, K-R3; 33. R-QB7, R-B7? A blunder, but 33... B-B4; 34. K x R, B x R+; 35. K-K3 is winning for White anyway. The passed QP is very strong.

34. R x B, R-B5; 35. R-N4, P-QN4; 36. P-Q6. A simple refutation. If he takes the bishop, then P-Q7 wins 36... R-Q5; 37. B-K6 resigns.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

THE deal below created interest when it was first published, partly because it illustrates a principle of play in a setting that was not obvious, partly because the play was described in the *Bridge World* by a 19-year-old undergraduate, Jeff Rubens. Rubens is now co-editor of the magazine and the author of some notable books.

Dealer	East. E-W vulnerable.		
	♠ A Q 2		
	♥ A K 4 2		
	♦ A 5 4 3		
	♣ J 10		
♠ 9 4 3		♠ 6	
♥ O J 9 8		♥ 10 7 6 3	
♦ 2		♦ K Q J 10 9	
♣ Q 9 7 6 3		♣ A K 8	
	♠ K J 10 8 7 5		
	♥ 5		
	♦ 8 7 6		
	♣ 5 4 2		

Weak jump overcalls have always been a part of 'standard American', so the bidding was given as follows:

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
—	—	—	1♦
2♣	No	4♠	No
No	No		

West leads his singleton diamond and dummy wins. South discards a diamond on the second heart and then goes after his club ruff. East wins the first club and plays two rounds of diamonds. South ruffs high on the fourth round and West, meanwhile, discards his remaining hearts.

When East comes in on the next round of clubs he leads a fifth diamond and again South must ruff high. After taking his club ruff declarer reaches this position:

	♠ A Q		
	♥ 4 2		
	♦ —		
	♣ —		
♠ 9 4 3		♠ 6	
♥ —		♥ 10 7	
♦ —		♦ 10	
♣ Q		♣ —	
	♠ K 8 7 5		
	♥ —		
	♦ —		
	♣ —		

South cashes the top trumps in dummy but cannot regain the lead without allowing West to make a trump trick.

Has anyone played badly? Yes, declarer was playing a crossruff in effect and should have made his low trumps safely at an early stage. He must ruff a heart with a low trump before leading the first round of clubs and

before West has been able to discard his last two hearts. The difference is that after ♠ A Q have been cashed at the finish South has only the King left.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



A NEW definitive stamp from Sweden features the popular Scandinavian winter sport of bandy. A form of hockey on ice, this seems to have originated in the Fen district of East Anglia during the early nineteenth century. Players of Bury Fen, on the River Ouse, are reputed to have been the English champions. About the turn of the century the game was introduced into Sweden, where there are now more than 30 bandy rinks. By coincidence, it is just a century this year since students at McGill University, Montreal, turned bandy into ice hockey by substituting a flat puck for the bandy ball and reducing the number of players in a team from eleven to six.

C.W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. Who is the painter who painted "the Last Supper" and had visited India?
2. What is Crytomesia?
3. Where was the Kamboja Desha?
4. In medical terminology what is homograph?
5. Who are the British bankers who have recently been in the news?
6. Who were the Knownothings?
7. What was the name of the work of Titus Livius?
8. Who was Nimrod?

1. Johann Zoffany.
2. It is memory without identification or recognition as previous experience.
3. Name of the Hindu kingdom established by Indian colonists in modern Cambodia.
4. An organ grafted from one human to another human.
5. Ian Massie and Michael Chatterton kidnapped in El Salvador.
6. An American political Party active in 1854-59.
7. Livy as he is called wrote the "History of Rome" in 142 books of which only 35 survive.
8. Traditional founder of the Babylonian monarchy and arche-type of a great hunter.

ANSWERS

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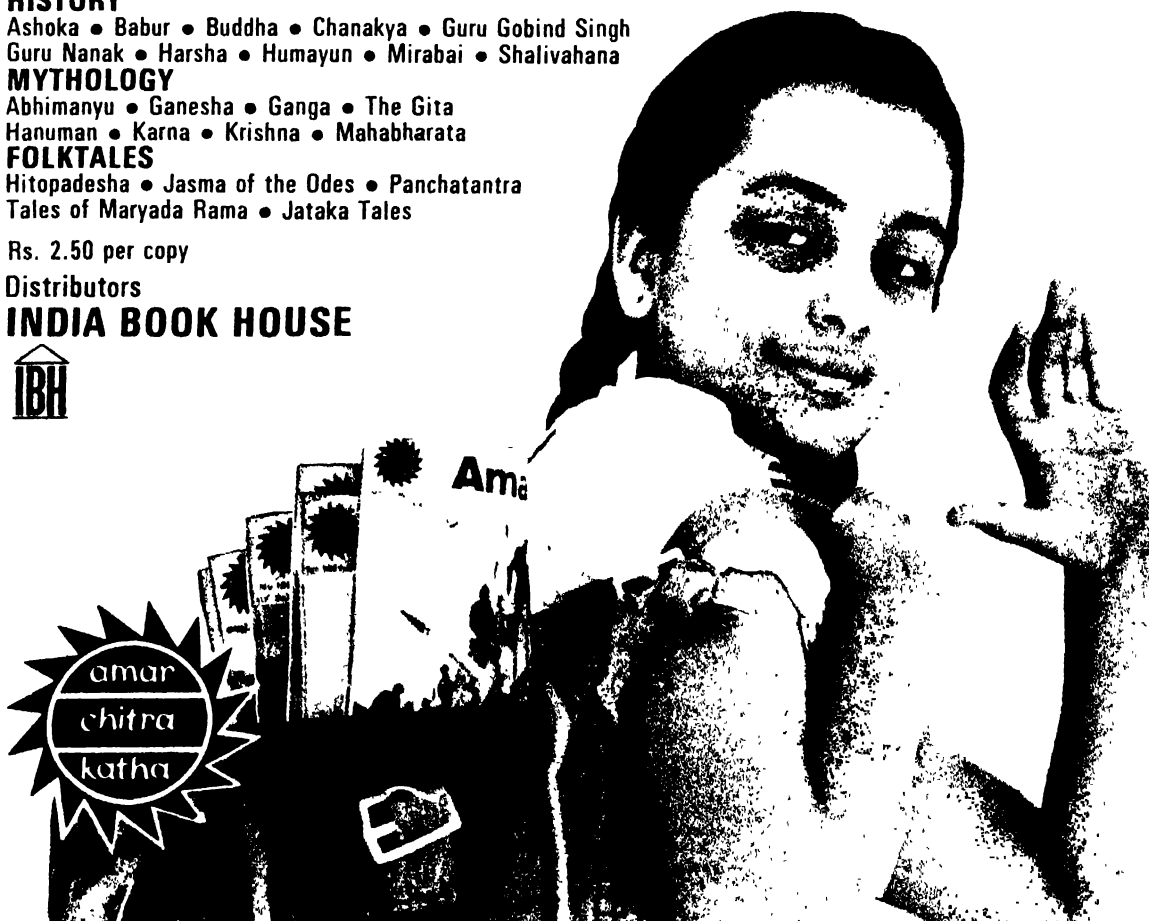
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BHOPAL: The Madras bound Southern Express was delayed for more than three hours at Itarsi junction following the forcible entry of policemen belonging to the Indore traffic police in a reserved compartment. Four to five policemen reportedly entered the compartment which had been reserved till Secunderabad for a marriage party from Kanpur and started misbehaving with the occupants. Later, nearly 20 policemen with dandas came to the help of their colleagues and started beating the members of marriage party, resulting in injuries to the bridegroom and his father. Later, the policemen allegedly decamped with two suitcases, half a dozen durries and more than Rs 300 belonging to the marriage party. A case has been registered by the railway police — *The Hindustan Times* (Ashok Miglani, New Delhi)

PATNA: The only woman minister in Bihar, Mrs Kaushalya Devi, who assumed office a few days ago, is facing a divorce suit by her husband. She is the Minister of State for the Public Works Department. Her husband, Mr Shashibhushan Singh, is reported to have filed a divorce petition in the court of district and session judge, Monghyr, on Wednesday. Mr

Singh had alleged that he had been ignored by his wife for last five years due to her active involvement in politics. Under the rules of business any minister who faced such a charge would have to quit his or her post pending disposal of the case — *Indian Express* (Kama Saraf, Jammu)

JAMMU: Telephone connections of all police stations including that of the Superintendent of Police, were disconnected by the Telephone authorities for non-payment of bills. A police spokesman, said: "it is strange that telephones were disconnected without any prior notice". All telephones of the Jammu railway station were also disconnected due to non-payment — *The Hindu* (N. Chandrasekharan, Madras)

BOMBAY: The branch manager of a bank and a film actress were arrested for allegedly cheating a bank of more than Rs 10 lakhs. Police said the branch manager and the film actress had opened accounts with the bank in the name of four "bogus" companies. The manager secured an overdraft of Rs 10.41 lakhs from the bank by misusing his position. They were arrested when they visited the actress' husband who is also wanted in the case, police said — *The Statesman* (D. Chanda, Nagaland)

JAIPUR: He pulled the rickshaw for the young West German tourist, Miss Erica. But the well-built Gopal Singh Rawat could scarcely have realised he was pulling the young woman's heart too. The pretty Frankfurtian, apparently struck by Rawat's physique, hired his rickshaw for her entire stay here. Love grew over numerous cups of tea which the twosome drank at wayside tea-stalls. The inevitable denouement: Erica married Rawat. Erica is now planning to take her rickshaw puller hubby to West Germany — *The Hindu* (R. Rhandrashkar, Puduililotta)

I FEEL liberated...I have gained confidence in myself. A new chapter has begun in my life—Devaraj Urs

THEY HAVE been wanting a Congress without me—Mrs Gandhi

THE RSS is a political Party and the Janata cannot afford to have a Party within a Party—Madhu Limaye

MANY OF us may have to go out of politics — Chandrashekhar, Janata Party President

HE (R. K. Dhawan) works in my mother's office—I don't know him personally. I may contest the next elections. I lost by the second smallest margin in the whole of UP. My mother lost by the smallest margin—Sanjay Gandhi

I AM not a gentleman. I am a Communist—Ashok Mitra, Finance Minister of West Bengal

WHY DO we forget that on the Kanti Desai issue the RSS men came forward to resign while Mr Fernandes clung to his chair. Indeed, we are ashamed to call him a Socialist — Raj Kumar Jain at a convention of former Socialist

I WAS never worried at all about wearing coloured rather than white cricket gear, never felt a conservative reaction. We were still playing the game, weren't we?—Clive Lloyd

humour in real life



SON TO father with a broken arm: "Papa, why don't you use dendrite instead of plaster"—Kanti Mukherjee, Calcutta.

A HEALTH clinic in Chandigarh sports a signboard: "Specialists in children, women, skin and sex"—Perminder Behl, Alwar

dia abroad

BERLIN: An eminent Indian Sanskrit scholar, Professor Chandra N. Dandekar, has been elected the new president of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies (IASS). His election by the general assembly of the IASS was announced yesterday at the fourth World Sanskrit conference currently in progress in Weimar near here. Attending the conference are about 250 Indologists and other scholars from 30 countries. The conference is to discuss the role of Sanskrit, its impact in other parts of Asia and Europe as well as history of religions and sciences — *The Times of India*

KUALA LUMPUR: An Indian expatriate radiologist working in a mission hospital here was sentenced to six months in jail today by the sessions court on a charge of violating immigration law. The radiologist, Dr Arunjit Dutt, was convicted of a charge of using a forged document four years ago with the intent to cheat the immigration department. The offence was said to have been committed on Oct 25, 1975. The court president (judge) Mr P. Mahalingam, set bail of 1,000 Malaysian dollars (nearly Rs 3,000) while allowing an appeal by the defendant — *The Hindustan Times*

PROMOTIONAL FOUNTAIN

NEW DELHI Municipal Committee President, Mr Chand Chhabra, has perfected the art of winning friends and influencing people. But he is a little choosy. He only chases those who matter and can help him in his career. Outside Home Secretary Srinivas Vardan's house on Ashoka Road there was this small patch of public land which Chhabra has now transformed into a terraced garden. And if Vardan and his family fail to notice it during the day, they just cannot miss it at night, for 'Fountain Chhabra' has installed several floodlights there. The whole thing was 'beautified' at a cost of more than a lakh and without the prior approval of the committee. In Chand Chhabra's scheme of things these cosmetic works are more important than the fate of the poor and lowly who go without water and electricity.

SECULAR TASTES

NANAJI Deshmukh had turned secular. Among his circle of friends, there is now a comely girl from a minority community. Who said the RSS hatched man was communal?

Balasaheb Deoras



CHAUDHURY PREFERS COPS



Central Newphoto Service

CHARAN Singh's animosity towards the IAS and his soft corner for the IPS is quite well known and the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance hasn't done anything to correct the impression. Seasoned IAS wallahs say that he cannot continue to run the ministry indefinitely with the help of only the 'crew cuts'. But the Chaudhury is not bothered by this sort of carping. He is replacing his special assistant, Mr Vijay Karan, an IPS officer of the rank of Deputy Inspector-General of Police, with another policeman, Mr Daruwala, who, apart from

being a professional cop is also an amateur poet. If Mr Karan had an Intelligence Bureau background, Mr Daruwala is a confirmed RAW hand. Mr Karan is going to New York as the India Investment Centre's bureau chief. Mr Daruwala, who is presently posted in Srinagar, is likely to take over at the end of the month.

THE MISSING INVESTIGATION

WHATEVER happened to the inquiry into the Rs 3.5 lakh "bribe" to the personal staff of the Minister of State for Finance, Mr Satish Aggarwal? It was given out by the Government that a full inquiry into the mysterious handing over of Rs 3.5 lakhs to one of the private assistants of the Minister, would be conducted by the Central Bureau of Investigation. But several months later there is no word from the CBI. Has the Government quietly hushed up the case? As for Mr Aggarwal, he is unconcerned. He has not even transferred his private secretary or anyone else on his personal staff. Maybe Mr Aggarwal has his own limitations in changing the personnel who are close to him. Who is then their ultimate boss?

FOOTNOTE: Here is the latest wisecrack doing the political rounds in Delhi: 'Morarji is surrounded by two Balas who will prove his undoing — Balasubramaniam and Bala Sahab Deoras (the RSS chief)'.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

Gentleness in a baby food



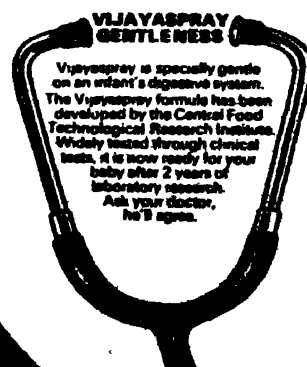
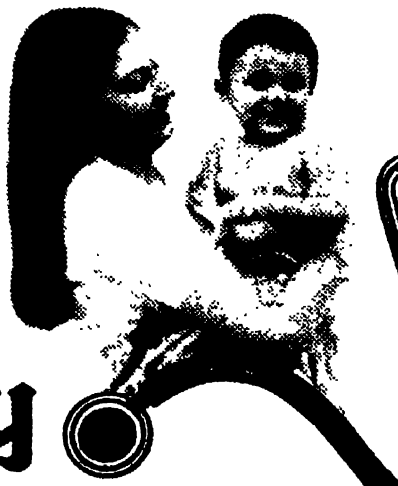
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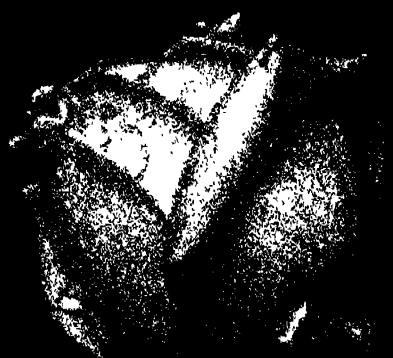
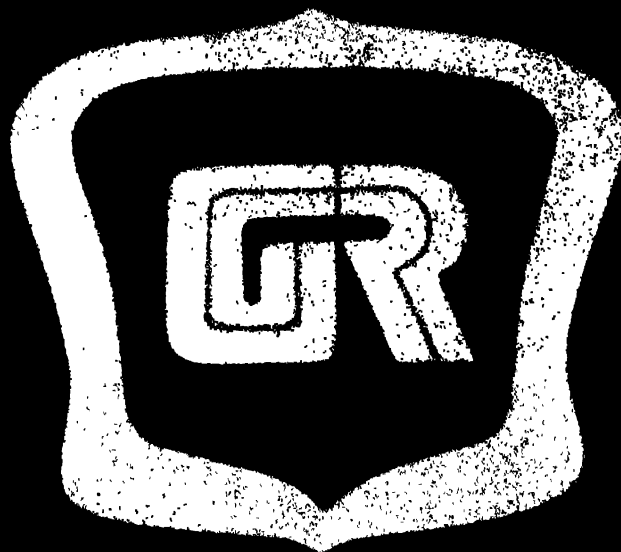
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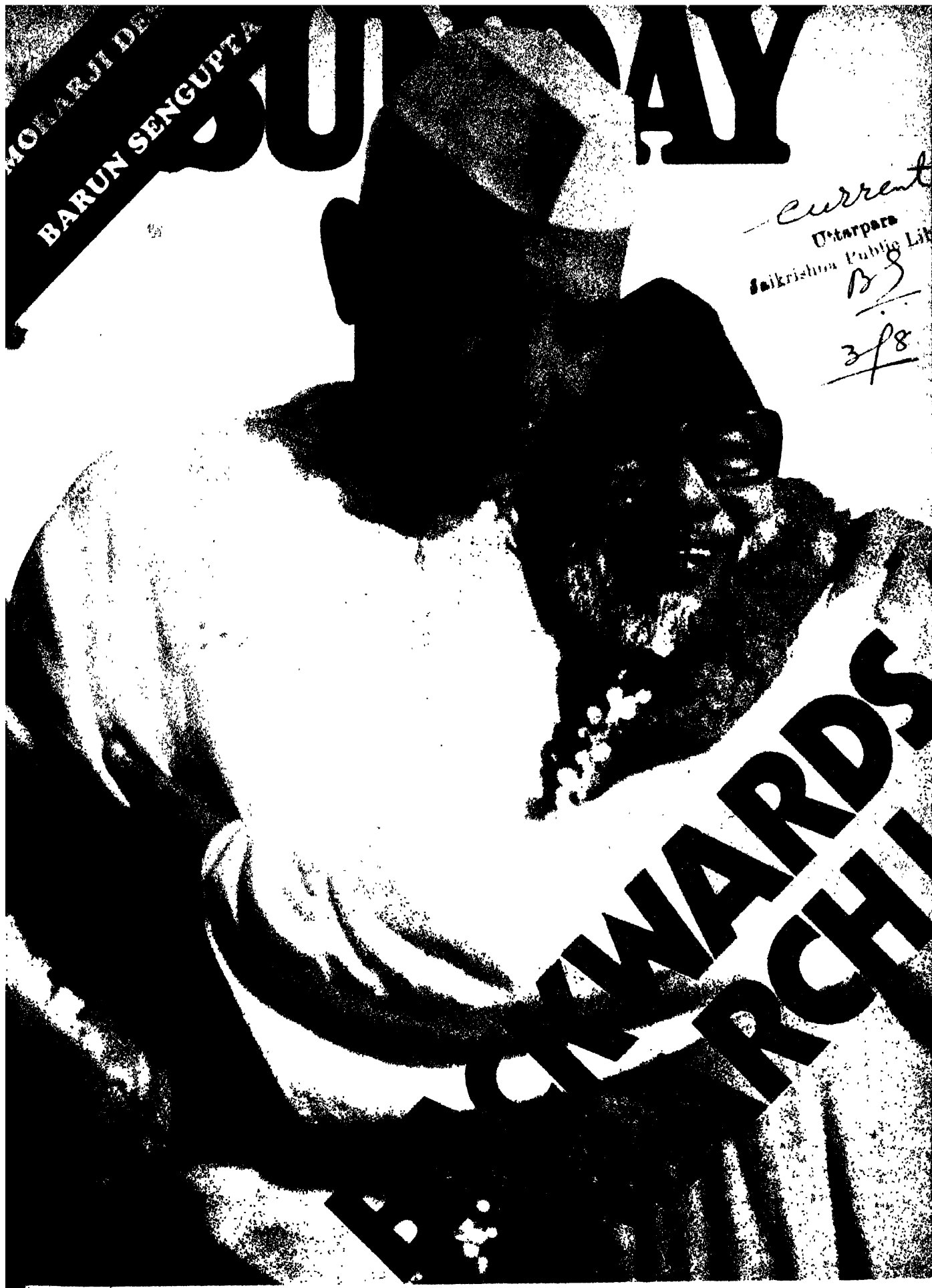
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MAID 6/79



Central Newsphoto Service

Suddenly it happened. On July 8, Morarji Desai looked unshakeable. On July 15 he had resigned. On July 28, at one thirty in the afternoon, Chaudhury Charan Singh had achieved his life's ambition: he had been sworn in as Prime Minister to the sound of hurrahs from his villagers. Raj Narain distributed sweets to all visitors, and during the evening the top leadership did a dance of joy in Raj Narain's house. It was an astonishing political coup, the like of which we have not seen in our country. What were the reasons that mobilised certain social forces to lend their weight behind the Chaudhury? How much horse-trading (Raj Narain's word) went on? We mobilised our correspondents in Delhi to tell the full story and analyse the reasons and consequences of this achievement. We apologise to our readers for the slight delay that this necessarily caused in bringing out this issue, but we are confident that you will understand.

A crucial resignation that hastened the Janata Government's fall was that of H. N. Bahuguna. The number of MPs he brought along was not as important as the symbolic and psychological impact of his resignation. In a long exclusive interview, Bahuguna outlines his reasons for quitting, primary among which was the RSS hold on the Government.



Supporters of the three big-time football clubs in Calcutta — East Bengal, Mohun Bagan and Mohammedan Sporting — have turned the maidan into a battleground several times this season. There has always been high jinks after 'big' matches but never has the violence got so out of hand as this year. A close look into the causes.

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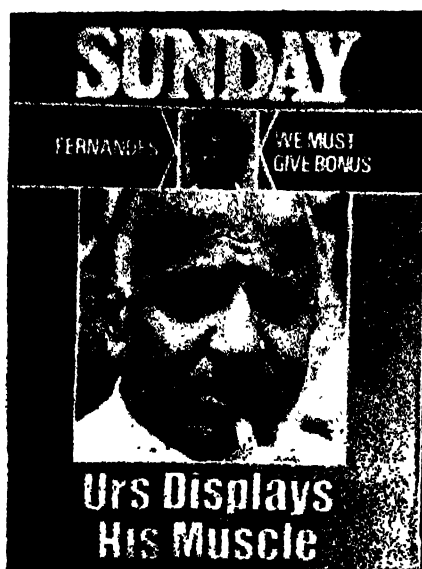
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Cover transparency by Raghu Rai

Editor M. J. Akbar

Assistant Editor Subir Roy Editorial Staff Shubhabrata Bhattacharya,
Nirmal Mitra, David McMahon, Saumitra Banerjee, Tirthankar Ghosh,
S. N. M. Abdi Delhi Correspondent Ajoy Bose
Art Director Bipul Guha Asst Art Director Amiya Bhattacharya

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Standard of revolt

THE cover story "Urs displays his muscle" and interview with Devraj Urs by M. J. Akbar thoroughly expose the evil designs of Mrs Gandhi. Her modus operandi is purely authoritarian, in which Sanjay's desires have a place of pride. She tolerates only such persons in her Party who give her unconditional support. Unfortunately, Mr Urs' independent stand was not to her liking. The only bulwark against the re-emergence of the 'Prince' in Indian politics would be if a few more like Mr Urs raised their voices. *Ghanshyam Narain Singh, Gaya*

M. J. AKBAR is more than right when he says in his cover story that Indian politicians do not attach much importance to ideology. The stakes

in the Mrs Gandhi-Urs dispute are indeed "power, power in present and power in future". It is a pity that Indian politicians have yet to realise the importance of ideology in preserving power.

Abdul Quadir, Gaya

IN THE interview "She respects Parliament as long as it suits her" (July 1) Mr Devaraj Urs tells M. J. Akbar: "I will congratulate the young man (Sanjay) if he comes up on his own." But who in the present set-up comes up on his own? In fact, it was the charisma of Mrs Gandhi that saw Mr Urs and the Congress (I) to victory in Karnataka in the 1978 elections.

Sudhendu Ranjan Pandey, Bhagalpur

WHILE Urs, who was with Mrs Gandhi won the 1978 polls, Vengal Rao, who was in the other camp, was defeated. This clearly shows that the people voted for Mrs Gandhi's men only, regardless of who implemented her policies. If and when elections are held in Karnataka, the Urs myth built by journalists, will be exploded.

P. Swaminathan, Thanjavur

WHAT I do not understand is that Mr Urs took ten long years to realise Mrs Gandhi's authoritarian tendencies. While he may be hailed for parting ways with Mrs Gandhi, the manner in which he did this leaves many doubtful about his sincerity.

K. S. Raman, New Delhi

WHILE boldly accepting Mrs Gandhi's obvious superiority, Mr Urs has very rationally put forth the flaws that have marred the genius of an otherwise excellent politician. It is a pity that her fall has failed to teach her a lesson.

Chhaya Ghosh, Durgapur

Understanding celibacy

THE celibate state of nuns and priests ("Disorder in the order" by J. M. Menezes, July 1) may rightly be found meaningless by many, even some priests and nuns themselves. The sacrifice of one's inborn right to such genital expression would boggle the minds of all those who are looking for explanations—which turn out to be unsatisfactory, and not always forthcoming. The Christian faith orientates man to acknowledge himself as a pilgrim who is on his way to his homeland. The unbelonging, hesitant and uncertain traces on the face of a traveller are characteristic of a Christian pilgrim. He neither fully

understands what awaits him at the end of his journey, nor does he fully know of the present. But he moves on with the belief that when the journey is over, all things will be crystal clear. Celibacy is a sign of this Christian reality of the pilgrim's nature.

Fr Tony Kudupadam, Monghyr.

THE article was a very unsecular attack on the Catholic Church. The views expressed by the author are those of disgruntled dropouts, most of whom joined the clergy or nunnery in search of an 'honourable' profession. The article would be appreciated if the author interviewed, besides dropouts, priests and nuns who are true to their vows of celibacy, poverty and obedience.

Leo. J. Remedios, Bombay.

Bonus, and besides

I AM all for giving bonus to railwaymen ("The bonus bomb", July 1, by Shubhabrata Bhattacharya) for the simple reason that I am getting it. My neighbour, a railway employee, buys his ration from the same store where I do; my children go to the same school where his children go. The pattern of our expenses is identical. So when I am getting bonus every year, in all fairness, I strongly feel my friend too should get it.

On an average I pay the Railways Rs 1,000 a year towards monthly season tickets, for visits to my hometown, etc. My friend in the Railways does not pay a single paise on this account. I am told he gets several free passes a year and a few more for half the cost. This free pass facility is available to him even after retirement. My employer, a private company, never gives me any of our product free of cost. So, in all fairness, I feel the Government should also withdraw the free pass facility to railwaymen or bring out an ordinance (one more won't make any difference) that every employee should provide some of its products free of charge to its employees. Thus a postal employee should get postal stationery, an employee of a TV-producing firm, a TV set, etc.

E. Balachandran, Bombay.

IT IS surprising that even after prolonged controversy over this vital issue of bonus, the pay structure has not been settled. It still varies from State to State, department to department and organisation to organisation. There should be a uniform wage policy among all Government and semi-Government undertakings.

Sanku Bando, Ranchi.

Above the belt

THE photograph of our former Prime Minister ("To the 84-year-old PM's health", July 1) has its three-dimensional effects. The first dimension is apparent from the picture as a whole — it is one of Mr Morarji Desai. The second can be discovered by covering his face with a hand — it looks like a picture of Rajesh Khanna. And the third dimension — I have chosen to call it the *Satyam Shivam Sundaram* dimension — can be found by covering the face with one hand and putting the other below the waist.

A. Bhadke, Patna

WHEN we showed the pictures to friends they just grunted, belched and nearly threw up. We personally

did not find anything worth showing off in Mr Desai's physique. If he is as physically fit as they say, he should quit politics and prepare for the title of Hind Kesari. Who knows, in the next century when he is a hundred plus, he might be called The Greatest II.

T. H. Bhure, R. H. Bhure and
S. H. Bhure, Bombay

Inaccurate, insulting

O. V. VIJAYAN's "The case of the Oriya boy" (June 17) carried some inaccurate statements. First, this is not the first time that an Oriya boy has topped the IAS Examination. Earlier, Mr Sitakant Mahapatra had acquired the same distinction. Besides, Mr Panda has written all his papers in English as Hindi is not considered to be a qualifying subject in our universities, nor is it the lingua franca of the State. The article, we feel, is in bad taste and we consider it an insult to the Oriya community.

Abhimanya Mishra, Cuttack.

Justice for Dawoodi Bohras

IN reference to Asghar Ali Engineer's "Dawoodi Bohras challenge their high priest" (June 24), a secular and democratic state should not allow the violation of human and civil rights in the name of any religion or sect. It is heartening that, though the Nathwani Commission's report has so far been ignored, 13 academicians of Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi University, Jamia Millia Islamia, and Aligarh Muslim University, have publicly urged the Government to "accept and implement" the Commission's recommendations. It is also encouraging to note that the Press has taken up the issue.

Mohammad Ismail, Baramulla.

Sorry plight

"THE sad revolt of the lepers" (July 1) by Mandira Purie depicts the untold misery of lepers. Barring a few leprosy homes run by dedicated missionaries, the working of most other homes in our country is not in any way better than Anand Gram. It is a pity that just as lepers are treated as outcasts, their basic human needs and comforts are neglected. According to the latest estimates of the World Health Organisation, every fourth leper in the world today is an Indian and for every one registered case of leprosy, there are three unregistered cases. This indicates that whatever money and effort have been spent to check the spread of leprosy have not produced the desired result.

Anthony Parakkal, Bombay

Doctored appointment?

ABHA KAPOOR's report "AIIMS is in a mess" (June 10) has distorted facts and dragged in names of certain public workers, including mine, insinuating that Dr L. P. Agarwal has been unduly favoured in his appointment as Director of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. This is completely contrary to facts. I came to know Dr L. P. Agarwal in 1964 when as Union Health Minister, I became the President of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences after the passing away of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. I think it was in 1965 that the Medical Superintendent had to go abroad for a year and we gave Dr L. P. Agarwal additional charge as Medical Superintendent while he continued to be Professor and Head of the Department of Ophthalmology. He did an excellent job. Without extra expenditure or staff, the cleanliness, discipline and standards of services in the hospital were considerably improved. This was my first introduction to Dr Agarwal as an able administrator.

In 1969 we started the Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Medical Sciences at Sevagram. We had problems in construction work and I sought Dr L. P. Agarwal's help as I did not understand the problems. He gave evidence of being very knowledgeable and was extremely helpful in sorting out our problems. I had seen him doing a very good job in constructing the Dr Rajendra Prasad Centre for Ophthalmic Sciences at New Delhi earlier. We made him a member of the Kasturba Health Society and Chairman of our Building Committee. Ever since he has been helping us in various ways, whether it be sorting out problems of construction with the contractors or planning of the new courses or any other problem connected with administration. This continued during the period of the Emergency when most people were afraid to associate with rebels like myself.

Dr Agarwal was considered the fittest person to succeed Dr V. Ramalingaswami as Director of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences by a high-powered selection committee of which neither Shri C. B. Gupta nor I were members. In fact, I deliberately did not want to be a member of the selection committee because of my association with Dr Agarwal. As members of the governing body of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences we were informed that there was unanimity on the name of Dr Agarwal and it was not a question of five against four, as Abha Kapoor mentions in her article. The previous Director Dr V. Ramalingaswami had certain problems with Dr L. P. Agarwal and he did record a note of dissent and Dr

C. G. Pandit supported him. All the rest found Dr Agarwal to be the best candidate for the post of Director of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. Dr A. S. Paintal is an eminent research worker, no doubt, but not all research workers are necessarily good administrators.

Dr Agarwal has brought about many improvements in the hospital in the short period that he has been the Director and several of those who were initially apprehensive about him have, I believe, changed their opinion and are appreciative of what Dr Agarwal is trying to do. His only fault, if it can be called one, is that he wants to bring about improvements rapidly. Any unbiased person can visit the hospital and see for himself the improvement in cleanliness, discipline and services, which you will agree, should interest all of us.

Sushila Nayar, Member of Parliament
(Lok Sabha), New Delhi.

Abha Kapoor replies: Dr Sushila Nayar fails to cite specific instances where I might have distorted facts, as she alleges. For example, she points out that she was not a member of the selection committee for the post of Director, but the article very clearly mentions this and gives the names of all the committee members, leaving no room for misunderstanding. In reference to Dr Nayar the article merely states that "Dr Agarwal has a staunch backer in Dr Nayar", a point she confirms in her own letter. Dr Nayar contradicts herself when she says "we were informed that there was unanimity on the name of Dr Agarwal" and then admits that two members of the selection committee went so far as to record a note of dissent.

If Dr Nayar would like me to cite instances of the influence she used to help Dr Agarwal, I would be happy to oblige. For example, she met the previous Director of AIIMS, Dr V. Ramalingaswami on December 2, 1978 and informed him that the formation of selection committees for senior posts at the Institute should be postponed until the appointment of a new Director. Being the Chairman of the Academic Council of the Institute and a member of the Janata Party, Dr Nayar's word naturally carries weight. Again, at the time when there was some doubt as to whether Dr Agarwal's selection would be approved by the Cabinet sub-committee or not, Dr Nayar personally met Mr Morarji Desai to plead his cause. Dr Nayar has also met Janata MPs in this connection and urged them not to raise embarrassing matters about Dr Agarwal.



BACKWARDS, MARCH!

The meaning of Home Minister Charan Singh

Aganju Rai

The villages were happy, but once again their joy did not seep into the urban air, which was clogged with the complex uncertainties of the future. The villagers saw the Prime Ministership of Chaudhury Charan Singh as the fulfilment of a dream: a man who had made the village his main ideological plank had taken over the leadership of the country: 'defection' and 'alliance of convenience' were not very important words in the rural dictionary. Not even the unanimous feeling that this Government would last till 1982 only by a miracle could dampen the enthusiasm—they wanted to see Chaudhury Charan Singh address the nation from the Red Fort, and this was going to happen, and it didn't matter if the Jab-Raja might end up as an 'ek din ka sultan'.

And yet, there was underlying

cynicism too, nobody expected too much from this Government, nobody was expecting any revolution. The Chaudhury will have to prove his bona fides by giving an economic content to the emotion he has aroused. And not all the village was happy. The unhappiness of the upper castes is a comparatively immaterial thing: it is the fear of the harijans about jat rule that might become a serious social problem.

The Prime Ministership of Charan Singh means many things. Wittingly or unwittingly, communalism has become a national issue which will divide politicians in the future, just as, for instance, a professed belief in socialism has done in the past. And this will remain, notwithstanding how long this Government lasts: this might be Raj Narain's most important contribution to Indian

politics.

Recent events could completely change the vote-alignments with which we have become familiar. The Chaudhury has already consolidated his backward caste vote, and most certainly he will intensify the effort to bring them into the limelight of Indian politics—a position occupied by the upper castes so far. He could easily draw the Muslim vote towards him with a few imaginative decisions. Is it significant that curfew in Aligarh was lifted for the first time in nearly a year just a day after the Chaudhury was sworn in? It is.

We delayed this issue to bring you the up-to-date story of the most important event of the last two years. We analyse how Chaudhury succeeded in forming a Government and what its political impact will be.

The last chance to outwit Mrs Gandhi

By KEWAL VARMA

WHO will use whom? Will Charan Singh use Mrs Gandhi or will it be the other way around? Defeatists have a readymade answer: "The winner will be Indira Gandhi. The rustic baghpet man is no patch on the shrewd Mrs Gandhi. He is a panchayat politician and Indira is a world figure." Urban intellectuals and media men could neither understand nor appreciate the emergence of Charan Singh.

Objectively, Charan Singh has few parallels in Indian history in his use of "united front" politics to advance his political fortunes. He started out on an independent political course in 1967 with 17 defectors from the Congress Assembly Party. Since then he has been going from strength to strength. With 17 defectors he became the Chief Minister of UP and in the next round of Assembly elections in 1969, single-handedly increased his strength to 93. With 93 UP MLAs behind him, he had the muscle to become chairman of the BLD, an all-India Party, a position which eventually brought him the number two position at the Centre. Now with 100-odd defectors he has become number one at the Centre. The other side of the coin is that his political lieutenants have become chameleons.

In terms of political influence, Charan Singh, before he became Chief Minister of UP, was a mere Jat leader of western UP. He then went on to become the leader of the

entire peasantry of UP. In fact, his base in eastern UP became stronger in the process than that in western UP. Charan Singh's greatest political achievement is that he built up the solidarity of intermediate castes constituting the hard core of the peasantry. When he became the Home Minister and later Finance Minister, Charan Singh consolidated his base among the peasantry of the heartland of the Hindi belt and also extended his base in the peasantry of other parts of the country. In short, he is one of the few politicians who know the art of using the instrument of governmental power to consolidate and expand his political base. In this art, perhaps, only Mrs Gandhi excelled him in the 1969-71 period when she used the office of the Prime Minister to advance her political base; though the real credit for that should go to her "boiler-room boys" headed by P. N. Haksar.

But the current reality is that Charan Singh is the Prime Minister and not Mrs Gandhi. Also, in this game of outwitting people, Charan Singh will be ably assisted by H. N. Bahuguna, master tactician, and Devaraj Urs, a South Indian politician of great finesse and with a profound understanding of the interplay of caste-class forces. And Raj Narain's capabilities should not be underestimated; which is often done, particularly by the national Press. Special correspondents had a hearty laugh when at his last Press conference as Prime Minister, in reply to a ques-

tion on Raj Narain, Morarji Desai said: "I will have to think about you, if you believe in him any more. That is all I can reply to it. You are encouraging him unnecessarily." Then he added: "Whoever walks out of the Janata Party will do it to his cost." But who is now having the last laugh? In four years Raj Narain has changed two Prime Ministers.

CHARAN SINGH and Indira Gandhi came together to fight the common enemy: The Jana Sangh and RSS. Commentators no doubt will recall spicy statements made by Charan Singh against Indira Gandhi and vice-versa. But they forget that in politics there are no permanent enemies and there are no permanent friends instead there are only permanent interests to serve. Alas, success in politics does not come if one dogmatically sticks to Arya Samajistic morality. Charan Singh particularly has to swallow—and make his followers do the same—the bitter pill of securing the help of Mrs Gandhi to overpower the Jana Sangh. He sugar-coated the pill by making a statement that he would continue to fight both communalism and authoritarianism. Significantly, from the moment Mrs Gandhi formally committed her Party's support to the new combination Charan Singh started cold-shouldering her. On the day Charan Singh got the invitation to form the Government, Mrs Gandhi waited with a huge garland in her



Mrs Gandhi coming out of Tihar Jail where she was sent by Charan Singh.

hand, expecting Charan Singh to come to her residence to thank her for the support, but he never turned up that evening. The political thaw between the two had started with Indira Gandhi sending a bouquet from Tihar Jail, where she was lodged then, to Charan Singh on his 77th birthday. But it was Charan Singh who used the "Indira card" to his advantage rather than Mrs Gandhi using the "Charan card" to her advantage. But Charan Singh will be highly mistaken if he takes Mrs Gandhi for granted and thinks that he will have to pay no price for her support. He will have to pay the price and can only reduce the price by his political skill and manoeuvring. For instance, instead of winding up the Special Courts, Charan Singh can keep them in suspended animation and can reactivate them if Mrs Gandhi tries to be too mischievous with him.

It is agreed by most that the Charan-Indira combine will be short-lived. Many political observers who have reinforced their own theories with astrological predictions give this Government seven to nine months. The reason why this 'flirta-

tion' is unlikely to blossom into a full-scale "romance" is that both are extremely ambitious: Two swords cannot fit into one scabbard. Additionally, the political bases of the two are incompatible: kurmis versus harijans. Even if Charan Singh and Mrs Gandhi join hands, they will not supplement each other's strength. In other words, in political arithmetic two plus two sometimes becomes one. If it is to be a short-lived alliance, it is but natural that both sides will be in a hurry to make the best of the experiment.

It is obvious that the next electoral battle will be fought on caste-class lines. The Janata raj might not have succeeded in anything else, but it has succeeded eminently in articulating caste-class conflicts, particularly in rural areas. Charan Singh, Karpoori Thakur and Devaraj Urs are past masters in adding fuel to the caste-class fire. Charan Singh will have the great temptation to go to extreme lengths to expand and consolidate his base among the intermediate castes. It is interesting that one of Charan Singh's heroes is Raja Suraj Mal, a Jat, who ruled Delhi for a few weeks before the downfall

of the Moghul empire. During his short rule, the Taj Mahal was stacked with fodder at the demand of farmers. However, it is hoped Charan Singh's partners in the Government, namely, the Chavan Congress will try to moderate him to the extent they can.

Still, even within the limits imposed by his partners in the coalition, Charan Singh can further expand his base among intermediate castes from Kanya Kumari to Pathankot and from Amritsar to Pataliputra. With the caste-class approach, Charan Singh can cross the Vindhyas as well as the language barrier even though he refers to the Salem Steel Plant as "Salim" Steel Plant. However, the fresh responsibilities facing the new combine are evident from the fact that Raj Narain has now started talking to newsmen in English. Both Charan Singh and Raj Narain have started learning to show sensitivity to the susceptibilities of the South. The new PM might face a problem in Karnataka and Andhra where the hegemony of intermediate castes is with poor peasantry and lower crusts of intermediate castes, as against rich peasantry and the upper

crust of intermediate castes in UP although some variation is inevitable. Devaraj Urs' social support base is more similar to that of Karpoori Thakur in Bihar.

Mrs Gandhi is certainly not competing with Charan Singh over the intermediate castes, except, perhaps, in Karnataka and Andhra. The grey area between the two is minorities, particularly Muslims. Charan Singh and particularly Raj Narain, have succeeded in washing down their sins of over 20 months of honeymoon with the Jana Sangh. In fact in India, among the few who have grasped the Maoist techniques of unity and struggle and of the United Front, Raj Narain is certainly one of them. He knew when to team up with the Jana Sangh and when to break from it. Perhaps his personal desperation coincided with a situation which was ripe to launch a campaign against the Jana Sangh. The

series of communal riots which had taken place made Raj Narain's campaign credible. It was not accidental that within 24 hours of Raj Narain unfurling the flag of revolt all, except three of the Muslim Janata Lok Sabha Members, left the Party and joined Janata (Secular). Whereas last year Charan Singh was fighting mainly his personal battle, this year Raj Narain was politicising the power struggle of his master. As a result last year only 32 Lok Sabha MPs were willing to leave the Janata Party, while the number exceeded 100 this year. This only goes to prove that Raj Narain can be trusted to make use of the United Front to his advantage.

Coming back to the problems of winning the support of the minorities, it cannot be forgotten that Mrs Gandhi's hands are soiled with the blood of Muslims in the forcible sterilisation campaign during the

Emergency. Various by-elections which have taken place in the north indicated that Muslims have not so far switched over firmly to Mrs Gandhi's side. In fact, in Bihar and UP with job reservation for lower caste Muslims, a sizeable section of minorities voted for Janata candidates belonging to the BLD faction. With regard to winning over Muslims and minorities, the new combine has started well. Raj Narain called his Party Janata (Secular) and H. N. Bahuguna put it more sharply: "It is communalism versus secularism". The Charan Singh Government can certainly fortify the anti-communal thrust through a variety of measures. Some of the steps which could catch the imagination of minorities are "(a) Restoration of history text-books which were withdrawn by the Janata Government since these did not describe Moghul rulers as imperialists and foreigners as Hindu communal

Mrs Gandhi's congratulations

MRS GANDHI was on the line within minutes of President Sanjeeva Reddy's phone call to Chaudhury Charan Singh on Thursday afternoon inviting him to form a Government. The phone rang again in the Chaudhury's house almost immediately after he had spoken to the President. Mrs Gandhi was on the line. "Congratulations, Chaudhury Sahab", Mrs Gandhi told him. "Thank you and thank you for your support," the Chaudhury replied. After an embarrassing silence, the telephone conversation ended quickly.

Mrs Gandhi's private secretary, T. N. Mishra, was at Raj Narain's house, conveying Mrs Gandhi's congratulations. Mishra had been a constant visitor to the homes of Charan Singh, Madhu Limaye, Raj Narain and Biju Patnaik in the past few days. He had been released from his normal duties as secretary by Mrs Gandhi and appointed her special messenger to the Charan Singh camp. Mishra was extremely sure of himself and his job. He was a member of the Congress Party and had been in the Congress since its formation. He was a member of the Congress Party and had been in the Congress since its formation. He was a member of the Congress Party and had been in the Congress since its formation.

Less than an hour after Mr Reddy rang up the Chaudhury, Mrs Gandhi was standing in the portico of her house at 17 Wellington Crescent. A Congress (I) worker was reading out a resolution of the AICC about the political development of the day.

Another Congress(I) worker came running up. "Vasant Satha has given a statement that Morarji has out-Nixoned Nixon," he informed her. Mrs Gandhi smiled.

Dressed in a saffron saree with a purple border and in a pair of kohlapuri chappals, Mrs Gandhi looked cool and immaculate. There were few overt signs of happiness on her face, but behind her cool facade she exuded an air of quiet self-confidence, an air of satisfaction at a job well done. I asked her, "Would you care to comment on the President's invitation to Mr Charan Singh to be Prime Minister?" She raised her eyebrows and said, "You know, I never like to comment on anything". Pressed further, Mrs Gandhi said, "What is there to say? We wanted the Janata Party to go. It has gone. Now we will watch the new Government and what it does for the people." "Will you and your Party participate in the new Government?" I asked. "Definitely not" came the terse answer.

"Don't talk", I asked, "of you imposing some conditions before entering into an alliance with Mr Charan Singh." "That is absolute nonsense. There were no conditions. I only raised some national issues like the persecution of Harijans and the minority communities", she asserted. "What about your agitation against the Special Courts? Will you call it off?" I asked her. Mrs Gandhi shifted uneasily from one foot to the other. She frowned a little and then said "No, our agitation will go on. But why do you call it against the Special Courts? It is

not a negative agitation. It is a positive one, demanding an independent judiciary and justice."

"How long do you think Mr Charan Singh's Government will last?" was my last question. Mrs Gandhi flashed a smile. "I really can't say", she said cryptically. Mrs Gandhi's secretive air was not without reason. While it is true that she had extracted her pound of flesh for giving her support to the Chaudhury by making it public and creating a general impression that if the Chaudhury became Prime Minister it was her victory and not his, she still had apprehensions about the future.

The Chaudhury had played hard to get with her in the last few days. On Monday afternoon she had repeatedly requested him to come and discuss a possible alliance between them but he had repeatedly refused to come and see her. Instead, she was forced to send Kamalapati Tripathi and C. M. Stephen to his residence.

Rumours were spread by the Morarji camp that the Chaudhury had held a secret meeting with Mrs Gandhi in the penthouse of Sagar Bar in Bombay on Wednesday but she was patently untrue. In fact on Thursday evening, Mrs Gandhi was waiting at her house with a garland, expecting the new Prime Minister-designate to come and thank her personally. But the Chaudhury never came. Mishra was sent to 12 Tughlak Road to bring the Chaudhury, but he was told that the Chaudhury was tired. The garland of flowers went waste.

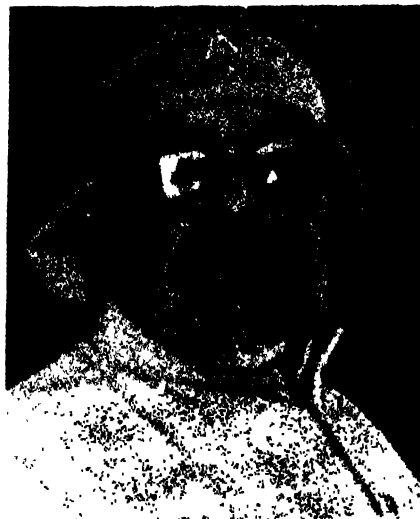
ALOY BOSE

historians do (b) Move the Aligarh Muslim University Bill, restoring its minority character (c) Announcement that the new Government will oppose the anti-conversion bill (d) Some sort of restrictions on RSS and ensuring that funds meant for mass literacy and antyodya will not be funnelled into the RSS coffers (e) Announcement that commissions of enquiry will be appointed within a week of outbreak of communal riots (f) Formation of a special crack police force of minorities and scheduled castes to be sent to areas where communal riots and atrocities on harijans take place".

THE alliance of intermediate castes with minorities is formidable. This will ensure the new combine 35 to 40 per cent of popular votes. Socialists in the combine hope that they can extend the intermediate caste-minorities axis to include white and blue-collar employees and urban middle classes. This appears a most difficult proposition. However they may try to checkmate him. Charan Singh at the head of the combine will certainly give an anti-working class and anti-urban slant to his combination. The question to be examined is whether these social groups will go over to Left Parties, or to Mrs Gandhi or to the Jana Sangh-dominated Janata Party. As of now it appears Mrs Gandhi has an edge over the others so far as these social groups are concerned. In some pockets, the Left Parties will perhaps hold their own, but much will depend on how Mrs Gandhi plays her cards in the coming months. What will be important is how and when she breaks with Charan Singh. It is to be seen whether Charan Singh or Mrs Gandhi will take the initiative. Also, it remains to be seen what role the Jana Sangh-RSS combine will play. It has lost considerable credibility but it still has a large cadre.

It can be taken for granted that the price situation will worsen in the coming months. The Jana Sangh can also score a point, in that during the composite Janata raj, it was Charan Singh who was mainly responsible for the price rise. During his five months as Finance Minister, the wholesale price index increased by 137 per cent. In the Opposition the Jana Sangh-RSS combine will adopt a most militant attitude and make desperate attempts to exploit the situation. In other words it will make a serious bid to win over the urban middle class and white-collar employees although it might not be very successful since Mrs Gandhi is also in the field.

The other important social groups which are left are the harijans and upper castes like brahmans, thakurs, vaishyas and bhumihars. As for the harijans, Mrs Gandhi is their unchallenged leader. In the new combination, some well-intentioned people are thinking hard on how to blunt the anti-harijan image of their leader, Charan Singh. They are



Focus

suggesting that the very first legislative act of the new Government should be to move a Constitutional Amendment Bill to extend the job-reservation for scheduled castes for a further ten years upon its expiry on January 26, 1980. All Parties have agreed to extend the deadline, but the only small group which is opposed to the extension is a section of the Kisan Sammelan. In fact the opposition to job reservation for harijans was specifically raised by Kanjhenwala kulaks who have been agitating for the last year under the umbrella of the Kisan Sammelan against the allotment of common land to harijans.

Jagjivan Ram in the Opposition has the potentiality of becoming a genuine harijan leader only if he can campaign relentlessly. Except for a brief period of 30 months, Jagjivan Ram has been continuously in the Government all his fruitful life. He just does not know how to work outside the Government. He

feels totally immobilised without the extensive paraphernalia available to him as Minister. When he was outside the Government under the Kamaraj Plan, he could hardly organise independent political activities. So it can be safely presumed that there is no threat to Mrs Gandhi insofar as her hold on harijans is concerned. The upper castes, particularly in rural areas, are most likely to join hands with harijans to tame the intermediate castes, who will surely tend to get more aggressive with the installation of Charan Singh as the Prime Minister. The only exception would be the areas where feudalism is still very strong. In these areas the class conflict between upper castes and harijans is sharp and there is a chance of harijans joining hands with intermediate castes.

To sum up, the all-India electoral arithmetic on the basis of assumption of alliances of various social forces made earlier should give roughly 35 to 40 per cent of the votes to the Charan Singh-Bahuguna-Socialist-Chavan Congress combination, about 35 per cent to Indira Gandhi, about 10 per cent to the Jana Sangh and the balance to the CPI(M), regional and smaller Parties. This edge in popular votes should give a favourable start to the new combination. In other words, this combine might win more seats than their proportionate share of votes. However, these assumptions are based on yet another assumption: that the new combine will act most intelligently, use the Governmental instruments most skilfully and pursue its objective of politically out-manoeuvring Mrs Gandhi unitedly and single-mindedly. All these are big "ifs". But, the biggest "if" is that should this combine fail Indira Gandhi will become inevitable.

Fortune traders

THE pallbearers of any political crisis in our country are astrologers and fortune-tellers of every hue. Hardly one important decision is taken without consulting them. We decided to find out from our astrologer the shape of things to come. He would like to remain anonymous for various reasons, but we must point out in all honesty that he has been remarkably accurate in his predictions during this crisis, even foretelling the day that Chaudhury Charan Singh would be asked to form a Government.

Well then, Prime Minister Charan Singh will face his first serious political shock on August 11, but he will overcome this. By August 29 will come his second and much more serious threat but this too he will overcome,

probably by conceding more power to the representatives of the upper castes who are in his coalition. His worst time will be the first week of November, and he could very well lose his gaddi then. But if he survives this period he will rule for a long while. Incidentally, the winter session of Parliament normally begins around this time. If the Chaudhury loses his majority in November he could recommend a dissolution of the House and fresh elections.

But the most interesting tidbit: Jagjivan Ram has four horoscopes quietly prepared for himself, and uses the different predictions based on different horoscopes depending on the suitability of a particular prediction at any given time. Marvellous!

The Mrs Gandhi factor

IT was a last-ditch effort by the Morarji camp, and it failed. If the RSS was the whipping boy of the Chaudhury's followers, Mrs Indira Gandhi and her famous son became the propaganda issue for the Morarji loyalists. The full truth of the feelers to Mrs Gandhi exposes Mr Morarji Desai as much as anyone else, according to Mr Madhu Limaye. On July 14, one day before Morarji Desai resigned his Prime Ministership, there was that last crucial meeting of the Janata Parliamentary Board. Among the suggestions floated to rescue the Morarji Government was that Mrs Gandhi's help be sought to save the Government. Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee immediately objected, and said that Mrs Gandhi would demand that the Special Courts be removed, among other things, and that all cases be withdrawn; a compromise which could hardly be compatible with what the Janata had stood for all this while. Mr Desai's reaction was interesting: He said that the withdrawal of cases was a longterm thing and "could be arranged".

After this Morarji's emissaries went to Mrs Gandhi, and made the offer that the cases could be settled. It was she who would not accept. She made it clear that she was not too worried about the cases, she felt confident that she could tackle them, since the Government's cases were so weak. More important, she pointed out, was that it would be suicidal for her to show any support for Mr Desai. It would, obviously, be idiotic for Mrs Gandhi to support an RSS-backed Government when she was banking on the Muslim and the harijan vote in the next elections.

The negotiations between the Charan camp and Mrs Gandhi, as Mr Madhu Limaye told SUNDAY, "could have been handled more deftly." He admitted that there was a bit of stupidity involved, but not compromise. Delhi's colourful rumour mill, managed by some very important executives indeed, and often purveyed by a partisan Press, was not willing to accept Mr Limaye at his word. Some of the rumours were dramatic. "I want Devaraj Urs' head on a platter," said Mrs Gandhi, according to the rumour mill. "I want an enquiry commission against George Fernandes," was said to be her second most important demand. Mr Urs and Mr Fernandes can be accused of many things, but hardly of suicidal tendencies. Even on the day that the President was scrutinising the two lists and verifying which of the common names could be made uncommon, both George Fernandes and Devaraj Urs publicly expressed their support for a Chaudhury Government. Urs had come to Delhi on the evening flight from Banga-



Mandira Puri

not be passed. This relates to the reservation of seats for Harijans and scheduled tribes. If this amendment is not passed, the next elections (likely in January) will not have any reserved seats. And there are nearly 60 of them. Who loses? The political leader most likely to get them. Which means, Mrs Indira Gandhi. If she is going to depend on the harijan vote, as she is, then she needs reservation desperately.

This analysis was evident in what she told President Sanjeeva Reddy. She said she would support Charan Singh, but if this experiment failed, she said she would prefer a poll at the earliest opportunity, preferably in November.

What does the Chaudhury gain out of the alliance? First, it helps him achieve a personal ambition—to become Prime Minister, and he would go very far indeed to achieve it. Then, of course, he could help consolidate his constituency through the levers of power. The losers in this alliance are Socialists like Fernandes and Limaye who have so vociferously opposed Mrs Gandhi in the past, and however much they try and rationalise their present stand, their political credibility is bound to suffer because of this combination with Mrs Gandhi.

However, what everyone is certain about is the inevitability of a mid term poll. And if the Chaudhury Government is created through an alliance with Mrs Gandhi, it is also going to fall because of Mrs Gandhi. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating. And it is silly to expect that Mrs Gandhi will not ask the new Government to be charitable towards her in regard to the Emergency cases. Strong elements in the Chaudhury Government will not let that happen. So either Mrs Gandhi could withdraw her support, or there could be a revolt in the ruling coalition. The first is more likely. The coalition hopes to take certain political decisions which will make it both credible and popular, and help it in the mid term poll. The real game is being played for the next elections, not Chaudhury's Prime Ministership. The fragility of this alliance is visible enough.

The rumour mills of Delhi insist that the last minute defections of a handful of MPs to Desai's side on the Mrs Gandhi issue had less to do with their dislike of Mrs Gandhi and more to do with the money-filled jute bags circulating in Delhi. Such allegations, it is true, are always made at tense moments when every MP counts. Still, one must give credit to the MPs: By and large money has played a small role in this crisis. The more important sacrifice has been of viewpoints and principles, such as they were.

lore on Wednesday, and among the first people he met was the Chaudhury: On Thursday, July 26, morning, for more than an hour.

It is true that at the Congress (I) Parliamentary Board meeting, conditions for the support to Chaudhury were discussed. On policy matters, they wanted assurances in regard to harijans, minorities and the imposition of Hindi on the country. They would not accept imposition obviously, being a largely South Indian Party now. There was no problem about assurances on these issues. They then came to the crucial conditions: They wanted the new Government to abolish Special Courts, get the new Cabinet list approved by Mrs Gandhi, and, last of all, "crawl" before her. But two senior leaders pointed out that Mrs Gandhi had little option except to support the Chaudhury unless she wanted an immediate poll, even if these three conditions were not met.

According to the Chaudhury camp, no commitment was given on these three points. They maintained that the Special Courts would continue to function, and there was no question of listening to Mrs Gandhi on either the Urs or George Fernandes issues. But if Mrs Gandhi did not get such assurances, then why was she keen to support the Chaudhury?

First, of course, was the RSS question. But equally important was a reason which everyone seems to have missed. If a Government is not formed, and Parliament does not sit in session, then an extremely important Constitutional amendment will

'Charan Singh has taken people against whose corruption he had complained to me'

The ex-Prime Minister tells BARUN SENGUPTA in an exclusive interview

Q: IT has been announced that you have retired from active politics. It was also said by the JPP leadership that they would take guidance and advice from you always. Mr Chandrashekhar and Mr Jagjivan Ram have requested you not to give up your seat in the Lok Sabha. What is your final decision?

A: I have said that I have retired from political activities, which would imply that I have to resign from the Lok Sabha because that also is political activity. I have to give respectful consideration to the unanimous and earnest appeal of all colleagues.

Q: That means that you are sticking to your decision despite the JPP request.

A: I am bound to pay respectful attention to their request but what I decide must be consistent with the stand I have taken.

Q: Could you give an assessment about the Government which is going to be formed by Chaudhury Charan Singh? I am not asking you to forecast how long it will last, or anything of that sort.

A: Nobody can say how long it will last. But it is most unfortunate that the Government should be formed by a Party which is known as a Party of defectors. A most unfortunate precedent has taken place. Some Parties have come together only for the sake of a Ministry: there is no cohesion, no question of principles or anything like that.

Q: Can they provide a good Government to the country?

A: That is to be seen. I don't know how it can do so with such differences. First some don't want to join, then they want to join. Then they get support from a Party, the Congress(I) which is going to sit in Opposition — I don't know how it can be called support. And (the idea of) deciding every issue on merit; I don't know how it can be called support and be accepted by the President.

Q: It is said that Mr Charan Singh was opposed to the idea of giving bonus to railwaymen.

A: He was dead opposed.

Q: Some of the Parties supporting his Government are saying that bonus has to be given immediately.

At seven in the morning on Thursday, July 26, Mr Morarji Desai was still the caretaker Prime Minister. Dressed in immaculate, spotless white dhoti and kurta, he was ready to receive me in the main drawing room of 1, Safdarjung Road on the dot of 7 am. personally, though, was the same as ever: cool, composed and unruffled. But the difference was that the usual crowd of 'devotees' was absent. Getting a half-hour interview proved to be no problem. Mr Desai

Rachhu Rai



A : It has to be seen how he (Mr Charan Singh) will remain true to his own principles. That has to be seen. It is a question of time, and its tests.

Q : So many reasons are being given for the fall of the Janata Government since its birth. What do you think are the reasons for the fall of your Government? It is said that your rigidity, or your obstinacy was the main reason.

A : If it is called rigidity or obstinacy, then it is refuted by Charan Singh's own statement, that I was not asserting myself. That is what he has said. So how could I be rigid then? What is the meaning of rigidity? In what have I been rigid? Let them show that. All the decisions of the Cabinet have been unanimous. I don't know if that has been the case before. There were completely free and frank discussions. I don't think this ever happened before to that extent. This is the usual thing they say about me: I am rigid. In what? If to be unrigid means that you don't stick to truth, I would not have that (since) I believe in truth. But sticking to truth as I see it is not rigidity, that would be firmness. For example, take Prohibition. They say I am rigid on it. Then aren't anti-Prohibitionists equally rigid? They are more rigid. It is not a question of rigidity. But when they have nothing else to say, they say I am rigid. Let them point out instances, then I can reply. (laughs) Otherwise how am I going to explain this? I believe that adopting a rigid attitude is going against truth.

Q : Then what are the main reasons for the fall of the Janata Government, according to you?

A : Personal ambitions. Rivalries. You see we formed a Party out of six different Parties, which had been criticising each other very severely for the past many years. They came together on account of the danger to the country from autocratic rule and formed one Party. But personal ambitions were there. That is the bane of this country. As a matter of fact, it is a common defect that we all have and that is what comes in the way. Mr Charan Singh himself has said that he has fulfilled his life's ambition. And that is the main cause.

Q : But was Mr Charan Singh the only person responsible for this?

A : No. How can one person be (solely) responsible?

Q : Did Mr Charan Singh play into the hands of people who are authoritarian, or who may be called anti-national?

A : Well, he has taken their help, no doubt. But when you want to fulfil an ambition anyhow there is bound to be.....

Q : Some old and senior Congress (O) leaders have told me that they apprehend some foreign hand in this.

A : I don't subscribe to this.

Q : You don't subscribe to it at all? Foreigners didn't play any role?

A : I don't think so personally. That is a common suspicion in this country whenever anything happens.

But it is not a fact in this matter, as far as I can see. Mrs Gandhi also said that there was a foreign hand in her going. Now where was the foreign hand in her going? We easily attribute this to things which we can't explain otherwise.

Q : Mr Charan Singh has said in his statement after being nominated the next Prime Minister that there was rampant corruption in very high places in your Government.

A : Well, he has himself taken those people with him, against whom he complained to me.

Q : Who are they?

A : I won't name them. Let him name them.

Q : That means that Mr Charan Singh's Government will be composed of people against whom he had levelled charges of corruption.

A : Complained to me all the while. Some of them (members of the new Government), not all of them.

Q : It was a sore point with Mr Charan Singh that your Government was not able to punish Mrs Gandhi immediately. Do you think he can punish Mrs Gandhi now?

A : It has to be seen, now it has to be seen. It's all in the air that there is an understanding.

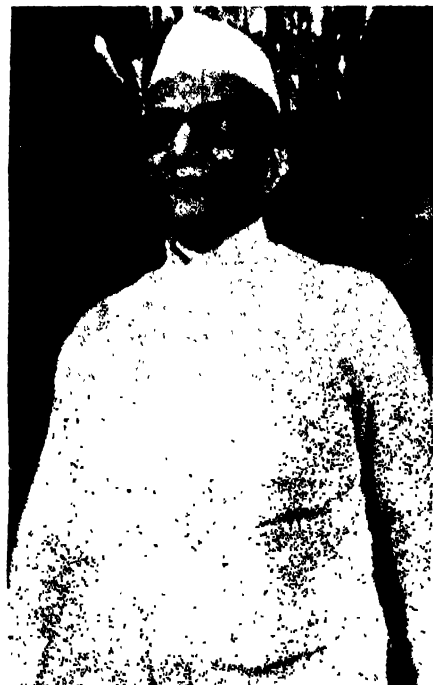
Q : How do you assess the role of those Parties who were close to the Janata, who were extending support to the Janata, like the CPI(M), in this crisis?

A : Well, the CPI(M) did not play a good role in this. It played the opposite role. It suited them.

Q : What might have been their calculation?

A : They want to get into power.

Q : But they are not joining the Government (till July 28, on which day the interview was taken, the CPI(M) had not joined the Government).



Morarji Desai after his resignation

A : How can they join this Government? I don't think the CPI(M) has been invited to join the Government either, because it has remained opposed (to the coalition).

Q : There has been an effort to rope in the Anna DMK, Akali Dal and the CPI(M), and to reject Mrs Gandhi.

A : I don't know. But that also shows that you take help when it suits you, then reject someone later. I don't think any Ministry can last in this way, if all become friends of convenience. That is what we didn't want to do. Otherwise we could also have gone on. If I had withdrawn the ordinance, the CPI(M) would have supported us.

Q : But it is being said that you approached the CPI(M) leadership even after.....

A : No, I told them that you see where your duty lies: that's all. I didn't approach them by the means of withdrawing ordinances or anything. I don't bargain. If I had bargained I would have had (sufficient) support.

Q : Who is responsible for the submission of the list of MPs said to be supporting you with wrong names? How did it happen?

A : Friends, colleagues who were working on this were responsible: why do I have to name any person? But they were given to understand by some people (that they had got the support of all the MPs): that is what they tell me. And I wanted to verify everything, but I didn't get time. The President did not give me the time which he had promised first.

Q : Did you see the list before it was submitted?

A : I couldn't scan the list, there wasn't much time.

Q : Did you know that the list had 279 names?

A : I certainly signed it, and knew that there were 279 people.

Q : But you didn't see the names?

A : I couldn't go through all of them. I had seen the first part of the list, of 247 or 250 and that I had verified.

Q : Don't you think, as a political leader and as a democrat, that the role played by Rashtrapati Bhavan in the crisis was not according to the highest traditions of the Parliamentary form of Government?

A : That is for the people to judge.

Q : After the failure of Y. B. Chavan do you think it was correct to call both you and Mr Charan Singh simultaneously?

A : That was totally unprecedented and wrong in my view, but what could I do? He (the President) has his discretion and he can utilise it in whatever way he likes.

Q : But was it not an attempt to play one against the other?

A : Why have I to say anything about it, it is for you to judge. I am a concerned party, why have I to say anything? It was most astounding, that's all I have to say.

Q : Thank you, Morarjibhai.

The former Union Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals resigned from the Janata Government on July 13 and from the Party the next day. Here he explains how the RSS was suffocating him and how the Government's performance had deteriorated to such a shabby state that he was forced to protest. A loyalist of the Nehru school, Bahuguna's dramatic resignation had a far-reaching impact on the political climate of Delhi : It was certainly the most important resignation till that day. Its psychological impact on the minorities was enormous and it served to stress how alienated the Government had become from the minorities and weaker sections.

The question put to Mr Bahuguna was: In 1977 you walked out of a meeting of the national executive on the question of dual membership. But after that you remained in the Government. Why d.d you walk out of the Government now? His answer.

I HAVE always and continuously been raising this question, and whenever this question was raised in the Working Committee I spoke out strongly. The Working Committee decided that this question should be settled by the Parliamentary Board. I agreed. But before that decision, Chandrashekharji had called a meeting of a few leaders, and there I had said very clearly

that if the question of dual membership was not settled, then the Janata Party would break. That day, Atal Behari Vajpayee spoke out and said that they could not survive like this, and that if we wanted, they (the former Jana Sangh) would leave the Janata, etc. I pointed out that this was not a question of emotion or anger, this was a question which needed an answer. Who would stay, who would go : I could think about leaving too.

Why do we use the term 'dual membership'? When the Janata Party was formed, the Jana Sangh was disbanded. But the RSS remained. Why? Because according to the papers which are still in the possession of Chaudhury Sahab and

Bhanu Pratap Singh, Manubhai Patel (who was the general secretary of the Congress-O) had said at a meeting then that the RSS issue was not being raised because it was a banned Party. I have pointed out that the RSS is present among workers, among students, among youth organisations, in Parliament, in Ministries. Ministers wear the short pants of the RSS and go to parades. How can all this go on?

I am a member of the central election panel. Right in this room, at the last meeting of the panel I raised the question of dual membership and said that until this question was settled, no work would be done — and work stopped. But while we kept raising this question, some of our leaders said that this was a non-issue; Jagjivan Babu himself called this a non-issue. It was on this that our differences began. I maintained that this was such a serious question that it could lead to the disintegration of the country — if every religion did not have a secure place in our society, disintegration was inevitable. The RSS wants to have a Hindu Rashtra here, which means that there is no place for Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Parsis. So some place has to be found for them. So, further divisions of the country into ten nations? The unity and the integrity of our country was at stake on this question, nothing less.

When Raj Narainji was thrown out of the Party, I protested to Chandrashekharji. A member of the national executive committee had been removed by a subcommittee of the national executive committee — this I had never heard of. He said that the decision was constitutional but I pointed out that the constitution should never have been interpreted in that way, because this was a situation where a clause was challenging the basic fundamentals

Manoria Pure



WHY I LEFT

By H. N. BAHUGUNA

of the constitution. The national executive is the highest executive of the Party, and a creature of this executive cannot have authority over a member of the national executive. This was absurd, and not legally tenable either. And what was Raj Narain's fault? He kept saying, do not allow dual membership, throw out the RSS. How can you fault a member of the Janata Party for attacking the RSS? Is the RSS a wing of the Janata? If we hold any specific opinion about the RSS or the Jamaat-e-Islami, then how do we go against any clause in the constitution of the Janata Party?

Then I told Chandrashekhar that Raj Narain's campaign was correct, and the Party must decide about it. I suggested four or five solutions to save the Party. One: revive clause five, and remove the RSS members from senior positions in the Party—which means that Nanaji Deshmukh goes. Second: RSS members in the Party in the States should go, which means that many State Chief Ministers will have to go. Then no State Minister who belongs to the RSS will be allowed to continue, even as a member of the Janata Party, unless he publicly denounces the RSS. Lastly, if the RSS says that it will withdraw all its members from the Janata, that all its MLAs and the MPs will leave the Janata, let them go; let them resign their seats and we will contest the by-elections on this issue. Chandrashekhar said that these were difficult conditions which I was imposing. Then, Chandrasheknarji met Atal Behariji, and phoned me from Atalji's office itself to say that Atalji was ready to resign. But I said that it was not a question of Atal Behari Vajpayee resigning—it was a total question. All this happened on July 10.

A meeting was called at Chandrashekhar's house that same evening, at 8 p.m. Many people gathered: Vajpayee, Rabi Ray, Madhu Limaye, Surendra Mohan, Bejoy Singh Nahar, Shyam Nandan Mishra, Mohan Dharia, myself. During the conversation, Atalji raised a point: Wasn't the Jamaat-e-ulema-e-Hind a communal organisation? I replied that he obviously knew nothing about this organisation. 'Atalji, Jamaat members have passed resolutions during the Independence movement to go to jail. This was one of their conditions for becoming an office-bearer. Non-participants were expelled'. I told Atalji that he had not read the constitution of the Jamaat; it was clearly written that no member could belong to a communal Party, and this clause was inserted to stop its members from joining the Muslim League. They fought the Muslim League. Atalji asked: Who created partition? I replied: Partition was created by the fears of minorities. In the frontier, in Punjab, in Bengal—there was never a Muslim League Government in these States. In Bengal, Kiran Sankar Roy and Fazlul Haque were in power; in Punjab the

Unionist Party. Why did the Muslims of UP and Bihar demand partition? In the 1936 elections the Muslim League and the Congress fought in an alliance. After victory, a quarrel started in UP. Khaliqzaman Sahab was the leader of Muslim League in UP; he demanded three seats in the Cabinet. Pantji said that he already had two Muslims, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, in his Ministry, how could he give three more seats to the League? Take one seat, he told the League. Naturally, they reacted sharply. They said, don't keep any Muslims in the Ministry apart from us. Pantji said no, so they said, fine, keep five Muslims in the Cabinet. I am convinced that if Pantji had kept five Muslims, no great harm would have been done. If he was so keen on keeping more Hindus, he could have increased the strength of his Cabinet: what difference would that have made? These days, there are ministries of over 50! It was only when Pantji refused that the Muslim League decided to break the alliance. Jinnah Sahab was recalled from London after that. I told Atalji, 'Sahab, you don't know anything. These maulvis have done great things; do not begin accusing them. Yes, talk about the Jamaat-e-Islami, that can be understood'.

I also told him, show me one

The governance was so bad,
that ultimately we would have
left this country totally
ungovernable

single bit of evidence that the RSS ever did anything for the Independence movement; name one instance where the RSS leadership may have said, 'RSS volunteers should do satyagraha for independence; the RSS should participate in this struggle for independence'. I told him that if he could show me a single instance of such a resolution, I would join the RSS. He kept quiet. This conversation at Shriman Chandrashekhar's house started at 9 p.m. and continued till 1 a.m. I pleaded that day in front of everyone, asking them to save the Party by taking decisions on these questions. At one in the morning, it was decided that Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee would ask his compatriots how far they were willing to accommodate this viewpoint. And by one in the afternoon the next day, he would let us know. Everybody thought this was too short a gap, and it was agreed that he would let us know by six in the evening. At 7.30, at Biju Patnaik's house, Surendra Mohan and Ramkrishna Hegde came with a formula (which said that the Jana Sangh members would say that they did not believe in a theocratic state). I said that this was not acceptable to me. I had lost my argument at the level of the Party President.

I went to the PM on July 11, at

around 1.30 in the afternoon. I spoke to him for an hour. I told him, 'Morarjibhai, you have stalled on this question of dual membership for so long. Why don't you settle it? Remove RSS members from everywhere, otherwise it will be difficult to stay in the Party; the Party is breaking up now, and it will break completely soon'. He replied that this was only my presumption, and insisted that the Party would not collapse. He said, what wrong had the RSS done? Where had they started riots? I said, 'Even assuming that the RSS did not start riots, then *bad bhala badnaam bura* (rough translation: the bad man is better than the man with a bad reputation)'. He told me that I was prejudiced. I said, 'From my childhood I have heard that the RSS is dangerous, from my betters I have heard that the RSS is dangerous, you have told me that you have ordered lathi charges against the RSS in Bombay. Where has this memory of yours disappeared?' He told me that I did not understand that the RSS had changed a lot lately. I replied, 'They do not seem very changed to me'. Then Morarjibhai began telling me he had heard that I was very upset with him.

A few days before, Subramaniam Swamy Sahab had come to me and asked what exactly I found wrong with this Government. I told him, 'Listen, Subramaniam, you go to the PM's house twice a day, and that is why I am telling you so that you can go and report this to the PM'. Take an illustration. I went to Russia and told them that we were going through an energy crisis and we wanted more fuel oil and diesel oil. These are needed for boilers, instead of coal. They are needed for fertilisers. The Russians told me that they didn't have any spare at the moment, and they put a counter question: why do we need these things? They said, the predominance in the energy package of our country should be of coal and we have so much coal that for the generation of electricity, or for transport, we need not spend so much on petroleum and petroleum-based products. It was like asking for cake instead of bread.

When I went to Saudi Arabia, OI Minister Zaki Yamani said the same thing. 'Mr Minister, we sympathise with you, and we have every sympathy for your requirements. You know we are very short of oil, the world is short of oil. I will advise you to think deeply and coolly on the energy needs of India. It should be predominantly coal-based'. Now, where could I get the coal from? Coal doesn't reach factories. Trains do not move. Work is not done. I told Swamy that I went to two countries, and in both I had to hang my head in shame. One was a feudal country; the other was a socialist country. One was a monarchy, the other was a socialist democracy. One was a theocratic state, the other was a non-religious state. Both gave the same advice. Both have

The coal doesn't reach factories. Trains do not move. Work is not done. I told Swamy that I went to two countries, and in both I had to hang my head in shame. One was a feudal country; the other was a socialist country... Both have been studying how bad conditions are here. I told Morarjibhai this too.

been studying how bad conditions are here. I told Morarjibhai this too.

The economy has reached such a mess that — I'll give you an example from the Ministry which I held. In Panipat there is a fertiliser factory; and in Bhatinda there is another one. For six months, both have been ready to start. Every month their revenue expenditure, including depreciation and interest on capital, is Rs two crores. Now until the factory gets into full production, this Rs two crores every month is added onto the capital. If the capital cost goes up, the actual cost of production will go up. For six months, arrangements for fuel oil and coal have not been made to enable the factories to start. I have tried my level best, rubbed my face in the dirt, to get them started. I went to Madhu Dandavate, my officers went, then I went, then the matter was raised in a Cabinet sub-committee, then I wrote to the Prime Minister: I did everything I could, but when I left my Ministry, the matter remained exactly where it had been six months ago. Nangal's fertiliser plant is running at 50 per cent capacity, and Gorakhpur's is running at 60 per cent: why? Because naphtha is not coming on time from Gauhati, Barauni, Digboi. Why? The lead, the distance between source and end, has not increased—but the time taken for a wagon to travel the distance has increased by 50 per cent. The railway is the same, the wagon is the same, the engine is the same. It is not that before electric engines used to run, and now diesel engines are running; everything is the same. I could not understand what was happening.

In my long experience, I have had to deal with workers too. After all, ONGC has workers, doesn't it? Indian Oil Corporation has workers, doesn't it? Hindustan Insecticides has workers, doesn't it? There are workers in fertiliser corporations, aren't there? In Hindustan Petroleum, what else is there but a work force? Bharat Petroleum. I had a total of 45 factories in my Ministry, and all of them had huge numbers of workers, ONGC, for instance. So many months have passed: have you ever seen a demonstration by workers outside my house? Very, very big labour leaders in this country have had workers put up tents outside their houses. Why not in front of my house? Did I give anything more to anyone?

This Government was being run in such a fashion, the governance was so bad, that ultimately we would

have left this country totally un-governable. I told Morarjibhai all this plainly. He replied, You are telling me all this now. Why don't you raise it in the Cabinet? How could I have raised it in the Cabinet? Why should I go about blaming my fellow Ministers?

The Prime Minister tried to reassure me. Everything would be all right, he said; he had written a letter to Balasaheb Deoras. I said, it is getting late, and it is becoming impossible for me: I cannot understand now where I should go. The PM said, had I spoken to Jagjivan Babu about all this? That morning I had a conversation with Jagjivan Babu, and we were expected to talk again in the evening over dinner. What are you going to decide, asked Morarjibhai. I said I could only answer this after our discussions were finished. But, Morarjibhai, I said, I am extremely unhappy. The PM began saying that I couldn't do this to him, he had always trusted me, had thought well of me. True enough, and I told him I was grateful to him for that, but I insisted that I was unhappy. The country was suffering. The economy had come to a standstill.

Let me give you an example. The price of sugar at one point came down to less than half of what it was when we took over in March 1977: Has the price of *mithai* come down? Why not? Leave *mithai* aside for a moment. Every poor worker drinks a cup of tea, doesn't he? Will someone please explain to me why the price of tea has gone up, when the price of sugar has come down and the prices of other ingredients have remained stable? In Delhi, the dhabawalas who once sold a cup of tea for 40 paise are now charging 80 paise. Ask the taxidriver who is suffering, and he will tell you what is happening. Is there nobody who can tackle problems? There was no water in Delhi for four days: who was bothered? There was insurrection in the police. From last September and October there were indications that there would be trouble on this front. Who took any action to prevent this?

Take communalism, and the problems that have arisen in this sphere. If anyone says that we should restore the minority character of Aligarh Muslim University, how can that person be called communal? Our Constitution provides that in our country minorities can have their institutions: There are high schools, intermediate colleges degree colleges

of Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs. Why can't Aligarh become a Muslim institution? All the groups, apart from the Jana Sangh, which formed the Janata Party, have openly accepted this in the past, at different forums, at different times. I have supported this demand, when I was in the Congress, when I left it to form the CFD, and when I was in the Janata I supported this. The argument is that the money to run Aligarh comes from the Government. Tell me, where does the money come to run high schools? Where is it written that the Government will not aid any minority institution? All over the world, ethnic, cultural, linguistic minorities are treated like sons-in-law by the various Governments. In fact, every country tends to give the minorities a little more than perhaps what they deserve. Muslims are a very important minority in India. It is on record that Muslims collected Rs 20 lakhs for this university in those days. It is on record that the Muslims wanted an Oxford in India. In 1920 a law was passed regarding the university and the Law Member said very clearly that the Muslims were being given their university. What damage to the country would have been done if you had said that this university had a minority character? Then they argue that the Supreme Court has ruled otherwise. If you can change all the laws, why can't you alter this one through legislation? If there are any lacunae due to which the Supreme Court has ruled as it did, then remove the lacunae.

Not only this. If the students of Aligarh raise such a demand, and show their anger, and bring out a procession, then what is wrong? At Dadri these students were beaten up, and beaten up so badly with weapons which were clearly not with the *audhia* people. And if after being beaten up so severely, the students in their anger burnt a few shops, then, tell me, is this the first time that students have burnt shops in their anger? I know every stone in Uttar Pradesh. In July 1946, the students of Allahabad University burnt the Palace cinema which belonged to Feroze Gandhi's uncle. Nobody said that Hindu students had burnt a Parsi's cinema hall. The students of every university have rampaged through the streets, burnt buses, shops, in their anger. They are students, and prone to violent anger. It was perhaps my good fortune that during my Chief Ministership in UP, there was not a single instance of violence in the State, there was no lathi charge. But no other Chief Minister could avoid using the police. If the students of other universities burn, then nobody worries whether the students are Hindus or Muslims. But if the students of Aligarh do the same thing, then everyone stresses the fact that they are Muslims. Our thinking was getting so vitiated, things were becoming so bad, that it was virtually impossible for me to show my face

in public. During these last two years, at the very most I must have spoken publicly from a Janata platform six or seven times. I was silent, even to the Press. SUNDAY knows that its requests for interviews were turned down by me. I was trying to change things from within.

The students of Aligarh came to me. They asked me: For how long would they continue to get beaten up, and for how long would I remain silent? I was not, in fact, silent. I fought in the Cabinet. I have kept all the correspondence I did on communal issues. Recently I wrote to Banarsi Das in which I demanded that the controversial cinema hall in Aligarh (which has sparked off the latest round of tension) should be made into a public hall. This cinema was created on the land on which Muslim shops were burnt in the riots of 1971, land which was acquired by the *banias* after the Muslims were dispossessed of it. This was the only way to heal the wound in the hearts of the Muslims. Whenever a Muslim sees that cinema hall he will recall that it was built on the foundations of a communal riot. At least in UP the CM has transferred the District Magistrate of Aligarh now.

I have come out now, and I will never get into a situation where my voice will be choked. Otherwise neither can I help my country, nor calm my conscience. My silence must have hurt the ordinary people, the ordinary Muslims who expected me to raise my voice.

Despite all that has happened in Aligarh, I would like to stress, organisations like the Jamaat-e-Islami have not become stronger in Aligarh. The day when the students came to Delhi after being beaten up, when I went to see them in hospital, I found a very old and senior leader of the Jamaat had also come there. The students literally chased him away. They said that the Jamaat should have been beaten up, not them. It was my fault that I was silent. But as a Minister what could I do? It is not in my tradition to speak out loudly on such issues.

Muslims believe that since they created Aligarh, it should remain under their control. Yes, the financial control must remain with the Government. But if in a Communist country like Poland, the State can help to decorate all the churches to please the Catholics during the Pope's visit — and every Pole is not a Catholic, there are Protestants in addition to the believing Communists — then can't Muslims in India be allowed to maintain their traditions?

We cannot control communal riots for a very simple reason. The world is saying that Navman was at fault in Aligarh and Dinanath Pandey was at fault in Jamshedpur. And they are walking the streets like lions. Why? *Sanyan bhaye kotwal to dar kaheka* (If my lover becomes in charge of the police, then why should I be afraid)? Communal elements acquired respectability through their participation in the State and Cen-

I have tried my level best, rubbed my face in the dirt, to get the factories started. I went to Madhu Dandavate: my officers went, then I went, then the matter was raised in the Cabinet subcommittee, then I wrote to the Prime Minister; but when I left the Ministry, the matter remained exactly where it had been six months ago.

tral Governments. They became powerful, and the officers became demoralised. Now, after all, the force which is meant to control riots also consists of ordinary Hindus and Muslims. When communal elements become powerful, then whose influence will predominate among the people who should maintain order? Why do we say that the Government should end its association with the RSS? Because even if only one RSS person is a Minister, its impact on society becomes far greater than its numerical strength.

The non-Jana Sanghis who are today sitting with the Jana Sangh will face a crisis. They will not be able to spread their viewpoints, they will not be able to improve their image during this coalition, but will only witness a distortion of their image and credibility because of this alliance. Slowly the Party will become just another version of the Jana Sangh. It is the relationship of wood and fire. In 1977, the camel put its head in the tent, and all through the last two years the camel has been trying to take over the tent. What is the Jana Sangh? The Jana Sangh was the front organisation of the RSS. This front organisation was merged with the Janata, but the loyalty of the cadre was not merged — their loyalty remained with the RSS. Plus, the other RSS front organisations remained in existence. The Vidyarthi Parishad remained, the Yuva Janata Morcha was formed — as if the Vidyarthi Parishad was not enough. Then the Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh was activated and received open patronage from the Jana Sanghis in power. See what happened during the water crisis in Delhi. It is true that one of the reasons why a person like Chandrashekharji was chosen by consensus as the Janata President was in order to prevent the domination of the Party by any particular wing. But the Jana Sangh kept increasing its influence.

Take the question of membership. Any independent observer will tell you that RSS volunteers took charge of enrolment of members: At least I know about UP and this certainly happened in UP. I can prove it. In every village this happened. Everywhere, the Jana Sangh kept running parallel offices, holding parallel meetings. Wherever the Jana Sangh leaders went, they only kept in touch with other Jana Sanghis. Through the RSS, a parallel programme was in operation. Chaudhury Charan Singh told me a very interesting and representative story. There was a

person from Bulandshahr who had been in jail with the Chaudhury during the Emergency, and he could not get electricity for his tubewell, so he came to Chaudhury Sahab for help. Chaudhury Sahab wrote a letter to the Power Minister in UP, R. K. Sahi (a former President of the Jana Sangh in the State). The man went to the Minister with the Chaudhury's recommendation. Just opposite the Council House, where the Minister sat, was an office of the RSS. A PA of the Minister told this man very clearly: Bring a chit from the RSS office and your work will be done. The man went to the RSS office. There he was asked whether he was a member of the RSS, or whether he had brought a recommendation from the local RSS leader in Bulandshahr. The man had not brought all this. He explained that he was in jail with Charan Singh under MISA and he had brought a letter from Charan Singh, who was Home Minister then. No good. He couldn't get his electricity.

The Jana Sangh has operated very cleverly. They deployed some people on Morarjibhai, whom Morarjibhai began to trust. Some concentrated on Babuji, some on Chandrashekhar, some on Charan Singh. Yes, some Jana Sanghis came to me too, but Jana Sangh *laga lekin chipka nahin* (it did not stick). The Jana Sangh had its people in every camp. In some places, the friendships could not survive the first strains when they came — for example, the friendship with Chaudhury Sahab.

They told Babuji that they had wanted to make him Prime Minister, but unfortunately were not able to because of JP's and Acharya Kripalani's choice of Morarjibhai. So Babuji felt that they were sympathetic to him. Morarjibhai was convinced that he had this strong and organised force of the Jana Sangh behind him, and this combined with the Congress(O) made him invincible.

But, of course, the greatest sin was that by their association with all of us, communalism was given respectability. But for a long while after February 2, 1977, I did not raise my voice because of the fear that people would say that ex-Congressmen like us had come to break the Janata Party. Then, later, Babuji and I could not agree on what to do. He was not ready to leave. But I had begun feeling lonely. Today, after I have left, I feel I am on the side of my friends once again. ■

Why did the President delay?



N July 21 a Press statement was issued from Rashtrapati Bhavan which began thus: "The President has been distressed at reports appearing in certain sections of the Press insinuating that he is not a disinterested party in the current political crisis facing the country and that he has political ambitions of his own." It is all right for the President to be distressed at the Press reports implicating him and hinting that he was involved in a political game of his own during the crisis. But who is to be blamed for this? If one examines all that the President did and said during the first seven days of the present political crisis then it becomes clear that he has been behaving like a politician, not a President. Had there been a tape recorder in President Reddy's office like the one in President Nixon's, what would it have revealed?

According to the Indian Constitution, the President cannot rule the country on his own and he must have a council of ministers headed by a Prime Minister who would actually govern the country and be answerable to Parliament. When a council of ministers resigns it is the bounden duty of the President to form another council of ministers. Till the new council of ministers is formed the outgoing council of ministers should continue. There is no provision for President's Rule at the Centre in the Indian Constitution.

Now, what did Mr Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy do after Mr Morarji Desai submitted his resignation on July 15? He started calling a number of MPs and political leaders of different shades of opinion and discussing the "latest political situation" with them. He started summoning some of the prominent Chief Ministers to the capital. He even suggested to Mr J. B. Kripalani to come to the capital from Madras and wanted to send an IAF plane for him. After three rounds of talks, he despatched one of the "likeminded" Chief Ministers to Patna to bring JP to New Delhi. All this was done before the President called upon the Congress leader, Mr Y. B. Chavan, to explore the possibilities of forming an alternative Government. Now, was all this needed just to decide whom to give the first chance to? Was it not enough to call the Attorney-General, seek his opinion and act as per his advice? Would it not have been proper for the President to avoid political discussions with political leaders before calling upon the "appropriate person" to explore the possibilities of forming an alternative Government?

And what was the President discussing with the political leaders? Was he not airing the idea of a national Government before some of

By BARUN SENGUPTA

On July 20 a prominent Janata MP remarked: The President's game in the first round is not to allow any leader, any Party or any combination to form an alternative Government. To this end he started working from the very moment Morarji resigned. He played one against the other successfully. The leaders have not yet been able to find him out. If they cannot see his game he will win the first round. And then he will unfold the second part of his game which again may look harmless.



them? Was he not playing one against the other? Did he not ask Mrs Gandhi, "Who are you supporting, Mr Charan Singh?" Again, did not the same President hint to Mr S. N. Mishra and Mr R. K. Amin that according to his assessment only Mr Charan Singh was in a position to form a stable Government? And what had he been telling Mr Chandrarajit Yadav all through? Was he not telling him that only Mr Chavan was in a position to form a stable alternative Government and had the vast experience needed to run a Government successfully? Did he not ask the CPI(M) leader Mr Ramamurthi, "How can your candidate Charan Singh form a Government without Mrs Indira Gandhi's support? And how can you support Charan Singh if he is supported by the Congress (I)?"

Where was the need for all these discussions before even the first person was called upon to explore the possibilities of forming an alternative Government? Rashtrapati Bhavan has taken a position that Mr Chavan was given the first opportunity according to best British tradition. Officially, he is the Opposition leader and that's why he has been given the first chance. All right, but to find out who should be called upon first according to the best norms of parliamentary democracy was it necessary for the President to wait for three days and complete his "first round" of political discussions?

The President could have definitely secured the official legal opinion within 24 hours and called Mr Chavan on July 16 and asked him whether he was willing to explore the possibilities of forming an alternative Government. This would have been the correct and proper course of action for the President. Instead, he discussed the "latest political situation" for three days with more than 30 political leaders, then called Mr Chavan, gave him a long letter and longer lecture. Some Congress leaders commented later that the President's long lecture had such a great impact on Mr Chavan that he immediately forgot about the Congress Working Committee's decision and the Party's commitment to Mr Charan Singh and announced to Press reporters on the spot: "I am confident of forming an alternative Government."

It is interesting to note a peculiar trend. After visits to Rashtrapati Bhavan even some very senior leaders changed their tactical positions suddenly. For example, before Mr Morarji Desai visited Rashtrapati Bhavan on July 17, he was not that adamant about the Janata Party leadership. Even that noon he indicated to close associates that he would resign on his own if a good number of Janata Party members suggested a change. But after his talk with the President, he was adamant

— he would not resign at all. What hope did the President give him? Why did the President praise Mr Desai to such an extent during that meeting? And what did the same President tell Mr S. N. Mishra or Mr Amin or Mr Ramamurthi about Mr Desai? Was he all that consistent? Should not a constitutional head be above this? Then, the President's long letter to Mr Chavan. What was the need for such a long letter? The question of stability he must assess. But can he reserve the right to examine the question of cohesiveness? Is it not something for the politicians to consider? If today the Janata, Congress (S) and Congress (I) agree to form a coalition Government, can the President say, "I would not allow you to form a Government because it is not a cohesive Government?" Has the President of India or the British crown any such prerogative? Constitutional experts are fairly unanimous at least on this question. What was the motive then and on whose expert advice did the President qualify his invitation to Mr Chavan?

Even after Mr Chavan was invited and given four days' time to explore the possibilities, the President went on discussing the "political situation" with various political leaders, sometimes making positive suggestions. Was it proper? Did not this amount to indirect and unhealthy presidential intervention? After the claimant for prime ministership submits his list of supporters the President can definitely examine and verify that list and for that purpose he may call different Party leaders. If there are doubts he may ask the particular MPs to make their positions clear in writing. He may even ask for personal verification. But before that and during a leader's exploration of possibilities, can the President go on suggesting things? Is it proper for the President to continue his political discussions during the process of exploration? The reports which have appeared in a "certain section" of the Press are not even one-tenth of what was going on in Rashtrapati Bhavan during the first seven days. It is a failure of the national Press corps that they could not bring this out. And if the course of political events does not already expose the game (by the time this appears in print), it may remain an unknown chapter in our history for long.

The President himself has exposed his political role in his July 21 statement to some extent. Read his statement carefully and you will get an idea. Mr Reddy asserts: "The President is an elected representative of the people of India, in the broadest sense of term." Another line of the statement reads: "The President is the keeper of the nation's conscience." He could have just issued a two-line statement and said that the President was only discharging his constitutional responsibility and doing nothing else. Instead, he asserted the importance of the post and reminded everyone that

he had the people's sanction behind him, in the broadest sense of the term. Why has he so categorically asserted his mandate? To stay out of politics?

THE Chavan red herring created a difficult situation for both Congress(S) and Janata(S). But it did not succeed ultimately. Mr Charan Singh did not relent. He would not agree to anything short of Prime Ministership. Mr Chavan was also firm. He would not accept Mr Singh as his leader. The Congress(S) leaders who were very keen on becoming ministers again, started pressurising Mr Chavan. The CPI(M) leaders also went to Mr Y. B. Chavan and pleaded with him to make way for Mr Charan Singh. The CPI leaders became very active. Mrs Gandhi also made it clear that she would not support Mr Chavan for Prime Ministership. Chavan's fate was sealed and he had to admit failure.

Meanwhile, four days had passed and much bitterness had been generated between the Congress(S) and Janata(S). It was expected that after all these developments, Congress(S) MPs would not stand solidly behind Mr Charan Singh. After Mr Chavan reported his failure, the President took a full 24 hours before his next move: And what a calculated and marvellous step it was. He asked both Mr Charan Singh and Mr Morarji Desai to submit their lists in support of their claims.

Would the British Crown have ever taken such a step? Was it healthy democratic practice? Was it not playing one against the other? Was it not a deliberate attempt to make the situation more complex? Would it not have been proper to call Mr Stephen, the Congress(I) leader next and ask whether he could form a government, failing which, give the chance to Mr Charan Singh — the Janata(S) leader? (According to a list released by the Speaker's office, Mr Charan Singh's

Chavan: confused by the lecture



Gautam Patole

Party had more members than the Congress(S). That being so, why did not the President give him the first opportunity?) Had all these courses failed to produce results, the President could definitely have given the last chance to the Janata Parliamentary Party leader. Ignoring this course, he asked both Charan Singh and Morarji Desai to submit their lists simultaneously. Could there have been a more sinister political move?

The developments, after both of them foolishly joined the game speak for themselves. The AIADMK, which is known to be close to Mrs Gandhi, all of a sudden joined the Morarji camp. It was well known in the capital that during this political crisis MGR had been in constant touch with Rashtrapati Bhavan. He met Mr Devaraj Urs with a specific proposal to withdraw support from Charan Singh. When Urs tried and failed to persuade his supporters to take a neutral stand, MGR rushed to Delhi and after consultations immediately decided to announce his Party's support for Morarji. This was aimed to boost Morarji's case: a frantic bid to put him at least at par with Charan Singh. On whose advice did MGR take this decision? And on whose directions did he arrange the five Congress(S) defections? It is significant that of these five MPs, four were from Andhra—the President's home State. On whose advice did the Morarji camp submit that clumsy list of 279? Why did they take 40 minutes more than the allotted time to submit their list? Who informed them that Charan Singh's list showed 279 names? Who suggested that both the lists should tally? Who made the frantic bid at the last moment to reverse the PWP decision and take away at least some Congress(S) MPs from Charan Singh side?

But all attempts to bring down Charan Singh's figure failed. It stood firmly above 260. Even then, till the evening of the 25th in Rashtrapati Bhavan things were moving differently. Some people still believed that the arrival of Devaraj Urs in the capital would lead to some more Congress(S) defections. But by the 26th morning all hopes had to be given up, because by then MGR had changed his view after a talk with Mrs Gandhi. He contacted Rashtrapati Bhavan immediately: This was the last straw. It became clear that if Charan Singh was not called upon to form a Government after all this, there would be street fighting in Delhi from the 27th evening when a Chaudhury rally was scheduled. Some politicians also warned Rashtrapati Bhavan about this and the President ultimately relented. Charan Singh was then called upon.

But has the game ended? No. Few people in Delhi believe that Charan Singh's Government will last. It has inherent and serious contradictions. The moment this Government falls, Rashtrapati Bhavan will get another chance. And next time it will have additional advantages.

The first hour of a new era

As UDAYAN SHARMA and M. J. AKBAR saw it

RAJ Narain's house in New Delhi was unusually deserted on Thursday afternoon. A few cars stood in the driveway. There were more cars than people. Around 3.30 p.m. a telephone call came from the

Rashtrapati Bhavan to Mr Raj Narain's house informing "Netaji" that the President had accepted, in principle, Mr Charan Singh's right to form the next Government. Mr. Raj Narain heard the news calmly, then told his personal aides that he was

going to sleep. His work, he said was done. He did not even telephone Chaudhury Charan Singh.

A telephone call had also gone to the Chaudhury's house, but he had been requested not to tell anyone. At 4 p.m. the permanent crowd outside his house was still quiet and apprehensive. Mr K. C. Tyagi, a young leader of the Chaudhury camp, had heard the news at Raj Narain's house. He walked out of a friend's car and first broke the news to the crowd outside. When he entered the Chaudhury's house it was silent. Mr Kartar Singh, on the Chaudhury's personal staff for 20 years, and perhaps his closest aide, was smiling but still maintained the official silence.

Chaudhury Charan Singh was sitting alone in his small room when we entered, the first outsiders to meet him after he became the Prime Minister-designate. He looked happy, a small smile on his lips. On the wall above him was a large framed blow-up of the Chaudhury addressing the kisan rally last December. On the wall on the left side was a large blow-up of Gandhiji, on the right wall was an equally large portrait of Swami Vivekananda. A picture of Sardar Patel also decorated the room.

The Chaudhury accepted our congratulations with a smile. He asked his aide to put a call through to Mr Raj Narain. We told him that Mr Raj Narain had gone to sleep after hearing the news, saying that his work was now done. The Chaudhury looked up, and said, "the real credit goes to Mr Raj Narain. He has done all the work, even though I kept reprimanding him publicly". There was genuine emotion in his voice as he said this. In his hand he had a plain HMT watch which he held by the strap. Mr Tyagi then suggested that he should only meet the people who had shown him the affection and given him the support that made him Prime Minister: the villagers. He agreed.

We suggested, in view of the hectic dinner diplomacy that had preceded the decision to make him Prime Minister, that now he should give a dinner, and the only person he should invite from among his opponents was Mr Nanaji Deshmukh. He burst out laughing.

Mr Tyagi said at this point that results of the victory of the Janata Party in March 1977 were only coming in now. The Chaudhury kept quiet.

Then he told his aide to phone the various leaders. So far not a single phone call had come from anyone congratulating him. The news had still not spread. Among the people



Mrs Charan Singh celebrating her husband's appointment as the PM—she sang songs while swinging with friends.

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who first came to the Chaudhury's mind, among those who needed to be called, were Mr Raj Narain, Mr H. N. Bahuguna, Mr Devaraj Urs, Mr Y. B. Chavan, Mr Chandrajit Yadav, Mr Madhu Limaye, Mr K. C. Pant, Mr George Fernandes, Mr S. N. Mishra, Mr R. K. Amin, Mr Janeshwar Mishra, Mr Rabi Ray and Mr Unnikrishnan. Very high on his list were Mr Urs and Mr Chandrajit

Yadav, "This boy has done a lot of work," he said about Mr Yadav. Of course more names were soon added to the list.

The first phone-call was to Mr Chavan. The Chaudhury thanked him, and said that his Prime Ministership was their victory. "All of you have helped a great deal," he said and then added that they should "decide the names" very quickly as

he wanted to form a Ministry as soon as possible. "Public work has been held up for too long," said the Prime Minister-designate.

The second phone-call was for Mr Urs. "Devarajji," said the Chaudhury, "This is your victory." They spoke for quite a while.

At 4.30 p.m. the Chaudhury got up and said that he must meet the ordinary people, they were the real peo-



Chaudhury

Agpu Rai

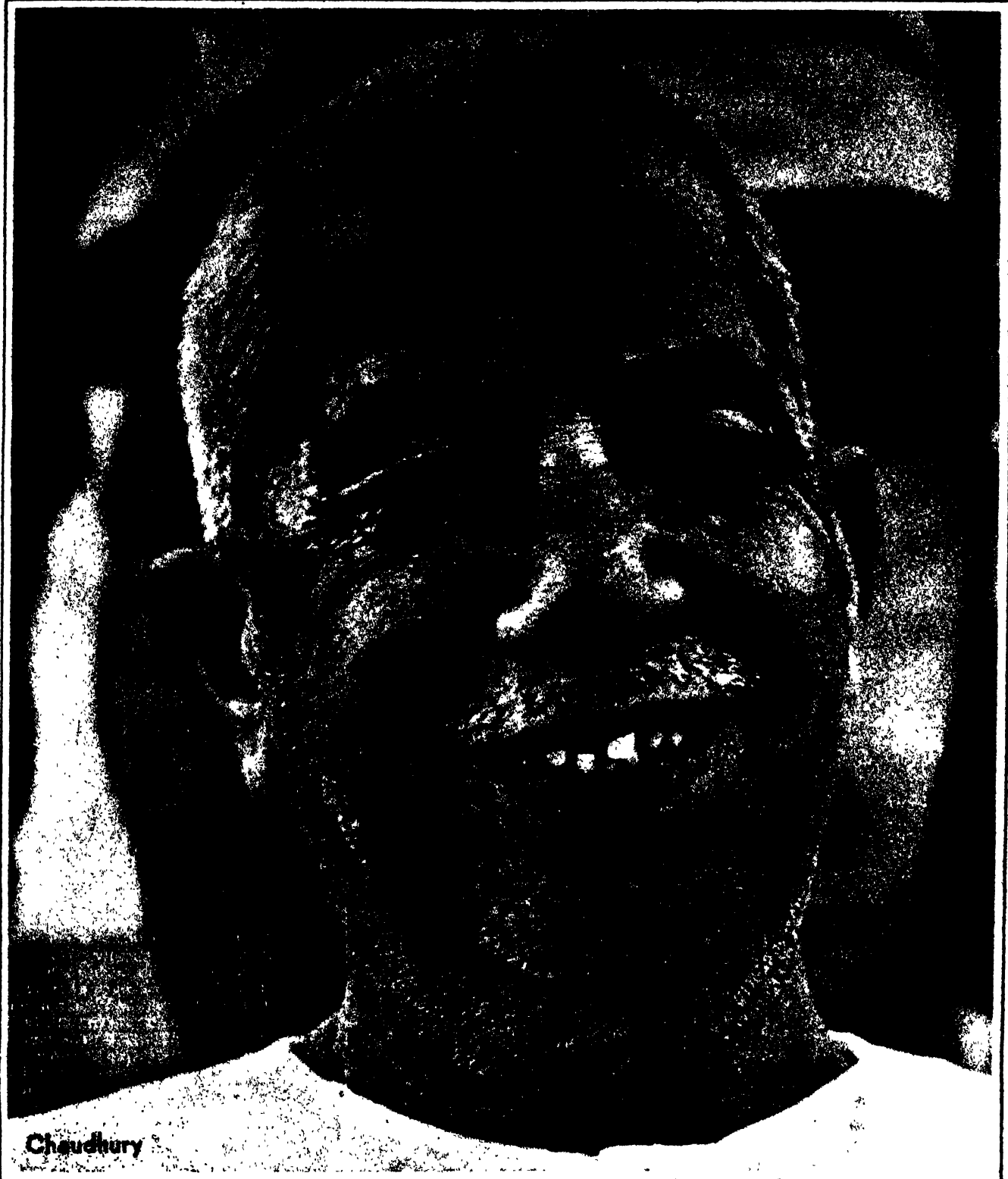
ple to be thanked, they deserved all that he could give. Still barefoot, he walked out of the room, through a corridor and the main drawing room, and into the hall which led to the door. As we entered the hall, the rush of the crowd outside had almost forced open the door and the security people were having a very hard time keeping them back. They wanted to see their leader. "A poor man

has become the Prime Minister," they said. "He is the first poor man to become a Prime Minister."

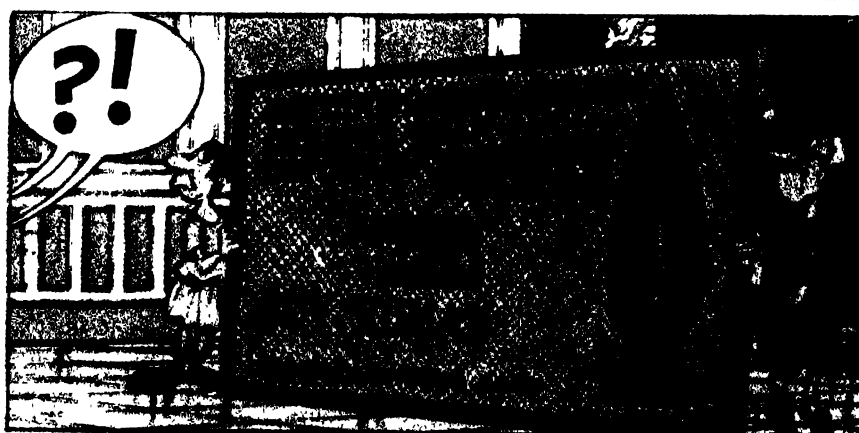
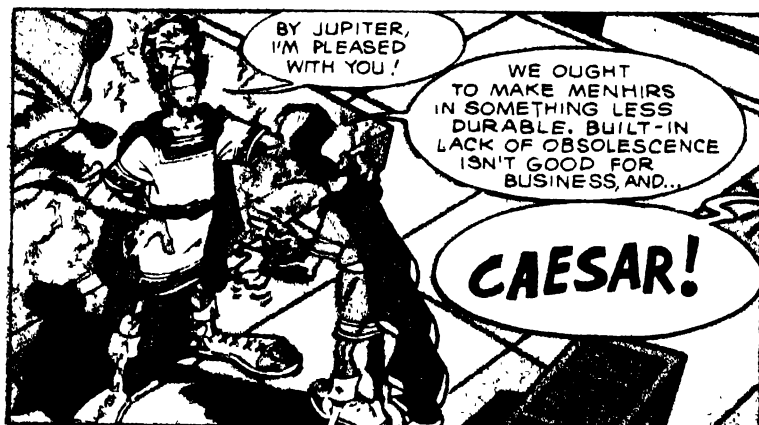
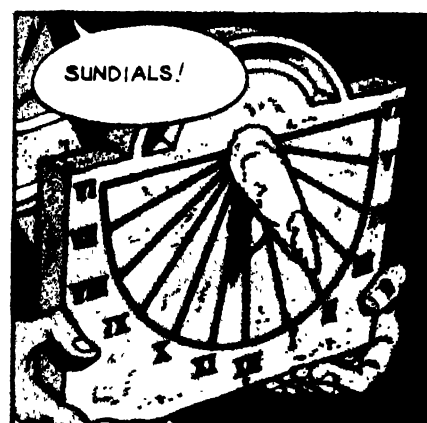
Suddenly on the way the Chaudhury realised that he was not wearing shoes. He darted into a side room and quickly put on his shoes and came back. As he went outside the frenzy reached its climax. They mobbed him, nearly lifted him high, and the crush from all sides

was so great that, considering the age, only a politician could have withstood it. But now the place was swarming with freshly commandeered policemen and plainclothesmen, and they were quickly guarding the Prime Minister to be. He spoke for a minute softly. Then he went back

The first hour of another era was over. ■ *Continued on page 28*



Chaudhury



SOON
AFTERWARDS...

WHAT'S THE BIG
IDEA, MERETRICIUS?
SINCE WHEN
HAVE ROMANS
BEEN
MANUFACTURING
MENHIRS?

SINCE PEOPLE
STARTED BUYING
THEM, O CAESAR.

WELL, I
FORBID YOU TO
SELL ANY
MORE
MENHIRS!

I REPRESENT THE ENTIRE ROMAN
MENHIR INDUSTRY, AND I CANNOT
COUNTEenance AN EDICT
WHICH ENDANGERS THE JOBS
OF SO MANY WORKERS!

BUT THE
WORKERS
ARE
SLAVES!

EXACTLY! THE RIGHT
TO WORK IS THE ONLY
RIGHT A SLAVE
HAS. HE MUST
NOT BE DEPRIVED
OF IT!

IF YOU GO
ON CIRCULATING
MENHIRS
YOU'LL FIND
YOURSELF IN
THE CIRCUS!

RIGHT. YOU
LEAVE ME NO
ALTERNATIVE.



Listless in defeat

Those non-existent defections from Congress(S) spelt Morarji's doom, reports AJOY BOSE

THE decision to invite Charan Singh to form a Government at the Centre was taken by the President around 3 p.m. — one hour after the representatives of the Morarji group had left Rashtrapati Bhavan. The representatives of Charan Singh had left one hour earlier. Both had been sitting at the President's house since the morning helping the verification of the two lists the leaders had given the President the previous day. The President's decision was reportedly largely influenced by the vehemence with which the Congress (S) Members of Parliament, 20 of whom were included in Morarji's list, accused the caretaker Prime Minister of having cooked up fraud names in the list. Tulsidass Dassappa, AICC general secretary, whose name had also been included in the list expressed his "horror" at what he described as "the level to which respected leaders like Morarji would stoop to stay in power". Of the 20 MPs of the Congress included in Morarji's list, only five had declared the previous day that they would not support Charan Singh. But even these five had not said categorically that they would

support Morarji instead of Charan.

After an initial scrutiny of the two lists, it was found that the effective strength of the Charan Singh camp was around 263, while the Morarji group, although it had submitted a list of 279 could only claim the backing of a maximum of 238. It was ironical that a man like Morarji who had assiduously tried to build up an image of moral uprightness would ultimately be revealed as a blatant liar. For Morarji the day brought not only defeat in the race for power but humiliation at being discovered as a fraud. Tamil Nadu Congress Committee president D. V. Alagesan said, "Morarji by his atrocious conduct is going to wipe the Janata Party off the political arena of India." Mr Chavan also expressed his shock at the false names on Morarji's list. "Member after member of the Congress has come to me in anguish and pain and protested against this uncalled for challenge to their political integrity," he said in the afternoon.

Mr Charan Singh's list on the other hand, although not totally accurate stood the test of authenticity much better than Morarji's. The President had little choice but

to invite Charan Singh to become the new Prime Minister. For two weeks the President had tried all sorts of tactics to frustrate the efforts of both leaders to become Prime Minister. "He told different things to different people and it was quite obvious that he was not acting purely in his capacity as a President" said Chandrajit Yadav who met the President a number of times during the political crisis. What Mr Yadav had not accounted for however was the reluctance of members of the Congress (S) to defect. The scales swung in Charan Singh's favour after Devaraj Urs, in spite of his recent battle against Mrs Gandhi and antipathy for her, rooted for Charan Singh: his shrewd political judgement far outweighed his personal ego. The other factor which helped the Chaudhury was the support given to him by the CPI and consequently the Peasants' and Workers' Party. In mustering support from both Urs as well as the CPI, Chandrajit Yadav had played a significant role and it was not surprising that Yadav was one of the first to be praised by Charan Singh after he knew he would be Prime Minister.

By the afternoon, news had trickled down to the Chaudhury camp that he was winning in the race for power and after the telephone call from Rashtrapati Bhavan confirmed this, there were wild scenes of celebration at 12 Tughlak Road. Devi Lal, the second-in-command of the Jat empire, was there distributing gur. "Today is Diwali for the Haryana kisan and tomorrow is the Teej festival," he told everyone whom he met. Hundreds of broad-shouldered brethren from Haryana and Uttar Pradesh villages had already begun thronging the Chaudhury's residence and shouts of "Chaudhury Zindabad, kisan zindabad" rent the air. The boisterous crowd paid scant respect to the lawn and potted plants, so it was not long before Charan Singh's residence bore a ravaged look. Meanwhile, his wife Gayatri Devi was telling a girl reporter in an inner room "We knew he would be Prime Minister. He could have become PM in 1977 if he had not fallen ill at that time".

CHAUDHURY himself was beaming but seemed a little subdued. As newsmen crowded around him and asked him questions, Charan Singh answered in monosyllables, and his face had a deadpan look. The only time he showed some emotion was when a woman photographer, Mandira Purie, was pushed down on the ground in the rush of photographers looking for a vantage point from which to take pictures of the Prime Minister-designate. "You will be crushed in this crowd, come with me into another room and you can take your photographs," he told Purie.

At exactly 5.30 p.m. the Prime Minister-designate entered the gates of Rashtrapati Bhavan in a white Ambassador car. He was ushered in



to the President's study where Mr Reddy was awaiting him and he was then taken to the morning room where he was handed over the letter inviting him formally to form a Government. The meeting between Mr Reddy and Charan Singh was short and to the point. According to the President's secretary Hamid, there was little conversation. In a little while, the Chaudhury came out flanked by security men and got into the waiting ambassador car after giving a one-line answer to a question by a reporter about when he would form a Government. "Maybe tomorrow or Saturday, after our Congress friends decide," were the only words that Charan Singh spoke. Meanwhile there was gloom and despair in the Janata camp. The ones who had jeered the most loudly when on July 9, Raj Narain came into Parliament and sat in the Opposition benches were sullen and quiet.

Morarji had been informed of the President's decision by a letter shortly after 4 p.m. that day. When reporters reached his residence it wore an absolutely deserted look. A few security men tried to stop the newsmen but when prevailed upon, they agreed to phone up Mr Desai's secretaries. "What's the use? We will be on duty at Chaudhury Sahab's place soon," one of the security men said. Dressed in crisp white, Morarji had an air of resignation when he came to meet the Press. Accompanying him were Ravindra Varma and Bhajan Lal. Conscious of his characteristic terse answers, a reporter asked hesitantly whether Morarji would give his reactions to the day's political developments. "I have said 'no' all too often. Now I will not say no," was Morarji's surprising answer. He answered all the questions with his usual composure but the snap had gone out of the 84-year-old ex-Prime Minister who fulfilled his life's ambition after March 1977, only to be rudely deprived of it 28 months later by someone whose life's ambition was as great as his. Later in the evening however, Morarji could not avoid a little of his self-righteousness which had been behind his ultimate downfall. "The process of political defections has acquired a holy garb today," he told some newsmen.

Others of the Janata were of course far more vocal in their defeat. Janata Party President Chandrashekhar continued to bluster "The President's decision is extraordinary. It has put a premium on political defections." Men like Krishan Kant and Ram Dhan fumed and fretted about the President's decision being a "national shame" and muttered "God help the people". Jagjivan Ram however remained characteristically cautious and congratulated everybody—Charan Singh, Y. B. Chavan, Raj Narain and Mrs Gandhi. The next day Morarji would resign and Babuji would be firmly on his way to the leadership of the Janata Party. His opportunities were only beginning now.

Why Babuji lost out

He was too cautious, Says UDAYAN SHARMA

IT is true that Babu Jagjivan Ram is an old hand in political operations. But he plays too safe where every step towards the fulfilment of political ambitions involves a great deal of risk. And Babuji was never prepared to take these risks. During the tumultuous events that rocked the Janata Party recently, Babuji initially stood by the Prime Minister though he was aware that Morarjibhai had become extremely vulnerable because of the Kanti-Balsubramaniam affair. He was biding his time. When Raj Narain set in motion the chain of desertions, Babuji did not hide his glee. He saw it as a further depletion in the Chaudhury's ranks. But all of a sudden the volume of desertions turned into a torrent. Bahuguna parted company and George and others followed suit. Babuji was left to stew in his own juice. Morarji refused to see the writing on the wall. At this time Babuji was receiving feelers from the Chavan camp that if he quit the Cabinet he had chances of becoming the Prime Minister. A Congress (S) leader, Mr Bhishma Narain Singh, also contacted him with the same proposal.

On July 14, various group leaders

of the Janata Party were accepting the bitter truth that Morarji's Government would fall because it had become a minority Government. Some of the Janata Party leaders were trying to find out some face-saving formula. D. N. Tiwary, Arjun Singh Bhadoria, Ramanand Tiwari and Ram Dev Singh, all MPs, proposed the name of Babuji for the first time mentioning that he should be the leader of Janata Parliamentary Party instead of Morarji Desai. All the other erstwhile constituents of the Janata Party were holding their separate meetings on July 14-15. The Socialist group led by S. M. Joshi and N. G. Goray decided to support Babuji for the post of Prime Minister. Thus on July 14 Babu Jagjivan Ram decided to take a plunge in the race for Premiership. Babuji did not waste time in making up his mind. He wrote a letter to the then Prime Minister, Morarji Desai. He deplored him for not solving the dual membership issue. But to his dismay, he found the exercise had turned out to be political harakiri for him. The RSS leadership was aghast and, for the time being, they switched their loyalties to Morarji Desai. Babuji was left in the lurch. The relevant paragraph



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in Babuji's letter read as follows: "Even in Party matters, many serious controversies have been allowed to continue without any initiative on your part to resolve them. These include, inter alia, the question of dual membership, which has been of acute concern to important sections of the Party but which you have chosen not to resolve for long though authorised to do so." After writing this letter, neither could he leave the Party nor could he manoeuvre the situation in his favour. A section of the Jana Sangh leadership later rallied behind Babuji when Morarji-bhai refused to step down from the JPP leadership. After receiving the letter on the evening of July 14, Morarjibhai was adamant and did not vacate the JPP leadership.

Some of the Socialists led by N. G. Goray, Surendra Mohan and S. M. Joshi were canvassing for Babuji. Even in the Jana Sangh group led by Murli Manohar Joshi, Nanaji Deshmukh, Kushabhau Thakre were openly supporting the cause of Babu Jagjivan Ram. The RSS cadre of the Jana Sangh was solidly behind him. But the pro-Morarji hawks in the Jana Sangh was led by Dr Subramaniam Swamy. These Sanghi MPs openly revolted against their leadership and decided to stand by Morarji Desai at any cost. But the act which finished Babu Jagjivan Ram's chances of becoming the Prime Minister of India was committed by none other than his Socialist friends.

On July 18, S. M. Joshi managed to acquire a letter from JP. Mr Joshi had a telephonic talk with Jayaprakashji's PA and told him to

convey the message to JP that Chandrashekhar and all the others were in favour of Babuji taking the command of the JPP. Joshi and company used Mr Chandrashekhar's name and telephoned Mr Ram Sunder Das: "Agar apko apni sarkar bachani hai to, kendra main bhi apka kam ki sarkar honi chahiye. Kal Saralaji a rahi hai. Aap JP say tatkal patra likhwakar bhejen chahiye State plane istemal karna paday." (If you want to save your Government, the Government at the Centre must be one which can come to your help. Saralaji is arriving tomorrow. Ask JP to write a letter promptly and sent it immediately even if you have to use the State plane.)

Next when Mrs Bhadoria reached Patna airport, she was received by the Bihar CM who had come there by absenting himself from the Reserve Bank committee meeting. JP's dialysis was postponed for four hours just to get a letter from him. One typed letter which was in English was sent from Delhi. This letter was drafted by Mr S. M. Joshi. Another hand-written letter in Hindi was written in Patna by Mr Sachchidanand. After getting these letters signed from the half-conscious JP all the persons rushed to the CM's residence and phoned Delhi. At 2.30 p.m. this letter was leaked out to the Press much before it could be delivered in Delhi. This manipulation made the Janata Party chief very furious. He condemned this act and openly criticised it: "I could have also managed such a letter from JP". And thus, Chandrashekhar also entered the fray for the leader-

ship of the JPP. Babuji had lost another well-wisher. Chandrashekhar who was reconciled to the fact that it was necessary to remove Morarjibhai from the JPP leadership once again started to side with Mr Morarji Desai.

July 23, was the last day of Babuji's resistance. He withdrew from the race for the JPP leadership when he told reporters: "I will not come in the way of Mr Desai forming a Government. Mr Desai is the leader of the JPP and there is nothing to prevent him from forming the Government."

Mr Satyendra Narain Singh, a Bihar MP was instrumental in bringing these two leaders together. Till the morning of July 23, Mr Ram had not decided whether he would attend the meeting of the JPP's executive (scheduled for the same evening), but S. N. Singh, alias Chote Sahab persuaded Babuji to meet Mr Desai before the meeting. When Mr Ram entered the meeting room, he said: "We are one and together." According to reliable sources, Mr Desai told Babuji that he would not misunderstand him because of his interest in the JPP leadership. Mr Desai also requested him to extend his support in forming a new Government at the Centre. Mr Jagjivan Ram agreed to give his wholehearted support to him. But even then, he had to explain the reasons for which he had written the letter on the evening of July 14. Mr Desai was once again the unchallenged leader of the JPP. And Babuji had missed the bus. ■



Suhil Dutt

West Bengal matters

TARUN GANGULY describes how the CPI(M) gave up its north Indian hopes

THE events in Delhi from July 9, the day the no-confidence motion against the Morarji Desai Government was moved by Mr Y. B. Chavan, took the CPI(M) along with all other Left Parties off guard. The fifteen days that followed the motion saw the CPI(M) trying to contain diverse interests within the Party. In the process, the politburo, the top policy-making body in the Party, had to meet thrice to give credence to the volte faces the Party often had to make. To start with, a majority of the CPI(M) MPs, who hail from West Bengal, were supporting Mr Desai. This was evident from the speech on the motion made by the CPI(M) leader in Parliament, Mr Samar Mukherjee. He read out extracts from a piece on the Party published in SUNDAY, but limited his comments only to "shoulds" and "woulds".

The Party first tried to float the idea of Mr Chavan as the next Prime Minister, minus the Congress(I) and Jana Sangh. But events overtook this suggestion. The defection from the Janata Party turned into a flood and Morarji resigned as the Prime Minister. The CPI(M) along with the CPI, RSP, Forward Bloc and PWP (of Maharashtra) formed a Left Front and declared support for Charan Singh. The CPI(M) leaders went so far as to canvass almost publicly for Charan Singh. Mr Nambudiripad, the Party general secretary, was so busy he could not see Mr Desai despite repeated requests. Rather, he visited Mr Y. B. Chavan, the Congress leader, along with two other CPI(M) stalwarts. Mr H. S. Surjeet and Mr P. Ramamurty, to implore him to agree to be the Deputy Prime Minister of a Government headed by Mr Charan Singh. On the other hand, Mr

Surjeet was busy drawing up a joint programme with Mr Madhu Limaye, the one-man Socialist think tank, who had been instrumental in bringing the CPI and the CPI(M) together.

But events again overtook the CPI(M). By that time, Mrs Gandhi had agreed to support Mr Charan Singh from outside. The pressure from the Bengal unit of the CPI(M) was too much now—the Party could not support a Government which had to depend on Mrs Gandhi. Mr Promode Dasgupta and Mr Jyoti Basu told the politburo that such a combination would not be saleable to the majority of the Party in West Bengal. The CPI(M) again had to move in reverse gear. Promptly the politburo came out with a statement that it could not support a Government which had to depend either on Mrs Gandhi or the Jana Sangh. But by then, the CPI(M) units in Delhi, Punjab, Haryana and west UP were more or less committed to the Charan Singh camp. The comrades from the north saw their plan go awry. The Howrah plenum blueprint to enter the north with Charan Singh's support was going down the drain. But West Bengal was more important for the Party than its future in the north, and so the Party had to put on the brakes.

All this caused a split in the recently formed Left-Front, with the CPI and PWP opting directly for the Charan Singh Government. But the CPI(M), at the moment of writing, has not yet fully made up its mind about Charan Singh since it still hopes to make a breakthrough in the north with Charan Singh's help.

The CPI(M) now wants to take a calculated risk. Its eyes are fixed on the mid term poll and it wants neither to antagonise Charan Singh nor to break the Left alliance. That is why, at a Press conference in Delhi, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad said that though his Party would sit in the Opposition, it expected things to change by the time the Lok Sabha convened. The vote will be decided according to the situation, he said. If one is to go by Mr Namboodiripad's statement, the CPI(M) will not break the Charan Singh Government. In case of a no-confidence motion against Mr Charan Singh, the CPI(M) may abstain but will not vote against him. Simultaneously, the CPI(M) is not being too critical of the CPI.

The goings-on of the past 15 days have proved that no Party, even those claiming Left ideologies, is holier than others. The CPI(M), it is apparent, is ready to keep its eyes shut over "minor" matters like running a Government with the support of certain authoritarian forces, so long as it serves its purpose. The question of credibility is there, but if things deteriorate, the CPI(M) is ready to make the best of a bad situation. Are these shades of real politik?

Fallout in the States

MMORARJI Desai is out and his Chief Ministers are waiting to be ousted. Ram Sundar Das and Bhajan Lal, Chief Ministers of Bihar and Haryana, respectively, are at the top of the Charan camps' execution list. In Bihar, Mr Karpoori Thakur is already poised for a kill and in Haryana, Mr Devi Lal has started the process. The impact of the change at the Centre will be immediately felt in Bihar, Haryana, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh.

Indeed, the Bihar Government would already have fallen, but Mr Thakur himself gave a few weeks of life to the Das Ministry because he was very busy toppling Morarji in Delhi. Haryana will follow Bihar. In fact, Devi Lal's ouster was the last nail in the Janata coffin, which hastened the downfall of Morarji's Government. After a successful operation at the Centre, Mr Devi Lal is back in his State's politics, and the countdown for the fall of the Bhajan Lal Ministry has begun. Now there will no Hegdes or Babujis to arrange JLP meetings in New Delhi. The fall of these two Ministries (in Haryana and Bihar) is also certain because Raj Narain and H. N. Bahuguna will not allow the Ministries to continue as their formation has been a personal insult to them.

UP, it seems, will see Banarsi Das continue. He has simply claimed that his Ministry is not a

Janata Ministry, but a Janata (S) Government. He is already leading a non-RSS Government. But there is a rumour in some circles that Mr Das may join the Cabinet at the Centre, vacating the Chief Minister's chair for the last CM of UP, Mr Ram Naresh Yadav. According to these sources, Mr Charan Singh may need him to operate among Congress (O) MPs. At the moment this suggestion seems far-fetched. However, the worst fate awaits Mr V. K. Saklecha, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, whose son has been accused of corruption. Mr Charan Singh's group would like to cash in on these charges. In the MP Assembly the Jana Sangh group alone commands an absolute majority, but the anti-CM lobby could try to divide the Jana Sangh MLAs, just to bring back former CM, Kailash Joshi.

As far as Rajasthan is concerned, the Jana Sangh group is not as strong. If the anti-Shekhawat lobby operates with a little bit of wisdom they can dislodge the Chief Minister. At the moment, dissidents are banking upon the charisma of Maharawal Laxman Singh though it would not be surprising if they choose Kalyan Singh Kalvi, a dashing and clever Rajput leader — to challenge Bhairon Singh Shekhawat. Mr Kalvi is capable of taking at least 15 to 20 Rajput MLAs with him out of the Shekhawat fold.

People

By SANTOSH BHARTIYA

K. C. TYAGI, a youth leader of the Chaudhury camp, was the first to bring the information to the bedraggled crowd of poor Jats who had been spending their days on the lawns of the Chaudhury's house in eager anticipation all through the crisis. Tyagi had learnt about this from Raj Narain's house: in fact Raj Narain was informed about the Chaudhury's impending Prime Ministership even before the Chaudhury had been told. The news raced from mouth to mouth and within minutes it had become: "President, ne Tyagi se bola hai ki woh Chaudhury ko bulwayega" (The President has told

Tyagi that he will call the Chaudhury). Minutes later, the grey-haired Kartar Singh, who has been the Chaudhury's closest personal aide for 20 years now, came out of the house, mopped the sweat off his brow and said, "Aaya teleprinter par" (It has come on the teleprinter: he was referring to the news flash). Slogans started. Soon the Press came running, then, the MPs, and soon fresh knots of security people, some of whom pushed a few Pressmen who were crowding the gate. Some Chaudhury fans arrived with drums though heaven knows where they got them from. There were imported cars visible, too.

THERE was peace at No 9 Race Course Road, where Raj Narain was sitting in his small room, wearing just a dhoti and his inevitable beads and religious necklaces. He was surrounded by his socialist comrades. He seemed without a care in the world, and he had a quiet

smile. Suddenly J. N. Mishra, who was in charge of Operation Morarji in the Mrs Gandhi camp, turned up and Raj Narain accepted the congratulatory garland. At seven minutes past five, a call from the Chaudhury's house came through. Raj Narain got up to leave for the new PM's residence. Badri Vishal Pitti, an old socialist, cautioned Raj Narain, "Do not become a Minister. It is very important that you remain outside." Raj Narain replied: "I have said this in the Lok Sabha (that I do not want to become a Minister)".

Raj Narain received a rousing reception at the Chaudhury's house, and it was with great difficulty that he managed to get in. Ram Naresh Yadav was mobbed too. Both the crowd and the number of VIP visitors kept increasing. Dr Karan Singh, Mrs Kamala Bahuguna, Mohan Dharia (with his wife), Chandrajit Yadav. Then a white ambassador, DHE 320 drove into the portico, a tricolour flying on the car's bonnet. Only two slogans were raised: "Charan Singh zindabad" and "Raj Narain zindabad". At 5.25 Charan Singh came out and went to meet the President to receive the official invitation to become the next PM.

AROUND 5.45, Raj Narain's house. A group of leaders was gathered there. Ram Vilas, an MP, suggested that among the first things that should be done was to set up an enquiry commission against All India Radio for the distorted news that it had been giving. The others nodded in agreement—if not in agreement with the statement then at least in agreement with the spirit in which it was made. But Brijbhushan Tewari, an MP, said: "First all of you promise that you will not misuse AIR as the others have done". A leader replied that they wouldn't misuse it to that extent—but on a smaller scale. All India Radio, in any case, did not need any encouragement. It had heard that Chaudhury Charan Singh had become the PM designate. That evening's news bulletin had nine minutes out of 15 devoted to Charan Singh. Of course there must be legitimate reasons for such coverage.

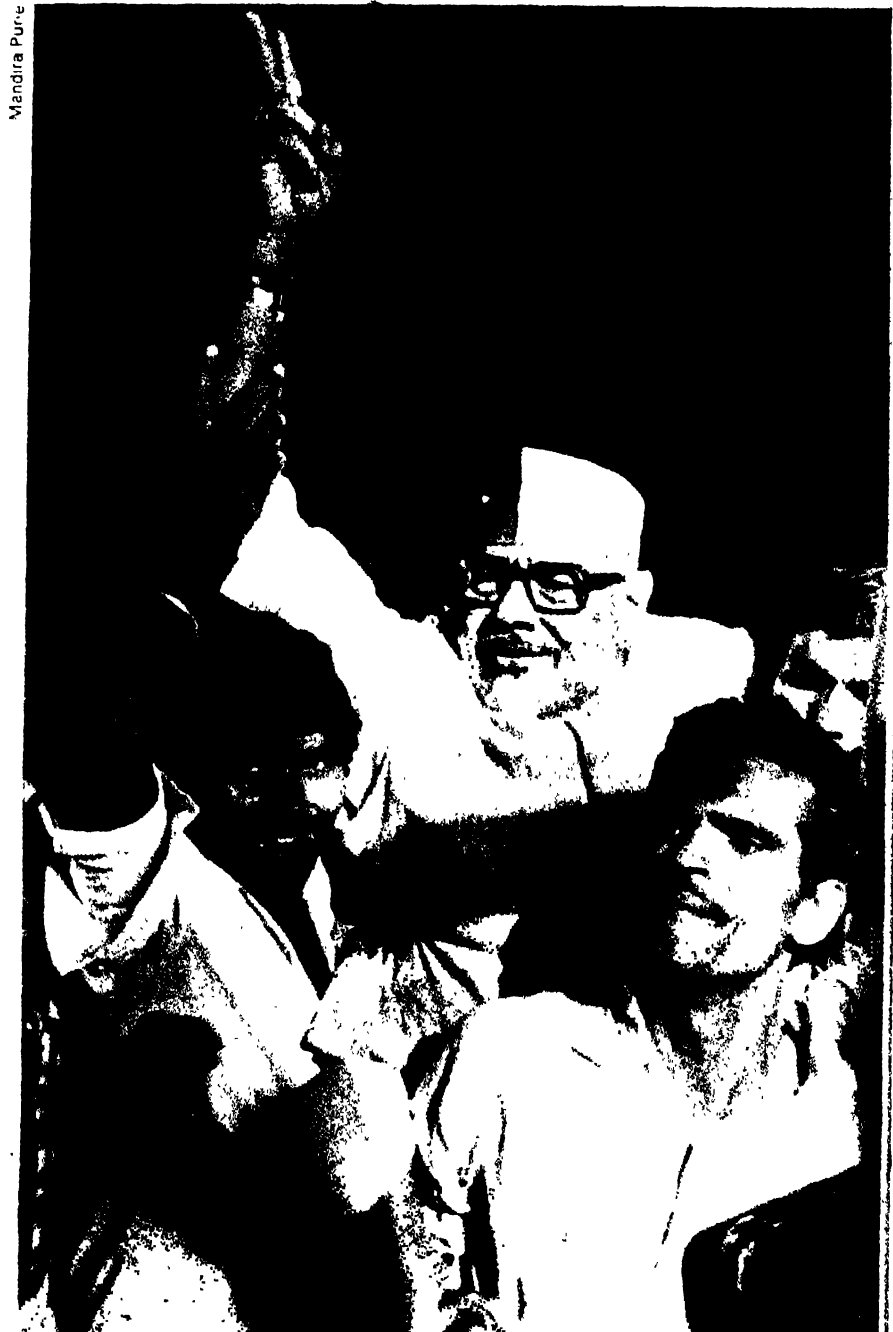
RAJ NARAIN returned home at 6 pm. and brought boxes of laddus with him. Many people made the point that they had already spent more than Rs 100 celebrating the arrival of a new PM. At 6.10, Raj Narain's Press conference started. Only at the very end did he disclose one reason why the President had hurried up: "Today I told the President that he was not letting Charan Singh take the oath, and on the other side people were getting angry. Tomorrow there is a public meeting, and what will happen after that I do not know. That is why, call Chaudhury sahab without any delay".

JAGJIVAN RAM's house was quite deserted. Babuji's peon, who ushers in the visitors was flapping his hands in despair: "Sab khatam

ho gaya" (all is finished) he intoned. Chandrashekhar, Krishan Kant, Pratap Chandra Chunder and Bhajan Lal all came to see Babuji, but they looked sad and dispirited. Every evening Babuji used to meet the Press at seven, but that day there was no Press conference.

THE crowd of villagers was growing fast at Charan Singh's house. Also the crowd of people claiming to be his relatives from his village and nearabouts. In one corner, youth leader Rajendra Chowdhury was surrounded by eager listeners who wanted to hear the full story of how Chaudhury Charan Singh had become PM, over and over again. Hardly would he finish describing it once, when someone would request him to repeat the whole thing.

THE first person that the Chaudhury went to see after meeting the President was H. N. Bahuguna in the Ram Manohar Lohia Hospital. After that he went to visit Y. B. Chavan and when he returned home, the crowd mobbed him again. At 7.15 in the evening Chaudhury Charan Singh stood on a green table and gave a speech in which he thanked the people for their support but asked them not to expect that all their whims would be catered to merely because he had become PM. The Chaudhrani, sprightly as ever despite her age, stood beside him on the table, and kept prodding him in the stomach and saying that he should not say too much at this moment: "Bas keejaye, zyade mat boltye."



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A spectacle of rot

With every succession the national scene looks sordid, feels V. K. MADHAVAN KUTTY



FIFTEEN years ago, when India faced the problem of succession for the first time, *Blitz* published a picture of Morarji Desai among the mourners at Teen Murti. He was wearing a smile. The paper said that while the nation was in grief, Desai was "smiling" because of his own prospects of succeeding Jawaharlal Nehru. After losing two succession battles and waiting for nearly 13 long years Morarji Desai became Prime Minister in 1977, only to resign ignominiously two years later. Today, Indira Gandhi wears a smile, having benefited most from her successor's downfall.

But when once again we are faced with the issue of succession, those who had earlier talked of national unity and democracy are talking of "national necessity". Their motives are transparent: National necessity has not arisen from a concern for the nation, democracy or ideology. It merely serves to cloak their fear of confronting the people. Having betrayed the people over the promises made during the last general elections, and having betrayed them earlier, India's professional politicians are afraid of a fresh test by the ballot. The latest game of numbers is aimed at working out a combination

that will secure maximum personal and group advantages in the next poll. The "national necessity" makes a mockery of national unity and honour and makes people plunge headlong into compromises with authoritarianism and casteism. This is the shabbiest exercise so far in opportunism.

Words such as democracy, smooth transition etc., have lost over the years whatever meaning they may have had. A few people belonging to a particular region, with no conception of this vast and complex sub-continent, have been able to hold the country to ransom because of the fragmentation of the Party system. Indian politics, at the best of times was opportunistic and totally uncaring about the needs of the people. But this exercise has gone too far and threatens to damage beyond repair the democratic institutions of the nation. The nation's integrity is at stake.

None of the earlier succession manoeuvres had a national content. The present one is even emptier. They were parochial in concept and execution. The contenders are the same, so are the manipulators and the public relations men. The style of acting has changed slightly. Loyalties have become totally unpredictable in this game of numbers being played. The gibberish about national unity, the need for honour and ideology have long ceased to amuse.

Five days before Nehru's death, he was asked at a Press conference whether he would not name a successor in the interests of good Government and stability. Nehru evaded the question by saying that his "lifetime was not ending very soon". Six days later he died. But even before his body was cremated the aspirants for premiership had begun their moves. Said Krishna Menon, a leader who was not in the running: "The moment his last breath was drawn, the issue arose. None of these people who professed loyalty to him, who come from his State, in whose interests he has sometimes disregarded others, had the decency to keep their mouths shut until he was cremated." The problem was sorted out by a "consensus". When the second succession issue came up Nehru's daughter was democratically elected. Both Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi were favoured by the Congress Party because of their "highest common factor", the ability to hold both the Party and the country together. Shastri's term was short and the question of holding the Party and country together did not arise, because

a war with Pakistan engaged him for most of his rule. Mrs Indira Gandhi made the Party her handmaid and she became synonymous with the country.

IF A lack of national content in the first succession was not obvious, it was because the "consensus" was brought about by a senior southern leader assisted by others from different parts of the country. In the second battle of succession this issue was brushed aside because one of the contenders was the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru. When Morarji Desai succeeded Indira Gandhi the lopsided parochial nature of the leadership became apparent, because he was elected as the leader of a Party which, because of a conspiracy of circumstances, had been reduced to the status of a Party of the north, despite its impressive muster in Parliament.

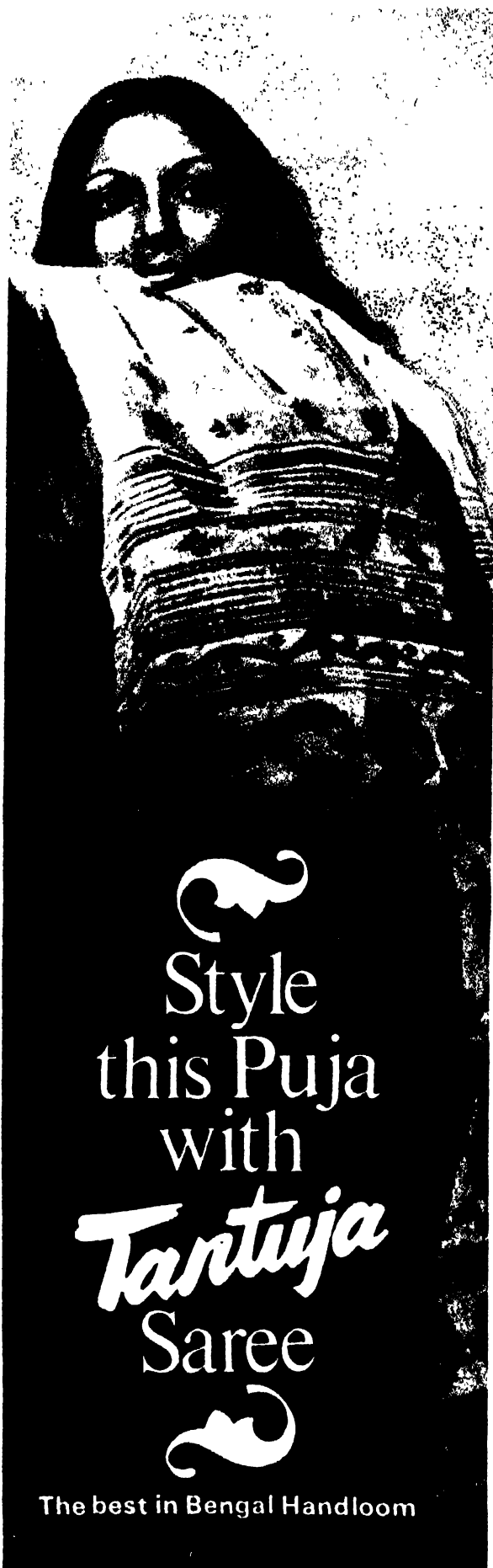
Not so much in stated policy as in basic postures and impulses, its regionalism was coming across strongly in the Janata's two-and-a-half years in office. The larger responsibilities implicit in the popular mandate, like its anti-authoritarianism, for instance, soon gave way to a narrow northern view of the country. Most of the Janata leaders were not the products of the national movement but were the offspring of regional and caste politics of the north.

In the succession battles of 1964 and 1966, the Chief Ministers as well as the State leaders played their role, however minor that was. In the succession of 1977 they had no role to play. By the time Janata completed half of its five-year term, the Government at the Centre had lost whatever pretensions it may have had to being a national Government. The way the current succession was handled made it a game played for the north by the north, more specifically the Hindi belt. If Nehru "disregarded" others in favour of the people of his State, his successors chose to completely ignore those not from their region.

And petty personal scores were being settled with relish. Janata was voted in by the people of the north which bore the brunt of the Emergency. But if the south and other parts had escaped this confrontation, it was because the Emergency mafia had discounted them, an attitude that sprang from a downright colonial contempt. The mafia had concluded that if the north was secured the south and the periphery would tag on. The latest succession battle also reflected the same attitude.

Evident today and during the earlier succession battles and the making and unmaking of Governments was the crude display of regional power politics. A clumsy attempt is being made to identify an area within the country and to present the power greed of the backward and unsophisticated "leaders" of this region as "national necessity".

The main criterion for electing Mrs Indira Gandhi leader was her



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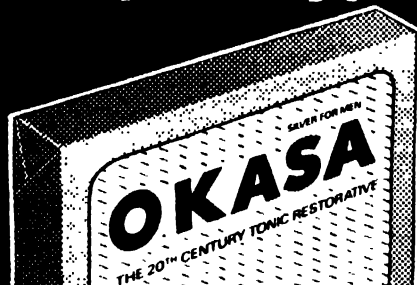


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appeal as a national vote-catcher to win the elections in 1967. Today a ruling Party is being fabricated with an eye on the next elections. And this combination carries all the vulgar trappings—authoritarianism, casteism and worse. At the end of the nineteen harrowing Emergency months, the people voted out Indira in the hope that her successors would be able to undo her misdeeds, restore democracy, repair the democratic institutions and punish the guilty. But today the Janata lies shattered, destroyed by the greed of its leaders, the men who cynically betrayed the peoples hopes.

Desai was chosen leader by the same undemocratic process of "consensus". It was done in the hope of holding the Party together. But the battle had started in full swing even as Jayaprakash Narayan was trying to arrive at a solution. As the leaders took their pledge at Raighat, someone from his 'sickbed' fired the first shot of the power war. That war has been going on for the last 28 months in fits and starts. It culminated in the resignation of Morarji Desai. The battle for succession after Nehru started on the day of his death. The battle of succession to Morarji Desai started the day he assumed office.

The other day one group pointed out that they brought down a "pack of impotents" incapable of taking any action against authoritarian forces. Today, they are aligning with the same authoritarian forces to get back to power. They once were allies, a party to the collective misdeeds of the Government. Today, after parting company, they criticise those very things for which they had borne responsibility.

The same operators are running the show. They were the authoritarians of yesterday and the communalists of yesteryear. They flocked where power was. In Kerala they found it profitable to ally with a communal Party, even discovering secular virtues in its ideology. The communalism of the Jana Sangh and RSS was ignored when it came to fighting Mrs Indira Gandhi. To get back to power they are prepared to make a subtle choice between the RSS and the Jana Sangh. These are the people who brought down the Government of Maharashtra sometime back on the charge of clandestinely accepting the support of the authoritarian forces. Today they welcome the support of the very same forces.

One need not be surprised if such people consent to stay in office, even in a coalition with the armed forces. That may not give them power, but sometimes one feels it is not even power that they are seeking, but the symbols of office, seeking mere tinsel as cretins do. Everything has rotted. While resigning Morarji Desai said, "I would leave it to the nation to find the answers. The search can take its own time." The country will take its own time, but for these discredited "leaders", time is certainly not on their side. ■

Was Press muzzled?

A. N. PRABHU

THE Delhi Press, euphemistically called the National Press, came in for severe attack from the Charan Singh camp for its role in the critical fortnight when the country went without an effective Government at the Centre. So did the Government arm—All India Radio and Doordarshan. The Janata(S) leaders felt that the media had been unfair to them during the painful days of intense talks that were going on. "ye radio, bahut jhub bolta yaar (This radio tells lots of lies), so do the Delhi newspapers", observed a tall Jat from Haryana at 12 Tughlak Road, Mr Charan Singh's residence, dropping a piece of gur in his mouth. He is a district lawyer and he should know, he claimed.

Was it really as bad as that? There are many factors involved in judging the coverage. The first is the subjective angle of the correspondent. The second, is the prompt availability of reliable information on the basis of which an objective assessment of fast-moving events could be made. The third is the likely intervention of newspaper management. 'News management', both at the source as well as the receiving end, has been the perennial topic of discussion.

A common feature of Delhi life is that newsmen tend to tag themselves to one political leader, group or the other. This is a professional hazard. This results in restricting the sources of news. Sometimes a word coming from a source like this stretches into sentences and spreads like wild fire in the parched newsland of Delhi. The source is occasionally the biggest gossip centre of the country—Central Hall of Parliament—where a continuous exchange of rumours takes place day in and day out.

"Hardly a ripple in Janata over 13 defectors", screamed Birla-owned *Hindusthan Times* on July 10, the first day of the crisis, when the initial Janata group tramped out of the ruling Party. The *Indian Express* dismissed it in a 'double column-below-fold', luckily on the front page. This was the danger signal for newsmen yet its significance was overlooked. The entire 15 days witnessed a seesaw game in the Press. As the fragility of Indian politicians stood revealed so did the weakness of the Indian Press.

There was hardly any attempt to see through the smoke screen and analyse backroom scenes boldly and objectively. Political commentator Kuldeep Nayar swung

from one end to the other—mid term poll inevitable, political situation far from clear, Desai's chances improve as AIADMK pledges support, etc.

There was undoubtedly interference from the Government. Mr Desai's office staff and Mr Advani's office regularly rang up news agency offices, in the guise of issuing corrections, to give a tilt to a story. There is no explanation otherwise for reporting a strong reply purported to have been given by Mr Desai to JP's letter asking him (Desai) to resign in favour of Mr Jagjivan Ram. Nor is there any source for another agency story "learning" from undisclosed sources that Mr Chandrashekhar "may join the fray" for the JPP leadership in the face of a determined Prime Minister then refusing to step down. Such mismanagement of news is clear in the coverage of the demand for end to dual membership for Jana Sangh MPs. The blatant partiality was also clear on Doordarshan the day Mr Raj Narain submitted the list of supporters for Mr Charan Singh. Mr Raj Narain was dismissed in a few sentences whereas a fairly detailed coverage was given to Mr Desai's list. The radio also put out the views of the so-called eminent lawyers on the "constitutional crisis" facing the country. In the face of this partisan coverage, an eminent columnist of *Hindustan Times*, K. R. Sundar Rajan, observed that the "brief political vacuum has enormously helped AIR and Doordarshan to win credibility." He went a step further to give kudos to Mr L. K. Advani for giving such freedom to the Government media "for the first time". The only complaint was that the "first time" happened to be during the crisis.

The Press is muzzled. Who was and is responsible? The Government? The proprietors? Or the "legalised loafers" as a veteran in the profession fondly used to call correspondents? Consistency is undoubtedly the virtue of fools. A lurking suspicion creeps in one's mind when the Indian Press fails in crisis after crisis. During the last Assembly elections, a Delhi paper proclaimed "Janata wave crosses Vindhya". It happened to be the Indira wave. It seems at times to be the result of rank prejudice, or fear or the effect of wrong premises and distorted information. For the laymen all this can be confusing. The time has come when we should talk of a free and fearless pressman instead of only a free Press. ■

Calcutta's Football Hooligans

ROME had its gladiators, Spain has its bullfighters and we in Bengal have our footballers. Nothing else, not even Test cricket, gives rise to such fervent passion as football in Calcutta. Loyalties rest on communities: through the veins of every resident of Bengal runs the blood that is so fiercely involved with the progress of eleven men on a green field.

Increasingly, these days the blood boils over. For many years the maidan has been ruled by three clubs—Mohun Bagan, East Bengal and Mohammedan Sporting—and so it is clashes between these teams that invariably cause flare-ups between groups of supporters. There are scuffles inside the grounds which often precipitate fistcuffs outside. Recently, one spectator had his back slit by a blade when he cheered a trifle too enthusiastically in the midst of opposing supporters.

Who is the prototype football hooligan, the young man who will start a fight? He is not the *bhadralok* who cheers himself hoarse during a match, for the *bhadralok* will go no further than a slanging match. He is generally aged between 16 to 22, is unemployed in nine cases out of ten, and does not like fighting alone. He feels better if he has his friends around him, and this Dutch courage inspires him to fight but before the going gets too rough he disappears with his cronies. Then they board a bus or tram and the fun continues. We followed one such group on a tram to South Calcutta. They discussed the match in strident terms and the language they used was so hawdy that the other male commuters glared at them and the ladies pretended they were deaf. When the conductor approached them for tickets one of them replied "*Aeto baaje matcher pareyo ticket chai-chen?*" (Even after such a disappointing match you want tickets from us?) One of the fans—he must have been about 20—had his club's colours draped around his shoulders. Flags help fuel the passions that lead to brawls. During one of the less important matches this season two groups of fans traded insults because both of them were holding their colours aloft. The insults turned to blows and policemen on duty had to intervene, roughing up a number of innocent people in

DAVID McMAHON
and
NIRMAL MITRA
examine the reasons
behind the violence
that erupts after soccer
matches in Calcutta.
The photographs are by
SUNIL DUTT.



the process. This smouldering rivalry is not confined to the maidan alone. Before this season's clash between Mohun Bagan and East Bengal, virtually every road in Calcutta was decorated with both the yellow-and-red East Bengal flag, while just opposite fluttered the green-and-maroon Mohun Bagan colours. But the worst violence is reserved for the occasions when a "Big Team" either draws or loses to a "Small Team"—which means the 19 other clubs that make up the First Division. Losing or not winning is the biggest sin of all. By far the worst single incident occurred when East Bengal lost to Wari A.C. last year. Ramping fans set fire to a car which was burnt to ashes. An IFA official was assaulted and trams were stoned.

This year the fallout from the Mohammedan Sporting matches has been particularly devastating. So far more than 100 arrests have been made in connection with soccer rowdiness by the Big Three supporters, and the culprits have been charged with disorderly behaviour under the Calcutta Police Act. With the problem escalating, police officials are considering more drastic steps to deter would-be troublemakers.

The football season is always a strain for the Calcutta Police. According to Mr B. K. Saha, Deputy Commissioner, Headquarters, the essential duties suffer during the big matches, when large numbers of officers and men are deployed to check hooliganism. For this year's league match between the champions, Mohun Bagan and East Bengal, the police turned out in unprecedented numbers: there were 13 Deputy Commissioners, 25 Assistant Commissioners, 54 Inspectors, 174 Sub-Inspectors and 2,084 head constables and constables on the field. Avoid trouble they did. There was not a single untoward incident that evening, either on the field or off it, but the fact that over 2,000 police personnel had to be deployed to keep watch over a match is a sad commentary on crowd behaviour.

Supporters of each of the three big teams see themselves as indispensable: they come to the galleries and occupy separate rows of seats armed with bugles, cymbals, crackers and club flags, determined to "see" their teams victorious. They

are clear about what they want — goals—and to get them they will go to any length, even if it means trying to break players' limbs, throwing crackers, or interrupting the match. They do not regard a match as well played unless their teams win. In a TV programme on the eve of the Mohun Bagan-East Bengal league encounter on July 7, the captains of the two major teams, Dilip Palit and Prasun Banerjee agreed that this aggressive insistence on goals only works to the detriment of the game; it places players under tremendous pressure, which accounts for disappointing football. "Goals are bound to be scored," Banerjee said, "but the supporters should be patient. This would help raise the quality of the game".

The other factor behind soccer violence by the police's own admission, is misbehaviour among the players themselves. The mood in the galleries during a big match is invariably volatile, and the slightest provocation can prove disastrous. Peace depends greatly on how players conduct themselves. Histrionics like crude gesticulations, altercations with referees, refusal to abide by orders, deliberate fouls and fights have in the past converted football fields into battlegrounds for gang wars. But some players of Mohammedan Sporting are convinced that referees are less than fair to them, and violence can only be avoided if decisions are just. One outstanding critic of refereeing standards this season is Mohammedan's short-tempered captain Habib. "There are bound to be frayed tempers, but referees should be able to control the players by taking correct decisions. If decisions are correct, there is no cause for anger," he said over Calcutta TV. Mohammedan Sporting has been this season's most controversial team. The matches it has played have had the largest number of disputed decisions, and on one occasion the club's tent was attacked by an angry mob of supporters after the team drew with the redoubtable George Telegraph.

Communalism sharpens the rivalry between the two big teams, East Bengal and Mohun Bagan — the former's fans are mostly 'Bangals' or original inhabitants of the erstwhile East Pakistan, while the latter's are mostly people belonging to West Bengal. As for Mohammedan Sporting, its supporters, as the name suggests, are largely part of the local Muslim population. And the club is as much a representative of their pride as East Bengal and Mohun Bagan are for others. Consider, for instance, the elaborate rituals that follow an East Bengal or Mohun Bagan victory. The exhibition of hilsa fish hung on strings, sumptuous feasts of hilsa and nightlong dancing are some of the ceremonies that mark an East Bengal fan's revelry. A victory for Mohun Bagan is a victory of "West" Bengal over "East" Bengal. At least it is seen as such by West Bengalis.

The verbal exchanges between rival



supporters in the galleries make amusing listening. A group of East Bengal supporters sitting near a group of Mohun Bagan fans shout "Quiet, you machas (sidekicks)!" to the accompaniment of raucous laughter all round. Their rivals retort, "Get out of our land, you charpokas (bugs)" with equally loud laughter following. The end result may be anything from an exchange of obscenities that quiets down after some time, to a violent fistfight.

If it was only friendly banter it would be all right. But the tensions, economic and social, threaten to add a dash of genuine venom to this hostility, which could easily turn into communal rioting. Governments are worried now, and the massive police bundobast is only one indication of their worry. The "hooliganism" has its roots in unemployment and despair—in the search for heroes by a despairing middle class which cannot vent its anger and frustration through any other channel. Unfortunately, the only answer the authorities have, at the moment, is the police. And no problems are solved by the police. ■





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Muddying the pool

CHAINS become a way of life. Not many journalists can any longer recall that uninhibited era when Indian newspapers were free to subscribe to the great global news agencies without benefit of the refractory medium of Press Trust of India and United News of India through whom all international reports are now channelled. The Indian Press in those days even owned a share in Reuter. But freedom that we have never known we do not miss. Not even the most independent editor (or, rather, proprietor) will any longer dream of suggesting that his readers should have free access to what Associated Press or Agence France Presse might have to say. The world for us has shrunk to Tass, Tanjug and Prensa Latina. We accept it uncomplainingly.

Our horizons are likely to shrink even further. To focus only on Algeria, Austria, Bolivia, Columbia, Hungary, Iraq, Libya, Mexico, Mozambique, Netherlands, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Romania, Surinam, Tunisia, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and the notional country of Palestine. For these are the worthy nations whose news agencies are linked by the satellite transmission network of a somewhat mysterious organization called Inter Press Service which, though based in Rome, rather grandly describes itself as "The Third World News Agency" as if there were no others in all those scattered lands. The Ministries of Information and Broadcasting and of External Affairs have apparently chosen IPS to be India's favoured conduit to the world beyond.

The March agreement between PTI and IPS was for only six months and is due to lapse at the end of September. But many suspect that the concluding sentence of the document—"The agreement is renewable for periods of one year each on terms and conditions to be mutually settled"—will lead to a lasting arrangement. If so, it will be over the dead bodies, so to speak, of two PTI directors, Mr Asoko Kumar Sarkar of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and *The Statesman's* Mr C. R. Irani who are most vigorously opposing the agreement.

Officially, the arrangement is justified on the grounds that it will create "a more balanced flow of information throughout the world" and that it will assist in

"developing friendly relations among the non-aligned countries". Journalists may not regard the second aim as being of outstanding importance to newspapers. Even less relevant is the provision under which IPS will provide Indian embassies abroad with communications links and establish an outlet for External Affairs Ministry publicity. Objecting to this function, Mr Sarkar records: "I resent the fact that the Press Trust of India is being sought to be used as an instrument of Government policy. Landing an Indian news service and, thereby, by implications the Indian viewpoint, at points A to Z may be useful for South Block. But I must humbly and respectfully submit that it's no part of our job to help the Government in achieving its foreign policy ends".

Briefly, the agreement provides for IPS to pour into India 24,000 words per day (Sunday excluded) of information and analysis from Latin America, West Asia, Africa and East and West Europe, and another 4,000 words daily from the non-aligned news agencies pool. PTI will pay about Rs. 23,000 per month for the privilege of receiving such copy. In return, PTI will transmit to IPS for funnelling into the pool, about 4,000 words every day. PTI correspondents abroad will enjoy certain fringe transmitting facilities via IPS networks, and an IPS correspondent will be stationed in New Delhi.

The substance of this Roman connexion may not raise cavil even though it does seem strange that de facto management of the the non-aligned nations news agencies pool is being surrendered to a virtually unknown Latin American businessman apparently based in Panama but with offices in major European cities and a suspicious abundance of funds. The concept of self-reliance which inspired the pool proposal is thus repudiated at the outset. But even more serious doubts are provoked by the manner in which the Government apparently coerced PTI into signing on the dotted line. There is ample evidence to show that the directors were not at all impressed by IPS's "standing, utility and credibility". They pointed out that the organization's general-

director, Mr Roberto Savio, did not command any great professional prestige, that IPS possibly had dubious political patrons, and that it had hardly any journalistic clients who could claim respectability. In fact, its operations are almost wholly confined to countries that draw little distinction between news and hand-outs, and between reporters and information officers. It was moreover pointed out that under the agreement IPS will "translate and edit" the PTI service.

But somewhere along the line — on February 9 in fact — the PTI board miraculously swallowed its reservations and accepted the unequal partnership. The explanation for this volte face is provided by the acting general manager, Mr S. Nilakantan, who admitted on March 23 that "the Government of India had been pressing us for some time to subscribe to the service of Inter Press Service" and again, "the top people like the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Information Minister of most of the non-aligned countries are bitter about the coverage of the western agencies". According to him, Mr D. R. Mankekar, New Delhi's nominee on the pool co-ordinating committee, had even hinted at financial reprisals if PTI refused to oblige.

The pressure is understandable. Like Mrs Gandhi's regime, the Janata Ministers too want their thoughts and actions reported abroad in suitably sycophantic terms. Since PTI's outpourings are ignored by the world Press, they naively believe that a European contact will ensure coverage. There may also be personal compulsions. Mr Mankekar is anxious to get the pool idea off the ground to save his own job. There may also be an Indian candidate waiting in IPS's Geneva office to be posted in New Delhi.

What obviously made these forces irresistible is Mr Savio's persuasive power. He and his sponsors clearly enjoy considerable influence over India's policy-makers; but the Government's gain will not necessarily be PTI's. The partnership can be expected to keep up a steady stream of anti-colonial propaganda. It will not enhance PTI's professional credibility or assure the non-aligned news agencies pool of subscribers from the more respected newspapers of the world. In fact, its disreputable Roman connexion condemns the pool even before it is properly born. ■



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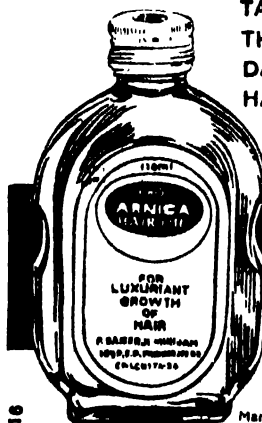
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Immortalising Netaji

By BHOLA CHATTERJI

TO the generation that gave its best in the cause of India's struggle for freedom "Gandhiji was the dream, Jawaharlalji the desire, and Netaji Subhas the deed", as Rammanohar Lohia would put it. The "idea" got buried ten fathoms deep; the "desire" withered much before the man went the way of all flesh; and the "deed" was left undone. Which is why it is some comfort to be told by the first issue of the *Oracle* that it would strive to ensure that "the message and teachings of Subhas Chandra Bose were not lost to his country and to history".

Quite appropriately the *Oracle* starts its journey casting a glance at Subhas Chandra, although he had nothing Delphic about him. Apart from Subhas Chandra's hitherto unpublished "My Personal Testament", which says that "Nazism has no philosophy", the journal contains a number of interesting essays and personal reminiscences

If one had half an eye one would not fail to appreciate the readability and relevance of the *Oracle's* bill of fare, for instance, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee's "Netaji, National Unity, the Language Question and the Roman Script", Sarat Chandra Bose's "I Warned My Countrymen", which is a reprint of certain portions of an important speech he delivered toward the closing days of his life and Abid Hasan's "Netaji and the Indian Communal Question". The *piece de resistance*, of course, is "Looking Back: Netaji and Indian Communists"—an English version of the address (in Bengali) that the Chief Minister of West Bengal and Communist Party (Marxist) leader, Mr. Jyoti Basu, delivered at Netaji Bhawan on Subhas Chandra's birthday this year.

In view of Indian communism's role during the 1942 Quit India movement and thereafter, it would be tempting to rake up past memories and sit in judgment. That would serve no useful purpose. Could it be disputed that the problems of perspective and objectivity would con-

front whoever has to deal with contemporary politics.

Be that as it may, Mr Basu takes a hard look at Subhas Chandra's struggle abroad to liberate India. His argument is that the attitude Indian communists adopted toward Subhas Chandra was conditioned by their understanding of imperialism and fascism and that "we do not yet consider our thinking to be wrong". Also, says Mr Basu, "we had a right to criticise politically and we did it. There may be different opinions of different Parties". He hastens to admit, however, that "in doing so, we said certain exaggerated, unfair and wrong things about him", that is, Subhas Chandra. More important, in the words of Mr Basu, "it now seems that to a man like Subhas Babu who had carried on an uncompromising struggle all his life, freedom was the principal thing". Therefore Subhas Chandra "would not have tolerated...the dominance of the Japanese" if the latter had insisted on their pound of flesh.

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Grumbles, curses and sighs

By MARY ANN DASGUPTA

MORE un-love than love, not specially modern, and some would even cavil at the term 'poetry' for this rag-tag collection of verse:

"Her eyes must have been
exuding a love-spell....."

Umashankar Joshi, Gujarati

This is not an example of modern sensibility.

"That day you bruised the
flippant earth with a burning
kiss of your vampire lips
when all your desires were
already turned into nauseated
saliva which you swallowed!"

Sharadkumar Mantri, Marathi
".....With wonder and craze
I wandered in the forests to find
an image to describe your
charm."

Chandrasekhar Patil, Kannada
These are not poetry.

"Canvas battered blue
clothes ripped, thighs dissected, a
sixteen-year-old girl
in convulsion."

Namdeo Dhasal, Marathi
This is not love.

Benoy Majumdar, Bengali

There is a representative selection of Indian languages: fourteen, including English. One does not raise

an eyebrow at the inclusion of only one Kashmiri and one Dogri poem or at 14 in English and Bengali and 12 in Hindi... but 10 in Urdu? No writer has been allotted more than two poems, but this too, throws things off balance for there is simply no way for the general reader to tell that, say, Buddhadeva Bose (one poem) was a major poet and Dom Moraes (two poems) is not.

It is an extremely inconvenient book to find one's way around in. The poems are printed in an idiosyncratic alphabetical order of the poets' first names. Thus, one finds Kamala Das between Kailash Vajpey and Kedarnath Singh!

There are no biographical notes at all about the writers—one cannot even tell what State they come from or what language the poems were originally written in, unless one wades through the list of acknowledgements. Even then it is not at all clear which poems were written in English. It rather goes by default and one is left to assume that if no translator is listed the poem is Indo-Anglican. The sole age mentioned is the editor's. The dust jacket claims that Pritish Nandy is only thirty.

This is, on the whole, a bitter book. It may reflect the editor's current thoughts on the subject, but

one does not buy a book of love poems in search of disillusionment. Better to call it a book of grumbles and curses and sighs!

The quality of most of the translations leaves much to be desired. The persistent reader does, however, find some diamond chips among the dross lines like:

"This hand which has touched
Neera's face
cannot sin again."

Sunil Gangopadhyay,
translated by Manish Nandy
"Crossing the land of my body,
where does your body go?"

Soubhogyia Misra,
translated by Deba Patnaik

The best poems in the book are by A. K. Ramunajan, Nissim Ezekiel, Deba Patnaik, Pritish Nandy, Gauri Deshpande and Kamala Das, all of whom write in English.

One looks in vain for poets like Sankha Ghosh, Alokaranjan Dasgupta and two or three other important Bengali poets of the Fifties. Also 'among the missing' are P. Lal, Nasima Aziz, Anna Sujata Modayil, Shreela Ray and Samuel Lall.

The Vikas Book of Modern Indian Love Poetry, edited by Pritish Nandy (Vikas, Rs. 35).

KHAAS BAAT

NOW, with Gulzar backing Sharmila Tagore, his old favourite, it look as though La Tagore is going to compete with actresses like Raakhee and Zeenat. Gone is her old preoccupation with glamour and big banners: she is now concentrating on roles which could possibly prove her acting talents. There is this Malayalam film she has taken on, and everyone knows how good an actress you have to be in order to do justice to these films. So she is really going to tighten her belt and prove her worth. Maybe, soon all the artistic filmmakers will be signing her up for their movies.

EVEN though Mithun is a bit wary and avoids commenting on whether he and Ranjeeta, starring

together in 25 films, are having an affair, you can't help feeling they are, especially when you notice Ranjeeta's behaviour. Maybe she is trying to prove that her break-up with Akbar Khan has left her quite unaffected. Or maybe she is trying to further the progress of her career by getting involved with an up-coming name like Mithun Chakravarty—a name which sounds quite unusual.

TALKING of involvements, Parveen's seeing a lot of Mahesh Bhatt these days, though it might not really mean much. Her passion for Kabir Bedi still remains. Perhaps, that is why, for the first time, she has not commented on her relationship with Mahesh. Whenever she is asked about Mahesh, she coolly sidesteps

the issue and talks about something else. Sometimes she even tells people that it is her own business. For a person like Parveen, who is not a hypocrite, Mahesh must mean very little—or else she would be waxing eloquent about him.

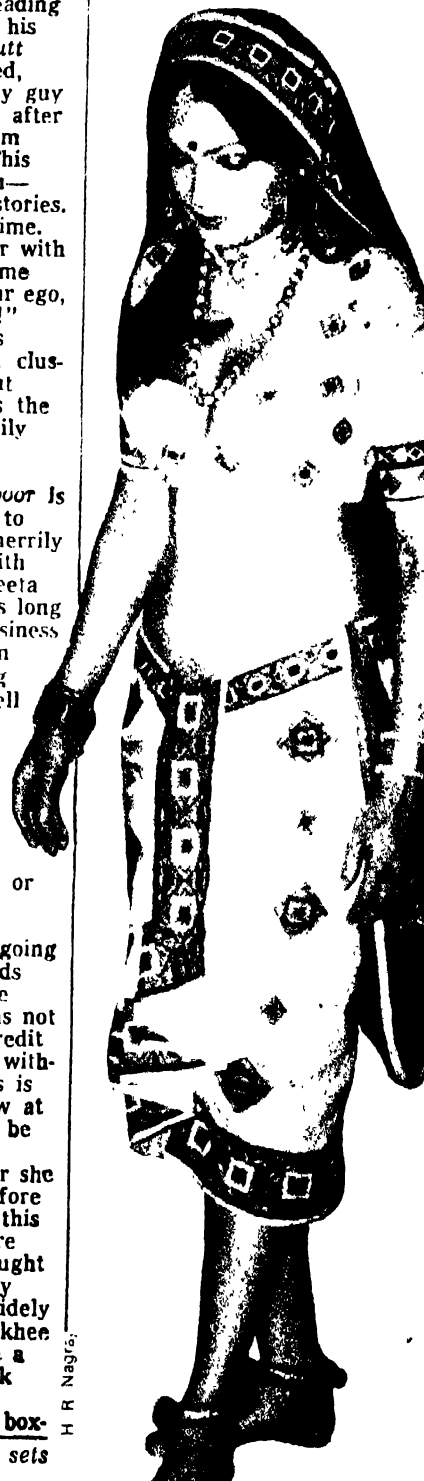
WHEN he was told that one of his male artistes was being besieged by women, which was leading to a lot of tension in his life, director Sunil Dutt bristled up and snorted, "Hmpff! Is he the only guy who gets girls running after him? We too have them dying for us, yaar! This fellow has no tension—don't you believe his stories. He is having a good time. We are no less popular with the fair sex—and let me tell you, it adds to your ego, not dampens your life!" Sunil should know this business about women clustering around him—but what was amusing was the way he wriggled uneasily when told of this

NOW that Rishi Kapoor is officially engaged to Neetu Singh, he can merrily sign films contracts with Tina Munim and Ranjeeta without any qualms. As long as Neetu was in the business he was obliged to sign films with her, knowing that the film might well fail at the box office. Now that this problem does not remain, he can take his own time in choosing his costar. It remains to be seen who is going to be his favourite co-star! Tina or Ranjeeta.

IS Hema's decline going unnoticed? If records are examined, it will be noticed that the star has not had a hit film to her credit for some time—with or without Dharmendra. If this is any indication, her draw at the box-office seems to be diminishing. So what's happening to her? Either she is planning to retire before she flops completely or this is merely the lull before the storm. One had thought that Meera (directed by Gulzar and publicised widely as the film in which Raakhee wanted to act) would be a good bet to get her back into the limelight and make her rating at the box. Parveen Babi on the sets of 'Kranti'

office shoot up. But it is such a miserable flop, both in India and abroad that I am convinced that Hema's career has begun its downward journey. Incidentally, Meera has proved to be producer Premji's second flop. The first was Imaan Dharam. Looks like small names and small banners are going to ride high for some time!

Tina: Still in the running to be Rishi's co-star



Umesh Vyas

H. R. Nagre

HE doesn't have to look so neglected and lost: of late his career has been looking up, thanks to films like *Taxi Driver* and *Vandikaran Magan*. In the recent Tamil film, *Aadu Pambe* scripted by Karunanidhi, M. R. Radha plays a fake *Swamiyar* with gusto. And yet, when interviewing him, he appears gloomy and dejected. If you're meeting him in his house, he uses a dilapidated wooden throne (was it used in his ancient hit, *Rakhala Kanneer*?) to sit on and brood over the past.

One of the most successful villains of the Tamil screen, Radha's career was ruined when he was arrested on the charge of shooting at MGR. Twelve years after the incident, and after spending some 50 months in jail, Radha still speaks about the shoot-out. He insists that you touch his temple and feel the bullet scar. "I never denied that I shot MGR. There were many professional and personal reasons. But two shots were fired in my direction and I was hurt. Till date, nobody seems to know who had fired at me..."

Radha's career can prosper if he accepts roles at the rates fixed by the producers, but he insists on his own stiff rate. In spite of this, the DMK-backed producers have been using this leathery faced, gruffy voiced villain now and then and he has been keeping himself busy by staging popular plays, first enacted by him three decades ago. It is felt that in his films he goes out of his way to lampoon his old rival. "I'm 60, do you expect me to go around dancing with teenage girls?" This is the dialogue of one of his films. A dig at MGR?

THOUGH the latest devotional dished out by him isn't a big hit, director K. Shankar is determined to make his current assignment, *Devi Dharisanam*, a more lavish affair. All the top leading ladies are bunched together, apparently in guest roles, hoping that they'll add weight at the box-office. Already signed for the film are K. R. Vijaya, Latha, Sripriya and Sridevi. But among

Jaypee



Radha and Sripriya in a scene from "Amma Kannu"

these big names, Latha will probably have the longest role: Shankar has cast her in his last four films and yet in one of them, *Vayassu Ponnu*, it was Roja Ramani who triumphed, and one wonders why Shankar cannot give her more chances.

Roja Ramani reminds one of Bombay's Nazima, the sprightly, charming supporting actress of many hits of the '60s, who could never make it big. Roja Ramani has starred in some of the well received films like *Iru Nilavugal* and she has a role in *Aadu Pambe*, too, but the big, bright roles are just eluding her.

LITERATEUR P. Lankesh has done something quite interesting: For his new Kannada venture *Teregalu*, which will present many new artistes, he has prepared the script in collaboration with M. T. Vasudeva Nair, the Malayalam novelist and filmmaker, and poet-filmmaker Dr Chandrasekar Kambar. All the three are well respected writers but only Vasudeva Nair has been able to make successful artistic films like *Nirmalyam* and *Bandanam*.

Kambar's second Kannada venture *Kaadu Kudure* was an utter fiasco and Lankesh, who made a decent film *Pallavi* (he also starred in it) turned out miserable flops subsequently. Let's hope *Teregalu* won't run into problems: all three big names involved with it have sensitive egos. With this film, Vasudeva Nair's long standing desire to enter the Kannada film scene has been fulfilled. Two years ago, he was toying with the idea of making a film based on Snehalata Reddy's life and husband Pattabhirama Reddy wasn't against the idea as it was not going to be a documentary on his wife. But for some reasons, the film was shelved, and Vasudeva Nair went ahead to complete *Bandanam* in Malayalam.

DIDN'T know that the popular Kannada actor, Sundar Krishna Urs too has directed a film. It seems that he had completed *Honni Maduve* five years ago, and it's being released only now. Many old-timers like Udaya Kumar, Pandari Bai, Balakrishna and Naraimsha Narasimharaju are acting in this film

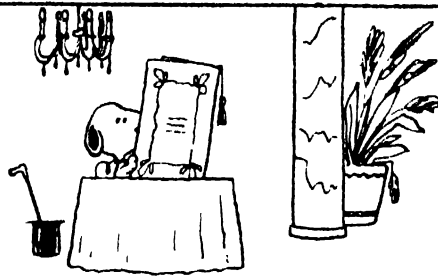
So one shouldn't expect it to be a box-office hit. And it's quite possible that Sundar Krishna Urs, who has been increasingly associated with good Kannada filmmakers like Girish Karnad and B. V. Karanth, would make a better film he were to take up direction now.

JOHN ABRAHAM'S widely discussed *Agraharibhil Kazhuta* may never be screened in Tamil Nadu as the Brahmin lobby close to the ruling Party is absolutely against it. But a popular movie *Pancha Kalyani* has featured a donkey (*Kalyani*) in the pivotal role. But unlike John Abraham's film, this one will not leave behind bruise feelings. Sivachandran, who's featured as the hero, won't be all that happy with the *Pancha Kalyani* publicity. The donkey's name is given more prominence than the hero's! Wonder if the film is dedicated to (late) Chinnappa Devar, who minted a fortune by making animals do a better job than the stars.

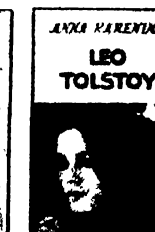
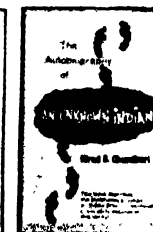
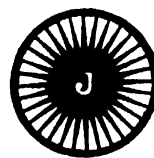
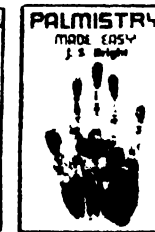
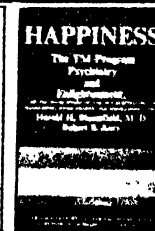
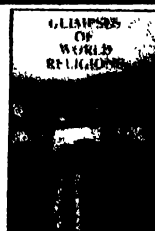
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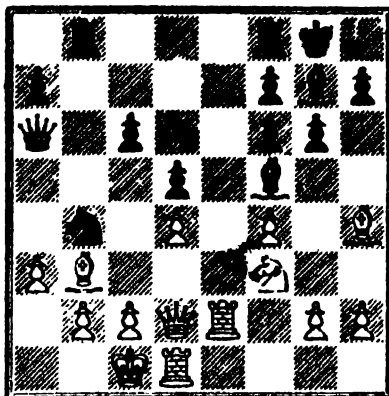
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chess

Timman (Black) to move



Feller (White)
Position after White's 18th move

Zonal Tournament

The world championship cycle is a curious form of perpetual motion (perpetual commotion?). No sooner has one finished than the next begins. For those who do not understand the system, let me explain briefly. The world is divided into geographical areas (zones) and each zone has its own zonal tournament to determine its best player (or players) who will go forward into one of the two interzonal tournaments. The top three from each interzonal go forward to the Candidates' Series where they are joined by the loser of the last World Championship Match (Korchnoi) and the beaten finalist of the last Candidates' Series (Spassky). These eight play a knock-out series to decide the challenger for the next World Championship Match. Which brings us back to where we started.

We have already completed the zonal stage of the new cycle with the result that England for only the second time in her history has a representative in the interzonals (the first was Harry Golombek). The result of the Zone 1 tournament held in Amsterdam at the end of last year was equal 1st Timman (Holland), Miles (England) 11½ (out of 14), 3rd Stean (England) 11, 4th Sosonko (Holland) 10½, 5th Spelman (England) 9. With the result that Jan Timman and Tony Miles go forward to the next stage (2 players qualify from this zone).

As can be seen, the scoring at the top was both heavy and close (going into the last round, any two of the top four could have qualified), but the two who finally triumphed probably have the best chances in the interzonal. Timman is hotly favoured to make a real impact in this cycle and many people now rate him No. 3 in the world (below Karpov and Korchnoi), while Miles's excellent results in strong tournaments suggest that he has very real chances of becoming the first Briton to qualify for the Candidates' Series.

This week's game is taken from the zonal tournament and features one of the winners against the back-marker. Although it's all rather one-sided, the finish is very nice. White: Feller (Luxemburg) Black: Timman (Holland) Zonal tournament, Amsterdam 1978.

Pirc Defence

1. P-K4, P-Q3; 2. P-Q4, N-KB3; 3. N-QB3, P-KN3; 4. B-N5, B-N2; 5. P-B4, P-B3; 6. Q-Q2, O-O; 7. O-O-O? Prematurely committing his king. Better 7. B-Q3 or 7. N-B3 7... P-QN4; 8. P-K5, P-N5; 9. P-xN, P-xN; 10. Q-xP, P-xP. Already Black stands better.

The doubled pawns are very strong.

11. B-R4, Q-N3; 12. N-B3, N-R3; 13. B-B4, N-N5; 14. KR-K1. After 14. P-QR3, N-Q4, 15. B-xN, P-xB: White would come under strong attack on the two queenside files. 14... B-B4; 15. R-K2, P-Q4; 16. B-N3, Q-R3; 17. Q-Q2, QR-N1; 18. P-QR3 [diagram]. Now comes a very quaint combination. 18... B-xP; 19. B-xB, N-R7+; 20. K-N1, Q-xP; 21. P-N3. Or 21. B-Q3, N-B6+; 22. K-B1, Q-N5+; 23. K-B2, Q-xP mate. 21... R-xP+; 22. B-xR, Q-xB+; 23. K-R1, N-B6. White resigns. There is no good defence to the threat of Q-R6+.

Development is all

A correspondence game played in 1963.

White: Schwidenko. Black: Levitov.

Two Knights' Defence.

1. P-K4, P-K4; 2. N-KB3, N-QB3; 3. B-B4, N-B3; 4. N-N5, P-Q4; 5. P-xP, N-QR4; 6. P-Q3, P-KR3; 7. N-KB3, P-K5; 8. Q-K2, N-xB; 9. P-xN, B-QB4; 10. B-B4, O-O; 11. KN-Q2, B-KN5; 12. Q-B1, R-K1; 13. N-N3? (better B-K3), P-K6; 14. N-xB, P-xP db. ch; 15. K-xP, B-K7; 16. Q-B1, N-N5 ch; 17. K-N1, Q-K2; 18. N-N3, B-Q8; White resigns.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge



PLAYERS often jump at any opportunity to double a high-level bid 'to show a lead'. Doubles of this kind should be made with discretion, for often they give useful information to the declarer, telling him how a particular suit is divided.

Dealer, South. Love all.

♠ K 10 9 6
♥ Q 10 8
♦ 6 5
♣ Q J 4 3

N
W E
S

♠ A 7 4
♥ A K J
♦ A Q 7 2
♣ A K 10

The bidding went:

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
2♣	No	2♣	No
3NT	No	4♣	No
4♦	dbld (?)	No	No
4NT	No	6NT	No
No	No		

North's Four Clubs was the Baron convention, asking partner to show four-card suits 'upwards'.

West's lead of ♠ 9 ran to the King. Continuing clubs, South found that West had started with four clubs; East discarded two low hearts and South a diamond.

In the absence of any indication, the normal play would be to aim to make three tricks in spades and finesse the Queen of diamonds. The best play in spades is to cash the Ace and take two finesses; this is a losing line (as compared to others) only when East holds precisely Q J x.

But how should South play if he judges that the diamond finesse must be wrong? Needing both an extra trick in spades and a throw-in, declarer cashed just two hearts,

retaining an entry to dummy, then played three rounds of spades, end-playing West, for the full hand was:

♠ K 10 9 6
♥ Q 10 8
♦ 6 5
♣ Q J 4 3

N
W E
S

♠ Q J 2
♥ 7 3
♦ K J 10 8
♣ 9 6 5 2

♠ 8 5 3
♥ 9 6 5 4 2
♦ 9 4 3
♣ 8 7

♠ A 7 4
♥ A K J
♦ A Q 7 2
♣ A K 10

West's double of Four Diamonds was particularly foolish because he was likely to be on lead himself.

TERENCE REESE

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. What was Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus, turned into?
2. Where was the art of printing developed?
3. In football, who is a targetman?
4. Who is the captain of the British yachting team in the Admiral's Cup?
5. When did the two Soviet cosmonauts, who broke the record of man's longest stay in space, leave the earth?
6. In which building is the Edwina Sitting Room and who is it named after?
7. What is the original meaning of the word "utopia"?
8. What is cartomancy?
9. Who would a Blue Stocking be?
10. When was the Boston Tea Party?



1. A stone figure of inconsolable grief.
2. In India, a few centuries before Christ.
3. Usually the striker.
4. Edward Heath, the ex-Prime Minister of Britain.
5. February 25, 1979.
6. In Rashtrapati Bhavan. It is the President's private drawing room named after Edwina Mountbatten.
7. The word comes from a Greek word meaning "nowhere".
8. The art of telling fortunes by playing cards or by the Tarot pack.
9. A learned or literary woman, particularly if pedantic or undomesticated.
10. December 17, 1773.

ANSWERS

Beginning July 29

This week the Sun, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus are conjoined in Cancer. Saturn and Rahu are in Leo. Uranus is in Libra, Neptune is in Scorpio, Kethu is in Aquarius and Mars is in Gemini. The Moon will be moving through Libra and Scorpio from Virgo.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) This is an auspicious week. You must forge ahead in spite of the risks involved. You may win a lottery or a prize and this week is particularly important for love and romance. The financial front will remain very bright and there are chances of promotion too for those in service. Your health needs watching; take all timely precautions. **Good dates:** 30, 31, 1 and 2. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** South.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) In the early part of this week you will experience notable success in your financial affairs. You can look forward to a period of steady progress on all fronts. A splendid opportunity will come your way and you must make the best of it. Luck favours you in many other ways too this week. **Good dates:** 1, 2, 3 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 5. **Favourable direction:** West.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) You may face some opposition from a senior partner or business associate. After a minor setback your financial affairs will proceed smoothly. A happy domestic scene will bring you much joy. You may undergo a change of residence and probably also do a fair bit of travelling. This week is auspicious for love and romance which may lead to marriage. **Good dates:** 2, 3 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 5. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) Your job prospects are fairly good; take care not to antagonise your employers by untactful dealings. An elderly associate or relative will come to your help and you will make considerable gains. There may be attempts to deceive you, so remain on your guard. Your own courage and enterprise should come in handy. **Good dates:** 31, 1, 2 and 3. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 8. **Favourable directions:** West and South.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) It is suggested that you let your intuition guide you. A secret association will benefit you. Success will finally come your way after a remarkably long period of depression. A new opening, perhaps employment, will establish your life on a firm, secure basis. A prolonged love affair is likely to come to an end. **Good dates:** 30, 31, 3 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 6. **Favourable direction:** East.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) Conserve your resources and set down to consolidate all recent gains. Your business and financial affairs should be diversified. Partners and spouses may make both negative and positive contribution to your career. There may be a sharp reversal of fortunes. Womenfolk should make an extra effort to adjust themselves to a new life. **Good dates:** 2, 3 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 6 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) A sudden turn of fortune will remove all gloom and darkness from your life. A new love affair will bring a lot of joy and even excitement. Women in general will prove very helpful and they will advance your interests. An old relative may oppose your plans but this should not worry you. Avoid speculation and gambling. **Good dates:** 31, 1, 2 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) There will be a sharp drop in your business and financial fortunes. You are advised to maintain good relations with your employers in your own interest. Act according to your own intuition and do not be afraid to make prompt decisions. Your courage and enterprise will prove helpful. Legal suits should be postponed. **Good dates:** 3 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 10. **Favourable direction:** West.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) This is a week of mixed fortunes. Financially, your condition will improve by leaps and bounds and this lucky phase is likely to continue for some more time. Exercise great caution in your dealings with the opposite sex. Guard your tongue lest you annoy your employers. Letters will bring news. **Good dates:** 2, 3 and 4. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) Your recent problems will soon cease to worry you but it will take some time before everything is settled to your satisfaction. The business front may pose some minor problems. An elderly female relative may oppose your plans. Do not be extravagant. Everything cannot be taken for granted at this juncture. However, on the whole this will be a happy week. **Good dates:** 29, 30, 1 and 3. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) This is a week of ups and downs. Exercise great care in your dealings with friends and relatives. Bosses and employers should be kept in good humour. After a minor setback early in the week, your business affairs will prosper again. Your family members will contribute to domestic bliss. Your hunches may prove to be right. **Good dates:** 30, 1, 2 and 3. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 5. **Favourable directions:** East and South.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) An exceptionally active week is forecast. It could also prove very profitable. If you are engaged in business, concentrate your mind and energies upon its expansion. A new partnership will prove lucky. But do not gamble. Attention should be paid to your children's health. **Good dates:** 2, 3, 4 and 30. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.

M.-B. RAMAN

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PANAJI: A strange case of a man betrothing his daughter to three bridegrooms simultaneously has come to light at Sankhelim in Goa. From all the three men the father of the bride was reported to have taken amounts ranging from Rs 500 and fixed the betrothal ceremony on an evening. On that propitious day one of the "bridegrooms" arrived at 6 p.m. and the traditional coconut-breaking ceremony was gone through. Two candidates also reached the scene to claim the bride. Confusion reigned for some time before some people intervened and sorted it out so that the one who had paid Rs 900 would be married to the girl and that her father would return the money he had taken from the other two at his convenience.—*Indian Express* (B. B. Madhiwalla, Bombay)

LUCKNOW: More than 30 bottles of illicit liquor were allegedly recovered by the city police from a church. The police arrested two persons, including the son of the pastor of the church in this connection. The pastor, however, denied any knowledge about the sale

of illicit liquor from the church the police said — *The Pioneer* (Sushil Kumar Srivastava, Lucknow)

JAIPUR: A Shiva temple, considered to be a monument of communal harmony has been constructed by a Muslim, Mr Hussain Bhai Bohra, in Relmagra town, Udaipur district. The deity was installed in the presence of thousands of Hindus and Muslims. Rajasthan's Co-operation Minister, Mr Kailash Meghwal hailed the efforts of Mr Bohra for bringing about communal unity. The temple cost about Rs 70,000 which was collected by Mr Bohra himself, who is an Assistant Engineer in the State Electricity Board, from his colleagues. The residents of Relmagra town accorded a civic reception to Mr Bohra.—*The Hindu* (S. Balakrishnan, Trichy)

PANAJI: A beggar here has a gold rosary, a gold ring, a bank account with Rs 5,000 in fixed deposit and some property in his native village Curtorium. The 50-year-old bachelor Jose Vaz after saying his prayers with the aid of the rosary last Thursday night put it under his pillow along with his gold ring and slept as usual on the pavement under the porch of a building. Next morning he complained to the police of the disappearance of the rosary and ring and the police arrested a person and recovered part of the stolen property. The police found during the investigation that the beggar was not so poor.—*Deccan Herald* (T. S. Murti, Bangalore)

PATIALA: A newborn baby has been named Skylab Singh. The wife of Mr Surjit Singh, an accountant of the Punjab State Electricity Board, gave birth to a son here this evening and the parents named the baby after the Skylab.—*The Statesman* (V. Ganesh, Calcutta)

THE JANATA Government is a jungle with wild animals in it—Bhupesh Gupta

THE SKYLAB has fallen on the Janata Government—Mrs Hamida Habibullah

EVEN IF the Skylab falls here, I will remain unruffled. I was unruffled even at Jorhat (during the air-crash on Nov. 4, 1977). My pulse did not beat faster even then—Morarji Desai

WE HAVE opened the lock we had once put on Raj Narain's mouth — Mrs Chandrawati, BLD leader

DON'T CONGRATULATE me. What have I done? It is you who have done it all—Charan Singh to Raj Narain after the fall of the Janata Government

I AM like your younger brother. If you think you can effectively stop Mr Charan Singh from becoming the Prime Minister, I am with you. But if you think, I can do it, order me to do so—Jagjivan Ram to Morarji Desai

WHY SHOULD I resign when you have already decided to make Charan Singh the Prime Minister? Why should I quit? What is there for me—Jagjivan Ram's reply to a suggestion that he should resign from the Government and the Party

YOU (CONGRESSMEN) went to the polls as one Party. How many Parties are you today? What is the latest count — George Fernandes

THE NEXT Emergency, when it arrives, is unlikely to be as inefficient and shortlived as the last one—*The Statesman*

IN A coalition Government, Mr Chavan will praise Nehru and Mr Charan Singh will criticise Nehru —Jagjivan Ram

IF A politician does not have such an ambition (to become the Prime Minister) then he is lying—Charan Singh

THE NEW Government will be a Government of national shame — Krishna Kant, Janata MP

HE (CHARAN SINGH) would have made it in March 1977 if he hadn't happened to fall ill at that time — Gayatri Devi, wife of Charan Singh

YOU WILL have a real free Press now — Charan Singh

EVERYTHING will be all right in the country now — Charan Singh

india abroad

SINGAPORE: A Singapore Indian who allegedly took nearly Rs 11 lakhs from some people of Tamil Nadu promising them jobs in Bahrain was released on personal bail. A. V. Ragusamy, an unemployed man, is reported to have gone to Madras last year and placed advertisements in Indian newspapers in mid-December for vacancies in West Asia. After "interviews", about 150 were selected for jobs in Bahrain in return for a payment of Rs 7,500 each and a present of a sari and silverware worth another Rs 100. One of the victims, Rajaram of Thanjavur, said all the recruits were from Tamil

Nadu and that they came on S. S. Chidambaram to Singapore on May 10 "en route to Bahrain". Most of them had only 200 Singapore dollars. On arrival they were asked to pay another 100 dollars for five days' stay but most of them were dumped at the Tamils Reform Association building and a few were housed elsewhere. The victims claimed they never saw Ragusamy again till he was spotted at the Jurong industrial estate. Nearly 100 of the victims surrounded his flat for nearly eight hours before police intervened on a complaint and discovered him hiding in a cupboard. —*The Hindu*

FORMULAS GALORE

THE political logjam at the Centre following the resignation of the Desai Government has prompted politicians and journalists to come out with all kinds of formulas. The UP Chief Minister, Mr Banarasi Das, has suggested the following. The leader of the Opposition has now got the invitation to form a Government. So Mr Charan Singh and Mr Jagjivan Ram can retain their original positions in the Desai Government if they simply defect to the Indian National Congress (S). Babuji, who has been trying all kinds of formulas without success so far, tried the time-honoured one of getting an appeal from JP. The Socialist leader, Mr S. M. Joshi, drafted the letters which JP was to sign. In the process those familiar with JP's epistolary manners began to doubt the authenticity of the letter to Mr Desai. It seems that Mr Joshi sent the drafts with a fellow Socialist, Mrs Sarla Bhadoria, to Patna and JP, who was undergoing a day-long dialysis, was merely made to append his signatures to the two letters written by the Joshi-Ram team. The other letter from JP was for the Party President asking him to instal Mr Ram as the leader of the JPP.

ALL THINGS TO EVERYBODY

THE current political impasse with as many as four aspirants to the prime ministerial *gaddi* and none with the requisite backing in the Lok Sabha has made a VIP of every unattached MP. The most sought after group is the 18-strong AIADMK and the nine-member Akali group. These two, as against the CPI(M), are not overly concerned about their ideological postures and are ready to jump on to the bandwagon of whoever is winning. Mr Jagjivan Ram, Mr Chavan, Mr Desai and Mr Charan Singh have all claimed the support of the Akalis and the AIADMK members and have included their names in their respective tallies of supporters. This led Mr M. G. Ramachandran to make the pertinent observation that "in the last ten days the AIADMK strength in the Lok Sabha has gone up to 72. Mr Chavan says he has 18 AIADMK MPs with him, Babuji claims an equal

number of AIADMK members, Desai and Charan too claim that they have the support of the same members." What is true of the AIADMK is true of the Akalis.

DIVIDED ALL ROUND

EVERY major Party or group in the Lok Sabha has developed divisions in the face of the current political crisis. The Congress (S) has a sizable section which does not want to have any truck with the Janata (S). The Congress (I) has a vocal segment canvassing the same line. The Jana Sangh group in the Janata Party is split between those wanting to carry on with Mr Desai as leader and those who want to replace him with Mr Jagjivan Ram. The CPI(M) too had its differences but finally managed to take the following stand: No support to any Government depending on the direct or indirect backing of "authoritarian or communal forces". The CPI(M) leader in the Rajya Sabha, Mr Ramamurthy and Mr Harz Kishan Singh Surjeet, were, however, pressing the Party to give unconditional support to the proposed Charan Singh Government. Babuji too tried to woo the CPI(M). He sent word to Mr Ramamurthy to come and meet

him but the CPI(M) leader declined. Babuji in a desperate bid to get CPI(M) support, went and paid a quiet visit to Mr Ramamurthy but nothing came of it. The CPI(M) had already taken an anti-RSS posture. Mr Ramamurthy personally visited the houses of different left Party leaders in the night of July 20-21 requesting them to plead with Mr Chavan to accept the Deputy Prime Minister's post under Mr Charan Singh.

DIVINE WRATH

THE self-styled president of the Anti-Prohibition Council, Mr K. K. Toofan, can come up with brilliant ideas and Mr Desai can be trusted not to use any of them. This includes the one Mr Toofan suggested to him to save his *gaddi*. Two days before Mr Desai finally resigned, Mr Toofan wrote to the Prime Minister to go and make an offering of "a bottle of the choicest Scotch to the Bhairon Baba" to propitiate him and thus save his tottering regime. Mr Desai the stubborn man that he is, consigned Mr Toofan's letter to the wastepaper basket. Mr Toofan now claims Mr Desai fell due to the anger of the Bhairon Baba. Will the next Prime Minister draw a suitable moral from this?

TABLES TURNED



Vijendra Tyagi

THE Janata (S) has been frantically trying to wean away as many members as possible from the Janata Party. They even went to the extent of asking Mr Jagjivan Ram to come and join the Party as number three, the number two position being reserved for Mr Chavan. Mr Raj Narain, Mr S. N. Mishra and Mr H. N. Bahuguna called on Babuji one evening to

make the offer. Babuji, the wily politician that he is, deftly killed the idea by telling his visitors, "Please make Mr Bahuguna the Prime Minister and I will willingly work under him as his deputy". An embarrassed Bahuguna and friends soon took leave of Babuji.

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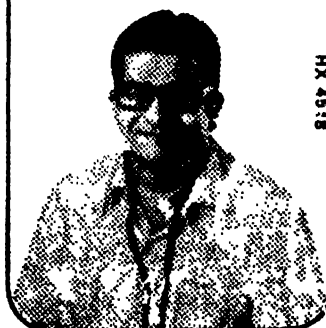
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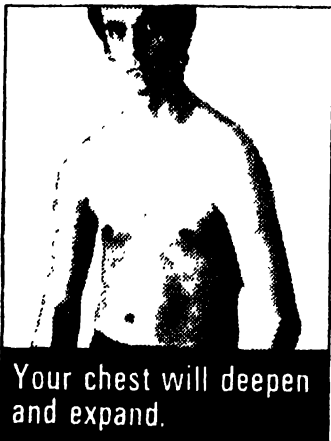
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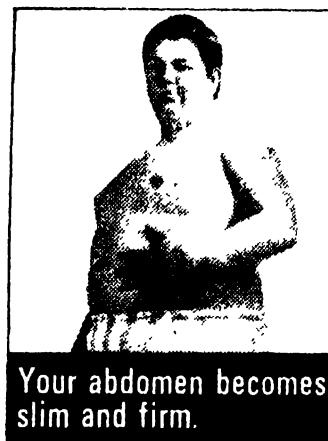
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Dharm Vir Jayner



Even as the Charan Singh Government was sworn in, a difficult feat in itself, it faced a threat from the Janata under the new leadership of Jagjivan Ram who lost no time in plotting with Mrs Gandhi to bring it down. The new Janata-Congress(I) alliance was made official in the rescue of the Ram Sundar Das Ministry in Bihar, just as Mr Charan Singh absolved himself of the accusation of conspiring with Mrs Gandhi by appointing some of her worst enemies as Cabinet Ministers.

The first ominous sign at the start of the First Test between England and India was that skipper Venkat lost the toss. What happened thereafter is something that Indian cricket fans would rather forget. Though there were a few umprising decisions that went against the tourists, there was not much the Indian team could have done anyway to save the match. A report from Edgbaston.

Though the princely order in this country is now a thing of the past, its legacy lives on: in the form of gastronomic delicacies that have been handed down from generation to generation. The descendants of the royal chefs still turn out culinary masterpieces and the revival has found its natural centre in Delhi, where increasing numbers of tourists as well as residents are discovering that the princes certainly ate well.



An indomitable Benazir Bhutto has taken on her father's mantle, and is waging an unrelenting war against the martial law authorities who hanged Bhutto. In an exclusive interview she talks about the circumstances in which her father died, the intentions of the military junta and the political future of the Pakistan People's Party.

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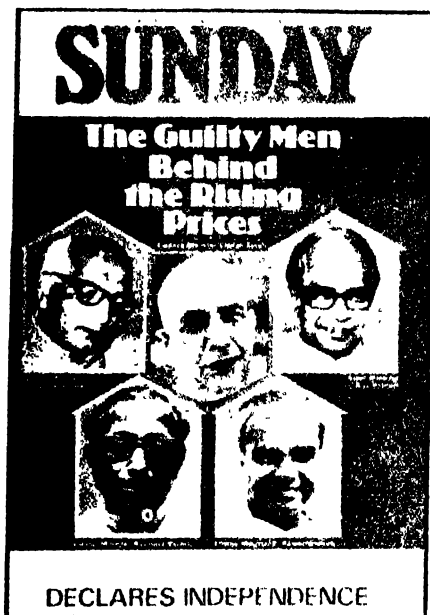
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Assistant Editor Subir Roy Editorial Staff Nirmal Mitra,
David McMahon, Saumitra Banerjee, Trithankar Ghosh, S N M Abdi
Delhi Correspondent Ajay Bose
Art Director Bipul Guha Asst Art Director Amiya Bhattacharya

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Price of incompetence

KEWAL VARMA's cover story "The guilty men behind the rising prices" (July 8) reveals the bitter truth behind our economic malaise. I am certain, if the present trend of selection of Ministers continues, posterity will be left with nothing to rejoice about. Before it is too late, we must have efficient and experienced persons in the Union Cabinet, and enforce an eligibility requirement for all elections; the people's representatives should be persons with education and experience.

G. H. Sharma, Hyderabad.

IT IS not so much faulty planning as the political instability at the Centre which has caused the price rise. When political conditions are fluid, the administration slackens and unscrupulous businessmen take advantage of the situation at the cost of the common man. Is it not clear that the system of democracy in this country

is a luxury for which we have paid too high a price, for too long?
Pradip Hom Roy, North Lakhimpur.

MR VARMA argues: "The main cause of the present inflation is that too much money is chasing too few goods." But why keep silent about the owners of "too much money" and producers of "too few goods"? We all know that the purchasing power of the people has declined. Articles in economic journals indicate how rapidly the quantity of black money is increasing, thanks to unscrupulous profiteers who are determined to exploit the masses.

Hanarth Banerjee, Calcutta.

ON CERTAIN occasions Mr Varma gives the impression of being prejudiced beyond reason — especially when he laments that the former Union Shipping Minister did not have an opportunity to see a ship until he became a Minister.

Jimmy Rodriguez, Bangalore.

MR VARMA's remark about the former Union Energy Minister Mr P. Ramachandran was least expected. While pointing out lapses is understandable, such remarks are quite uncalled for. Mr Ramachandran, you may note, holds an M. A. degree.

V. R. Raman, Madras.

WHY are the names of the former Prime Minister Mr Morarji Desai, who bears overall responsibility for the proper functioning of the Government, the former Commerce Minister Mr Mohan Dharma and the former Finance Minister Mr H. M. Patel, the hero of the famous gold auction, whose contribution to the price rise is no less than the Chaudhury's, missing from the list of culprits? Mr Varma is also less than fair to Messrs Charan Singh, George Fernandes and Biju Patnaik. His remark that the only administrative experience the Energy Minister Mr Ramachandran had was in managing the household affairs of Kamaraj, is, in the least, uncharitable.

Abdul Quadir, Gaya.

How near democracy?

"NEPAL awakes" (June 24) appears to be based mostly on facts gathered by M. J. Akbar exclusively through Nepali Congress sources. Perhaps it would have been better if the author interviewed a couple of non-Nepali Congress politicians in particular Dr Tulsi Giri, who has seen enough of the Nepali Congress in its heyday and, indeed, a lot more of the panchayat system. Unlike Vishwa Bhandu Thapa (not Gupta), Dr Giri resigned from a top NC Party post when Mr B. P. Koirala ignored his warning against any confrontation with King Mahendra. It was immediately after this that BP was arrested.

Furthermore, it is unfair to compare the present situation in Nepal with that obtaining in Iran. For one thing, Nepal fortunately does not have a group of fanatical mullahs, and religious harmony in this country is of such an order that its neighbours should envy, though they claim to be more secular. Secondly, the Nepali Crown is much closer to the people than the Shah of Iran was, though your article very unpalatably ascribes it to the old notion of we Nepalese believing the King to be God. This is not true.

Perhaps in the coming referendum the Nepali Congress will come out as a force to reckon with or perhaps in absolute majority, but Mr Ganeshman Singh's "five per cent" theory is a clear mark of his poor imagination. He can aptly be compared with Raj Narain of India. Mr Singh will be a great weight on BP's shoulders when the latter comes to power. As regards Mr Bhattarai's premature suggestion of "putting restriction on the King's control over the Army", one can only say that he has not learnt much in the last 20 years. In the next few years, I am sure one will hear and see a lot of the Nepalese Army in the Nepalese political scene.

Vishnu Prasadmaudgalya, Nepal

Urs was hers

WHO draped Sanjay Gandhi with the famous Mysore lace turban in December, 1975 in the picture on page 13 (July 1)? Who translated his speech and made it twice as long as the original? Who hosted the dinner for Sanjay and Maneka? Mr Devaraj Urs; of course. He believed in the maxim: "If you want to kiss the nurse, kiss the child. She will be inspired." The same Mr Urs who said at Hyderabad in 1978 that he would sink or swim with Mrs Gandhi today "displays his muscle" against

her. If Mr Urs counts for anything in Indian politics, he should dissolve the Karnataka Assembly and face the electorate without Mrs Gandhi's support.

Manjunath Shetty, Secunderabad.

Barun Sen Gupta's interview with Mr Morarji Desai (SUNDAY, July 29) was recorded on July 28 and not on July 26 as mentioned. The error is regretted.—Editor

AFTER Chikmagalur, Mrs Gandhi was of the view that she won the

byelection because of her personal charisma, whereas Mr Urs thought otherwise. Now that they have parted ways, and the Chikmagalur poll is again round the corner, let us see if Mrs Gandhi contests from there. If she does, and wins, it would mean the end of Urs's political career, and if she doesn't, it would mean the opposite.

Chandan Roy, New Delhi.

FROM the answers Mr Devaraj Urs gave to M. J. Akbar's questions ("She respects Parliament as long as it suits her", July 1) it appears that there is at least one leader in our

country who, irrespective of the Party he belongs to, has the courage though a little too late, to speak the truth about the kind of leaders that are ruling our country.
P. K. Chakravarty, Shillong.

IN THE interview Mr Urs says in reply to the first question that he would like to see all Congressmen united. How short can memory be? He was the same person who played a pivotal role in the 1978 Congress

split. He also says he fights for a principle. If this be correct, wouldn't he have raised his voice, or even resigned from the CWC-I, against the appointment of ad hoc presidents in place of Dr Channa Reddy and Mr N. K. Tirpude, who vacated their PCC posts according to the CPB directive, since he was also a party to the CWC-I decision? For him principles matter, it seems, only when they affect his own position.
A. Kameshwara Rao, Madras.

Grotesque counterpoint

THE uncompromising light of truth that Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh focuses on the contemporary Indian scene is indicative of his genuine affection for this country and her people. Those mouthing empty platitudes about a "glorious heritage" and a "refined cultural ancestry" (P. G. Vijairaghavan and K. Krishnan, Opinion, July 8) are merely offering a grotesque counterpoint to the wave of assaults, rapes and beatings the Bhagwan's sanyasins have suffered at the hands of Pune's citizenry. The religious persecution and harassment of Rajneesh disciples is causing deep concern abroad particularly as it is increasingly apparent that local, State and Central authorities condone these activities, and the Press is reneging on its responsibility to inform the public of this outrage.

Accordingly, the UN Commission for Human Rights has informed the Foundation that its report outlining the unfair discrimination against the Shree Rajneesh Ashram and the disciples of the Bhagwan has been brought to the attention of the Sub-Commission of Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and the Commission on Human Rights. The Foundation has been seeking, for the past two years, to relocate the Shree Rajneesh Ashram in a self-sufficient rural site, but the Government has been obstructing an obvious solution to the difficulties we

are having to put up with here.
Swami Krishna Prem, Pune.

MESSRS VIJAIRAGHAVAN and Krishnan are obviously under the illusion that the Indian society is like a beautiful flowing river. The atrocities against women ashramites may not have come to their notice. Did they know women are being beaten, bruised, bullied, humiliated and ogled at by the so-called "refined" Indians? Hindus condemn materialism and brag about being spiritually minded, and yet, when it comes to marriage, they demand exorbitant dowries.
Jaya Chohan, Secunderabad.

REFINED? When beggars die on the streets in filth and disease? Culture? A few low-grade academic institutions in the midst of chaos and poverty, ignorance and religious superstition? Ancestry? Dead religious heroes stuck firm in people's heads, but never moving their hearts, their beings?
Swami Prem Vijnan, Pune.

YES, Pune stinks, and the letter from Messrs Vijairaghavan and Krishnan adds to the putrefaction. Perhaps, it would've been better to have the ashram removed from the harassment of the very city that should be welcoming the sound of such a voice in its midst. Fortunately, the disease is not everywhere. At the Guru Purnima Day celebration, at least half the orange-clad people wearing the mala were Indians. So it is not just gullible westerners who are beginning to hear.

Swami Anand Nirgrantha, Pune.

Jamaat members and the SIM's activities in the University campus. I have myself attended several meetings organised by the SIM to promote understanding between Muslim and non-Muslim students of the university. Even presently, when Aligarh and particularly the AMU campus is in the grip of tension, SIM members are trying to meet their non-Muslim fellow students to remove their differences and ill-feelings. Such activities are part of their aims and objects. During the riot last October too, SIM members went all out to help in relief activities and did so without any discrimination. I know some members of the SIM in IITD also where they have been collecting funds from

Man, quite unfair

WHEN Milton's Satan proclaims: "Fallen Cherub, to be weak is miserable. Doing or suffering..." we call that indomitable strength. When Shelley's Prometheus "Hope(s) till hope recreates from its own wreck, the thing it contemplates..." we praise it as indefatigable courage. When Hemingway's Old Man struggles till he is shattered, we admire it as the strivings of a noble soul. But when Mrs Gandhi refuses to accept defeat in spite of all the odds that come her way, we say: "A woman's greed knows no bounds" (M. Dhanapalan's letter, Opinion, July 8). Alas! despite all the hue and cry raised about women's equality and women's lib, it is still a man's world. To say the least, such generalisations as the one quoted, betray immense bad taste.
Chhaya Ghosh, Durgapur.

A son's flaws

THE interview with Dr Farooq Abdullah "Secessionist politics has no future in Kashmir" (June 24) by Z. G. Mohammad made a good attempt to expose certain flaws of this VIP son. When asked whether the Jammu agitation against his father Sheikh Abdullah was incited by the RSS, Mr Abdullah replies in the affirmative, whereas Sheikh Abdullah has himself consistently been giving the RSS a clean chit. One question the interviewer should have asked him is how Dr Abdullah could be in Government service and politics at one and the same time.
Sheikh Nazir Ahmed, Srinagar

THE interview brought to light many of the Sheikh's eldest son's ambitions. From the interview it appears that the Sheikh has dynastic designs. What does Dr Abdullah mean when he says that the sons of politicians are nearer to the seats of power?

Gulam Hassan Mir, Srinagar

Not they

THOUGH Mr Perwez, in his letter, (Opinion, July 1) has tried to trace the factors behind the recent communal disturbances in Aligarh, his analysis, unfortunately, shows a complete ignorance about the circumstances prevailing during the riots. His allegation about the Jamaat-e-Islami and Students Islamic Movement (SIM) is totally baseless and represents nothing but a naive attempt to analyse the situation. Moreover, his statement about the SIM-Jamaat's relationship is unproven and misleading. I have been a student of AMU from 1965-75 and know very well the strength of the

Muslim and non-Muslim friends and distributing them to needy people.

One of the examples cited by Mr Perwez about the destruction of Mr Singh's shop is noteworthy. But surprisingly, he has overlooked the fact that a shop, Dada Dyers and Dry Cleaners, owned by a Hindu located just beside the SIM office, was left undamaged during the recent disturbances. Mr Perwez can see this for himself. If he really wants to seek the truth, I would offer to bear his expenses all the way from Patna to Aligarh.

Lastly, I would like to point out that it was really shameful that in the presence of a "handful of Jamaat and SIM members", some shops were burnt.
Dr Mohd Zaki Kirmani, New Delhi

Babu Jagjivan Ram's confidence can be seen in his smile.

By AJOY BOSE and SANTOSH BHARTIYA

THE TOPPLING GAME

JUST ONE DAY AFTER Chaudhury Charan Singh was invited by the President to form a Government at the Centre, Babu Jagjivan Ram started plotting to topple the new Government. The prize post of the first Harijan Prime Minister had escaped the clutches of Babuji twice—and both times by a hair's breadth. In March 1977 the two other old men of Indian politics, Morarji Desai and Charan Singh, had combined to defeat Jagjivan Ram in his bid for power. In the last week of July this year, the same combination had again thwarted Babuji's efforts to become PM.

Babuji had swallowed his defeat silently, and unlike many others in the Janata Party, congratulated the Chaudhury, Chavan and other leaders of the ruling alliance. But with characteristic doggedness, Jagjivan Ram proved in the ensuing days that he had far from given up the race. The replacement of Morarji by Babuji from the Janata Party leadership was the first step for a renewed assault. The great haste with which Babuji was elected leader of the Janata Parliamentary Party was reportedly at his own persistence. The night before Babuji had held a closed door meeting with his closest confidants, like Arjun Singh Bhadoria, D. N. Tiwari and Ram Dhan to plan out a strategy. It was decided at the meeting to move as quickly as possible to topple the Government. "Time is crucial for us," Babuji is reported to have said at the meeting, and "we must not allow these people to settle down". The President's suggestion that the Chaudhury Government seek a vote of confidence before the third week of August held out a definite opportunity to test the strength and cohesion of the new regime.

Babuji steamrollered his way to the top in spite of Morarji's refusal to name him as his successor. Morarji is reported to have told his close lieutenant Digvijay Narain Singh, "This man Jagjivan Ram is infinitely more dishonest than Charan Singh. While the latter openly fought with me, the former secretly

Gautam Patole



intrigued against me". In the last few days, the antagonism between the two old men had reached a peak and although Babuji tried to make some amends by asking for "the guidance and blessings" of Morarji, the latter had little desire to forgive and forget. Along with Morarji, Digvijay Narain Singh also resigned from his general secretaryship of the Janata Party and at least 20 Members of Parliament of the Congress (O) from now on would regard Babuji with utmost suspicion. Nevertheless, his election as the leader of the JPP and consequently that of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha was a major step for Babuji in his bid for power.

The next day saw another shot in the arm for Babuji. As if to play into his waiting hands, the swearing in ceremony of Charan Singh and his Council of Ministers started shakily, in fact, on a note of severe discontent, particularly in the Congress (S) Party. At the last moment, six Congress nominees to Ministerial posts abstained. This followed a major crisis in the Congress (S) with a fairly large section protesting against the "arbitrary" list prepared by Mr

Chavan and Sardar Swaran Singh without consulting other members of the Congress Parliamentary Board. Bepin Pal Das sent in his resignation as the chief whip in the Rajya Sabha. Bali Ram Bhagat and K D Malaviya said that they would have to think about whether they should continue to be the members of the Congress after this. The major objection seemed to have been about the inclusion of names like Dr Karan Singh, Brahmananda Reddy and Hritendra Desai. Devaraj Urs protested strongly against the inclusion of Brahmananda Reddy in the list. Also the minorities and Harijans had been strangely unrepresented in the list.

The same day, the new Prime Minister made a weak broadcast to the nation which failed in either raising the burning issues of the day or announcing a programme to give direction to his Government. The other significant development of the day was the 'casual' suggestion by C. M. Stephen that the Indira Congress commitment to the Charan Singh Government was "over". Stephen said that Mrs Gandhi had only committed herself to the formation

of the new Government. After this it was for the Chaudhury to defend himself. Mrs Gandhi was reported to have been irked at the inclusion of men like C. Subramaniam, Karan Singh, T. A. Pai and Brahmananda Reddy in the Cabinet. The statement by Stephen was an indication of her disapproval.

All this was godsend to Babu Jagjivan Ram, who smirked happily at newsmen at his residence and proclaimed quite confidently that the new Government "would not last". He also announced a new "flexible" policy which the Janata Party would now pursue, particularly in the States where they were being threatened by the Janata (S). Plans were already afoot behind the scenes to combine with the Congress (I) in Bihar to save the Ram Sunder Das Ministry, and although Babuji did not indicate specific hobnobbing with the Indira Congress, Satyendra Narain Sinha had been already sent by him to hold negotiations with the Congress (I) in Bihar to stop Karpoori Thakur.

By the next day, Operation Topple had started in full swing. Babuji met Bhisam Narain Singh, an emissary of Mrs Gandhi and discussed possibilities of pulling down the three-day-old Government. There the fate of an immediate comeback by Karpoori Thakur in Bihar was sealed. Singh told Babuji that Mrs Gandhi was anxious that the Janata Ministry remain in power in Bihar. Babuji said that he was only too happy to accept Mrs Gandhi's support. The Bihar talks proved smooth sailing since there it became quite clearly a forward-Harijan alliance against the backwards. But negotiations about a combination at the Centre proved trickier, with Mrs Gandhi's emissary saying that Mrs Gandhi was insistent on two things—the immediate stop to the "persecution of her and her family" and a resolution of the dual membership of the Jana Sangh constituent of the Janata Party. Though he was not ready to give an immediate assurance, Babuji made two important gestures the same day.

In his broadcast to the nation, Babuji left out any mention of "authoritarianism" although only a few days back he was accusing the Chaudhury camp of allying with authoritarian forces. And secondly, he got the national executive of the Janata Party to pass a resolution seeking to amend the Party Constitution by which no member of the organisation having faith in a theocratic state could be a member of the Janata Party. Taking full advantage of the current demoralisation of the Jana Sangh group in the Janata Party, Babuji sought to give a new "flexible" look to the Party against whom the main charge so far has been that it was communal. He knew that the Jana Sangh at present was too weak to protest against any humiliation.

By the next day, Operation Topple was almost proclaimed publicly by Babuji. He openly met C. M. Stephen and held negotiations with him for



Mandira Pure

45 minutes, ostensibly to agree on a joint candidate for Vice-President. But the rare gesture by Babuji when he came out to see Stephen off in his car was quite evidently an indication that far more than the Vice-President's post had been discussed. Babuji also talked to Mrs Gandhi on the phone that night and thanked her for supporting the Ram Sunder Das Ministry in Bihar. A meeting between the two was also on the cards, but it was postponed because both leaders felt that it would be premature to show their hand at the moment.

Babuji also started a series of meetings with various leaders of different Parties. Suddenly galvanized into action, Babuji was seen regularly at the Central Hall of Parliament and at his parliamentary office talking to various Members of Parliament. He met and sought support from the Akalis. He later met Bala Pijore of AIADMK and also negotiated with a Congress (S) delegation led by Ambika Soni. Babuji also met members of the Janata (S) who were dissatisfied at being left out from the ministerial lists. One such person was the Adivasi MP from Bihar, Bagun Sumbrui who told Babuji that he was ready to re-defect if he was made Minister. Sumbrui had already threatened Raj Narain that he would go to the other camp if he was not made Minister to represent the tribals of the country. Jagjivan Ram also reportedly met some socialists close to George Fer-

nandes who were angry at Raj Narain's attitude.

By Wednesday morning, Operation Topple had become an organised affair. Babuji appointed a war council consisting of Dinesh Singh, Surendra Mohan, D. N. Tiwari, Arjun Singh Bhadoria and Era Seziyan to supervise the toppling operations. Under this council were 14 Janata MPs, each of whom was assigned to get the support of five MPs. Backing this plan were the purse strings of almost all the leading industrialists in the country. Some of these industrialists were, however, playing a double game. For instance, Sitaram Jaipuria and P. C. Poddar were seen both at Babuji's place as well as at Raj Narain's.

There were, however, some serious obstacles to Babuji's Operation Topple. Mrs Gandhi, although agreeable to limited alliances as in Bihar, was chary of actually committing herself wholly to the toppling game. "She is playing for time. It's not that she is not ready to gamble but she must first weigh all the pros and cons in the game," said a senior Congress (I) leader close to Mrs Gandhi. According to him, Mrs Gandhi is indeed enraged at the first deeds and words of the Chaudhury Government. For one thing, the Chaudhury has definitely cold-shouldered Mrs Gandhi right from the day he was invited to be Prime Minister. He was short with her on the phone when she rang up to congratulate him, and then kept her waiting for two hours in

the evening with a garland but never turned up. Later, the new Council of Ministers was formed with a number of persons including Justice Khanna, which she considered a "deliberate provocation" to her. Embassies sent by her to the various leaders of the new Government to make some gesture against the special courts have also been firmly turned down.

But in spite of all this, Mrs Gandhi is reportedly suspicious of an alliance with Jagjivan Ram at the Centre. In Bihar she had joined him with two definite purposes in mind. The first was to stop Karpoori Thakur coming back as Chief Minister and consolidating the backwards who would in a midterm poll be her main electoral enemy. Secondly, it served as an open threat to Charan Singh that if he did not behave, she was the one who held the trump card. "Her negotiations with Babu Jagjivan Ram are to first tell Charan Singh indirectly that she would not be cowed down and secondly to keep her options open. If Charan Singh behaves, she will continue her support. But if he insists on being antagonistic to her she can well go over to Jagjivan Ram. She is not a fool that she will give Charan Singh a stick to beat her with", the Congress (I) leader told us.

The second obstacle to Babuji's toppling plans comes from his Party itself. In any alliance with Mrs Gandhi, Babuji would have to dilute the composition of the Jana Sangh constituent of his Party. The Jana Sangh is already highly suspicious of the negotiations by Babuji with Mrs Gandhi. Humiliated considerably already, the Jana Sangh fears that it will lose its identity completely if it allows itself to be browbeaten at its present demoralised stage. The other constituent which is not happy with the toppling game with the help of Mrs Gandhi is a section of the Congress (O) close to Morarji. This section is already antagonistic to Babuji because of the humiliation he caused Morarji. An alliance with Mrs Gandhi might snap the last links of this group with the Janata Party. As a Congress (O) leader said, "If these people ally with Mrs Gandhi, what harm is there if we join the Janata (S)? They did not do any worse". It is this very group which a number of leaders of the Chaudhury camp are trying desperately to wean away to their side. H. N. Bahuguna, Madhu Limaye and Biju Patnaik are, from morning to night, trying to persuade these MPs to join their side. Madhu Limaye as well as Biju Patnaik have met Morarji and tried to get his support in this effort. The plan is reportedly to get about 20 Congress MPs, plus 10 socialist MPs of the Surendra Mohan camp and then take an open stand against Mrs Gandhi. They will then approach the Left group led by CPM and do without Mrs Gandhi's support with the help of the AIADMK and Akalis and Independents. This could be probably the biggest obstacle to Babuji's Operation Topple.

SUNDAY
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Is Babuji selling out ?

We will know the answer by the end of August

By KEWAL VARMA

EVEN while Chaudhury Charan Singh was taking his oath, Mrs Gandhi was flirting with his arch rival, Babu Jagjivan Ram. Bhisam Narain Singh was assuring Babuji that the Janata Government in Bihar was safe. She did not lay down any conditions, as indeed she had not laid down any conditions with the Chaudhury: she left it to the other side to accept the logic of her support. But where the Chaudhury soon began refusing to pay the price for her support after getting the goods, Babu Jagjivan Ram seemed much more receptive to her logic. He provided Mrs Gandhi with a face-saving rationale. Babuji's capacity to bend over backwards is far greater than the Chaudhury's. The new PM has till date refused to see Mrs Gandhi; Babuji without batting an eyelid, told newsmen that he would meet Mrs Gandhi. While the Janata (S) leaders continued to make noises about authoritarianism, Babuji immediately stopped talking about this. In his broadcast to the nation as leader of the Opposition, Babuji attacked the Chaudhury Government for everything under the sun except for seeking the support of authoritarian forces.

Simultaneously, Babuji got the national executive of the Janata Party to pass a namby pamby resolution on dual membership, sufficiently disguised to confuse everybody cleverly worded to keep the RSS members within the fold. The resolution said that anyone believing in either a Hindu or a Muslim state would not be allowed to be a member of the Janata. What hypocrisy! To begin with, anyone trying to make India a Muslim state should be sent to a lunatic asylum. And the RSS people were quick to spot the flaw and stress that they continued as members of the Janata, when they pointed out that they believed in a Hindu rashtra, not a Hindu state. We are sure that Mr Chandrashekhar and Mr Surendra Mohan understand the difference between a Hindu state and a Hindu rashtra, nobody else does.

Mr Chandrashekhar has also stopped finding authoritarianism an anathema. He asked what was wrong in accepting Mrs Gandhi's support for Bhajan Lal's Ministry in Haryana. On the other hand, the Janata (S) not only remembered that Mrs Gandhi's support was "unconditional" but immediately appointed known antagonists of Mrs Gandhi Ministers. Mrs Gandhi obviously did not like the idea of being taken so literally. However, the Janata (S) was surely building castles in the air when it began thinking that it could survive without Mrs Gandhi's support. They are counting on the solid support of

the 42-member Left Front. Now that the AIADMK and the Akalis have thrown their weight behind the Chaudhury, it must give him some peace, but even that is not sufficient. Further defections from the Janata are a must. However, Jagjivan Ram has taken the initiative in the war of nerves. Not merely have further defections been stopped (at least at the moment), but the Jana Sangh has been forced to swallow the bitter pill of Babuji's opportunism in the hope of coming back to power.

But, if the Chaudhury Government is defeated on the floor, the President may have no other option but to give Babuji a chance, since the Chaudhury's advice to dissolve Parliament will not be binding on him. The question therefore is: will Mrs Gandhi give Babuji a chance to become Prime Minister? Of course she is angry now with the Chau

ment during the elections, Mrs Gandhi could take political banwas. Would it be in Mrs Gandhi's interests to give Babuji the chance to seize the political initiative?

On the other hand, Mrs Gandhi is being told that the Chaudhury is a lousy administrator, and that, politically, he is so parochial that it will be impossible for him to expand his base further than what he already has. In any case, Mrs Gandhi has little chance of getting the backward vote, so she might as well write it off and concentrate on the other votes. Moreover, the Janata, without another opportunity of coming to power under Babuji, will be hampered by the memories of its best effort at government. Even with the help of the RSS cadre it can hardly hope to more than nibble urban support of Mrs Gandhi, and not do much damage to the upper caste support which Mrs Gandhi now commands in the villages.

Surely the fact that Mrs Gandhi



dhury, but will that anger be demonstrated in Parliament?

Mrs Gandhi instinctively wants the support of all sections of society, but her bank is the harijan and the Muslim vote. She can count on the urban vote today, after the mess that the previous Government has made. And the upper castes in the villages are also with her. But with Jagjivan Ram as PM, he is bound to make a dent into the harijan vote. Moreover, he is a national figure, and is well liked by the cities. If he can provide a reasonably good Government, of which he is certainly capable, then he can wean away some of the urban vote to his side. He also hopes to blunt the hostility of Muslims by confusing the issue of dual membership, but his chances of success here are remote as long as the Jana Sangh remains with him. One Congress (I) leader even went to the extent of saying that if Babuji became PM, even for a short while, and if he led a caretaker Govern-

ment support to the RSS in Bihar and Haryana will work against her as far as the Muslims go: though the harijans will be pleased that she has retained harijan Chief Ministers. Why has Mrs Gandhi done this? The most charitable explanation is that it is a calculated risk, a pressure tactic to browbeat the Chaudhury. She cannot afford to carry this experiment to the Centre. That is not in her interest. And now is the time for the Janata (S) to show nerves of steel. Because if they run to bargain with her, she will have achieved what she set out to do, and the Chaudhury will have further lost his credibility, which he has regained to an extent by his recent decisions. The Janata (S) will have to pay a price to Mrs Gandhi. The ruling Party must also reconcile itself to accepting that its Government will be a shortlived one, and the result of the coming electoral battle will depend on how imaginatively it can use the brief life given to it.

By BARUN SENGUPTA

Mrs Gandhi's Strategy

There is a short-term plan, and a long-term plan. And the two meet around midterm election time.



Mrs. Gandhi on her way to the Congress (I) Parliamentary Committee meeting in Parliament House. This is an exclusive picture

THE big gainer during the last few weeks has been, to all appearances, Mrs Gandhi. She cannot but gain from the fall of the Morarji Desai Government, and the disintegration of the Janata Party has increased her political manoeuvrability enormously. Where she had been shunted off into a corner before, she now suddenly finds herself if not at centre stage, then at least very near it. She had certainly come out of the wings, and is back at a game she knows well enough: manipulating power politics. Moreover, the virtual isolation of the former Jana Sangh and its mentor, the RSS, which is the most organised if not necessarily the most powerful anti-Mrs Gandhi force in the Hindi-speaking areas, has made her task much easier. She can now fight her political battle to capture Delhi with more confidence.

Whatever the present advisers of Chaudhury Charan Singh may feel, it will be impossible for any Government born out of this Lok Sabha, in its present confusion, to pursue the cases against Mrs Gandhi with full strength and vigour. This is not necessarily a reflection of a lack of political will. But, after all, the cases will be handled by officers, and if they become convinced that Mrs Gandhi has any chance of coming back to power, they are not going to lay their heads on some future chopping block. Even the Morarji Desai Government, which had a stable and a comfortable majority, was not able to do much in the cases. There were lapses. There was a lack of resolution on the part of officers. Sometimes, even the Ministers tumbled and faltered. Some of the officers clearly showed that they were afraid, or perhaps some other consideration slowed them down. Now, in the completely changed circumstances, even if Charan Singh today, or Babu Jagjivan Ram tomorrow, wants to pursue the cases, they will not be able to create the atmosphere in which officers can

work with confidence and sincerity. Already the whispers of her return are travelling through the corridors of power.

Mrs Gandhi has also achieved her first ambition, an ambition she has been pursuing ever since she returned to active politics in the third quarter of 1977 after the initial depression of defeat had worn off: the break-up of the Janata Party. It is now split, with the Jana Sangh, Congress (G), PSP and the Babuji and Chandrashekhar Congressmen on one side, and the BLD, Bahuguna's CFD and SSP on the other. Both are claiming to be the real Janata Party, but the claim is meaningless. The important point is that the votes that this coalition received in March and June 1977, and in the subsequent by-elections, are now split. Moreover they could tend to split the anti-Congress (I) vote between themselves, thus helping Mrs Gandhi.

Her third big gain is psychological. She has lost her 'untouchability'. Before, all the factions in the Janata, and all the political Parties outside, were unanimous in avoiding her like the plague, no matter how much they might squabble among themselves. Even the bitter Congress (S) leaders have stopped issuing lengthy statements against her. The CPI is once again publicly soft towards her. Even the adamant CPI (M) is not unwilling to arrange some secret compromises with her. And of course both the wings of the Janata have negotiated with her by now. Indeed, the people who have become 'untouchable' are her strongest enemies, the Jana Sangh-RSS lobby. Of course, the only people that this lobby has to blame for this state of affairs are themselves.

Most Congress (I) leaders would like to give the impression that they had no hand in the downfall of the Morarji Government, and that this Government fell because of inherent contradictions that existed even when this coalition was formed in 1977. This argument suits the Congress (I) best, but it is simply not

true. The Congress (I) is arguing in this fashion only to spread the impression that only an unified Party under Mrs Gandhi can provide a stable Government, and all coalitions must be treated with suspicion by the people. If the Charan Singh Ministry also collapses, this will only help the Congress (I) to carry this argument further. And if the next Government, possibly headed by Babu Jagjivan Ram, also meets the fate of its two predecessors, then this argument will be only more strengthened. Mrs Gandhi can then go to the people and present herself as the only saviour, the only person who can rescue the country from the mismanagement by discredited coalitions. She could make stability and strong leadership her main issue in her campaigning. Therefore, it is easy to see what she would like to do now that she has helped make Chaudhury Charan Singh Prime Minister. She would like to bring him down, as soon as possible. And then she would prop up a Jagjivan Ram Government, with similar offers of support. And she would pull that one down too, with equal speed.

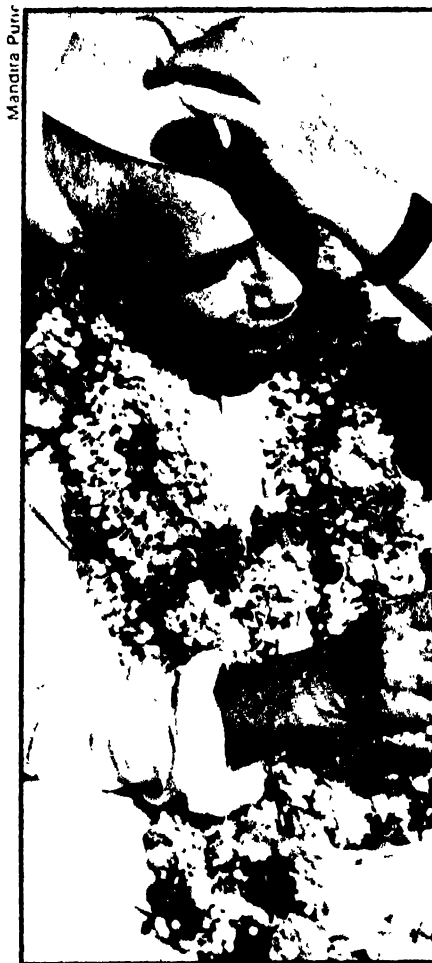
So, what is the truth behind recent events? Did Mrs Gandhi and her men have any hand in the downfall of the Morarji Government or not? Yes, they did. True, Mrs Gandhi could not have done it single-handedly. Willy nilly, a large number of Janata leaders helped her to an enormous extent. Nevertheless, despite the tremendous odds against her, she played a masterly role in bringing down Morarji. First, came the public campaign. In her speeches, she started playing up the Jana Sangh danger and the atrocities against harijans...both provocative issues, and either could have caught the imagination of the people, and swung the MPs. If, for instance, harijans had become the big issue, Babu Jagjivan Ram could have used it to lead the revolt against Morarji instead of Raj Narain doing so on the communalism issue. In any case, foolishly enough, the Jana Sangh-

RSS leadership threw caution to the winds. They began to use the power of Government to build up their organisations and their base at a furious pace. They started misusing the state machinery. First, they did this under the protection of the Chaudhury, and they felt that this alliance would remain secure till 1982. But the Chaudhury realised their game soon enough. Then they went to Morarji Desai's side. But they had underestimated the Chaudhury, who was as keen to become PM as to see some of his supporters Chief Ministers in the States. But the Jana Sangh-RSS calculation was that if they destabilised Morarji the Janata Government would fall, but if they antagonised the Chaudhury it would lead to no serious consequence. At best the Chaudhury's men would be a minor nuisance. They even went to the extent of convincing themselves that a public snub to one of Chaudhury's closest camp-followers would not matter; would, in fact, bring the Chaudhury to his senses. So they insulted Raj Narain. They, and senior leaders of the Janata Party like Chandrashekhar and self-appointed theorist Surendra Mohan, were banking on the conviction that the Chaudhury would not be able to join hands with Mrs Gandhi, and therefore could never be a credible threat to the Desai Government.

But where they had miscalculated, Mrs Gandhi had not. As soon as the initial feelers came from the Chaudhury's camp, immediate contacts were established. Charan Singh was given a firm understanding that if he came out of the Janata Party Mrs Gandhi would help him to become Prime Minister of the country. (Mrs Gandhi is playing precisely the same game with Babu Jagjivan Ram now). Meanwhile, Raj Narain intensified his already strong campaign against the RSS, so that other forces within the Janata could be organised on this ideological plank: it would not have been possible to overthrow Morarji unless some ideological issue was made the main hammer against his Government.

Circumstances helped. Communal riots in one State after another made it easier to whip up anti-RSS sentiments. The RSS group arrogantly believed that as long as Morarji was PM nothing could touch them, so they completely ignored this threat. Instead of publicly pulling up RSS men like Navman and Dinanath Pandey, the RSS leadership encouraged them by its silence.

In the meanwhile, some other forces also had begun working with the object of removing the Desai Government. The Socialist Mr Madhu Limaye, for instance. The CPI and the "progressive" leaders of the Congress(S) were also quite keen to see Desai go. They began working on the idea of forming a Left and democratic alliance, and began gathering MPs from Left Parties and from the non-communal sections of other Parties. This combination played a decisive role in the crucial days: the



CPI(M) in deciding to vote for the no-confidence motion and the CPI and PWP by declaring support for the Chaudhury. But of course the balance was finally tilted by Mrs Gandhi. Her assurance to the President that she would support a Chaudhury Government won Chaudhury's battle. The most interesting aspect was that the negotiations had been handled by Sanjay and Mrs Gandhi directly.

Mrs Gandhi's future strategy will be conditioned by a simple conviction: she cannot afford to give this alliance under Charan Singh a long life. If this alignment lasts till the next elections, it will be distinctly harmful to her. She would like to break it at the earliest opportunity. Indeed, if the Chaudhury Government lasts, it could easily make a dent into the Congress(I) sphere of influence.

Devaraj Urs has already initiated a move to bring all the pre-split Congressmen (that is, the 1969 split) together—which means including Chaudhury Charan Singh. If this materialises, some Congress(O) MPs might be tempted to join this alliance. And then both in the South and in the North this Congress Party would become a formidable force. The stumbling block in this idea is the presence of the old Lohia socialists in the BLD. Although Raj Narain is one of them, they may not agree with Raj Narain that the Con-

gress idea is a good one. And if the name were to undergo a change some Congress(S) people might not like that.

But even if they cannot come under one flag, the Charan Singh-Bahuguna-Muslim Majlis combination would take away a big chunk of the Muslim vote from Mrs Gandhi in the Hindi-speaking States. At the same time, the leadership of Babuji would make a difference to the Harijan vote: he could cut into Mrs Gandhi's Harijan vote. And with such depletion into her basic following, where would Mrs Gandhi be? So, before the next elections, Mrs Gandhi will try to break not only the Charan Singh Government, but also a Babu Jagjivan Ram Government. To get an absolute majority in the next House, Mrs Gandhi will need both the Muslim and the Harijan vote.

Against the present Government. Mrs Gandhi has a trump card: Babu Jagjivan Ram. Just as it was the Chaudhury's lifelong ambition to be PM, so is it Babuji's lifelong ambition to be PM. For an intelligent politician it is not difficult to woo such a man. The reports in the daily papers every day give more instances of such wooing, both at the Centre and in the States (Bihar and Haryana, for instance, where the Janata Government is even considering dropping the cases against Devi Lal). Moreover, the other Janata leaders, in their determination to bring down the Charan Singh Government, will overlook the compromises made by Babuji.

Under these circumstances, it is not difficult for Mrs Gandhi to play one against the other—to her personal advantage. Further, hers is the only political Party which is prepared to face the electorate, with the conviction that it can only improve its standing in the Lok Sabha. But her opponents are also not novices. Their endeavour will be to use her and outwit her. Ultimately, it will all depend on who can play a shrewder game.

As we go to press, we have learnt of the Congress (I)'s latest terms for settlement with either group: that is, the two contestants for power — Chaudhury Charan Singh and Babu Jagjivan Ram. Mrs Gandhi has told Chaudhury Charan Singh that if he does not drop her bitter critics T. A. Pai and Dr Karan Singh from his Cabinet, and withdraw all the "vindictive" cases against Mrs Gandhi and Sanjay before August 27, the Congress (I) will vote against the Chaudhury Government on the floor of the house, and presumably topple it.

On the other hand, Babu Jagjivan Ram has been clearly told that the Congress (I) is not supporting the Charan Singh Ministry any more and that Mrs Gandhi and her Party would like to help him if he attempts to form an alternative Government.

The Bihari wedding

Two strange partners, the Janata and the Congress (I), joined hands in the land of JP and the Bihar Movement

By S. P. SAGAR

IT WAS a bright sunny day at the Brajkishore Memorial Hall in Patna on June 23, 1977. The Janata legislators had met to elect their leader 'unanimously'. The air was already thick with excitement, tension, hatred and political vendetta. The contenders were Mr Satyendra Narain Sinha, then the Party chief of Bihar, and Mr Karpoori Thakur: a fight between a Rajput leader and a barber's son; between the upper and the intermediate castes. And there was, accordingly, a spontaneous polarisation in the Legislature Party.

The arbiter of the day was Mr Nanaji Deshmukh. The backdrop was of a covert alliance between the Jana Sangh and the BLD. The elections were open; Mr Sinha lost, and his supporters immediately attributed the defeat to an "unfair election". The Rajputs have since then been waiting for vengeance.

Neither did Mr Thakur forgive his upper caste opponents when he came to power. In any case, his political effort was to consolidate the backwards behind him. The Government and the organization drifted in opposite directions. The Government brought in a job reservation policy for 128 backward castes (including some Muslim groups) and the upper castes saw in it direct humiliation.

On April 19, this year, the upper castes took their revenge when Mr Karpoori Thakur was dethroned and a Harijan socialist, Mr Ram Sundar Das was installed in his place. He was a Harijan, true, but in essence a nominee of the upper castes—Mr S. N. Sinha (Rajput), Mr Ramanand Tiwary (brahmin) and Mr Basawan Singh (bhumihaar). Now it was the turn of Mr Karpoori Thakur and his following to retaliate. Mr S. N. Sinha had been forced to tolerate Karpoori Thakur for 22 months. Mr Thakur got his first opportunity in three months. As soon as he resigned, he began a campaign. He collected signatures. He whipped up sentiments in the villages. The new Government again became a hotbed of intrigues. It just could not function. Every legislator who had supported Mr Das wanted a reward for his service, a ministerial berth. The result was dissatisfaction and bickerings.

Thakur's adversaries were primarily the Jana Sangh, which had betrayed him, and the Congress(O),



Karpoori Thakur

whose upper caste base had dislodged him. He therefore asked for help from the Congress(S) whose Mr Ramlakhan Singh Yadav was a member of his caste fraternity, and whose Mr Abdul Ghafoor was fighting communalists. In a toppling game even the Congress(I) would participate and the CPI, CPI(M), Forward Bloc and smaller Parties would help. A perfect arrangement.

The Congress(I) had reasons to be angry with Ram Sundar Das. Mr Sanjay Gandhi had been arrested in Patna on July 10 and was packed off to Delhi unceremoniously. Mr Das had accused the Congress(I) of having conspired to create communal riots in Jamshedpur. Preparations were made to settle scores on the floor of the house. But there was a snag. The budget had to be passed by July 31, or else there would be President's rule. An alternative was a no confidence motion which would be tabled on the budget day so that a discussion must follow. The fear was that if they waited for the budget to be passed, clever ministerialists would adjourn the Assembly sine die.

On July 26, a no confidence motion was tabled. But the trick was foiled. The Government threatened "not to cooperate with other business" unless the no confidence was put to vote first. This meant the budget would come later and the danger of a President's rule would hang in the mind of legislators. The topplers were outwitted in the first round but did not lose heart. The same day, Mr Charan Singh was invited to form a Government. That evening Mr Thakur launched his Janata(S)

in Bihar and handed a list of supporters to the Speaker. It was 78 in the first instalment and, with Janata(S) forming a Government at the Centre, who knew, it could easily swell.

But the first to become alarmed was the Congress(I). The Delhi crisis resulted in a meeting between the State Congress(I) leaders and Mrs Gandhi. She is said to have told them: "Our rivals in the next elections in the north would be Janata (S). We have to see that the Party remains out of power in as many States as possible". Moreover, Thakur's Government would be of the backwards again. And the bramhins would not forgive the Congress(I) leaders, nor the Rajputs the Congress(O) leaders if this happened. Worse, this time it was going to be a combination of two diehards—Karpoori Thakur and Ramlakhan Singh Yadav. They must rescue the Das Ministry.

The pretexts were there. The toppling would result in instability, the Congress(I) said. The new leader would be Mr Karpoori Thakur, the "caste monster". And lastly, Das had received in his pocket the resignations of all the Ministers, including Jana Sangh Ministers. It was quite likely that he would drop them. Plus, Das was a Harijan. Mrs Gandhi was in constant touch with the state leaders, and was watching with amusement as the two sides began bargaining and squabbling for her support.

The State Janata chief S. N. Sinha decided to call on Mrs Gandhi in Delhi: he was meeting her after ten years. It was not a courtesy call. "Agreed, the Das Ministry is bad. But that should be our concern; to you, to the Congress(I), it is beneficial," he argued. And then he explained how the backwards' politics of Mr Thakur would harm both of them. Mrs Gandhi nodded, and in a second meeting, gave positive assurance of her support to him. She was already annoyed at Mr Charan Singh's choice of Ministers and C. M. Stephen had said, "our commitment is over". Mr Jagjivan Ram had become the JPP leader, and new avenues were being explored for Janata—Congress(I) cooperation. The beginning, it was felt, should be made in Bihar.

On July 30, the day the motion was put to vote, the Congress(I) declared it would oppose the no confidence motion it had brought in, and voted for the Government. Two members defied the whip, one leaving the Congress(I) the same day. Das survived. His followers were delighted. Which politician is bothered about insults or betrayal?

Thus were happily wed two strange partners: the communalist Janata and the authoritarian Congress(I). And this first such marriage in the country took place in the land of Jayaprakash Narayan, in the heartland of Janata, in the land of the Bihar Movement, and in the State which had first given the call to fight dictatorship. Two and a half years later, the democrats were lolling in the laps of the dictators. ■

The RSS: Janata's confused double talk

This sort of thing happens when you are not telling the truth, the full truth and nothing but the truth.

By M. J. AKBAR

IT is, actually, quite rare to find an exact parallel to a proverb, but Janata Party President Chandrashekhar has provided us with an instance. One day after the Charan Singh Government was sworn in, he abolished dual membership; a little earlier, he had told the world that all those who believed in a theocratic state would not be allowed to be members of the Janata Party. If ever there was a case of closing the door after the horse had well and truly bolted, this was it.

It is not hard to understand what motivated this decision by Mr Chandrashekhar. After prevaricating all through the days when the Party was being split on this issue, after he and his friends had repeatedly called the RSS a non-issue, and defended the alliance with the RSS and the Jana Sangh on the grounds of political morality, what was the reason for this sudden burst of RSS baiting by Messrs Chandrashekhar, Surendra Mohan and company? Surely it couldn't be their conscience, or whatever is left of their conscience after the massive attacks it has suffered from power politics. For instance, their conscience has not been evident during the negotiations which their leader, Babu Jagjivan Ram, has carried on with Mrs Gandhi through her emissaries. Two days before Chaudhury Charan Singh was given the letter asking him to form a government, a powerful media campaign was launched by these gentlemen, in collaboration with the RSS, accusing the Chaudhury of selling out to the authoritarian forces, as represented by Mrs Indira Gandhi. Such was the intensity and seeming integrity of this campaign that it almost worked, and the Chaudhury camp leaders had to use all their pressure to prevent any relapse. The Chaudhury's Cabinet and personal attitude exposed these attacks. He packed known anti-Mrs Gandhi leaders into his Cabinet, rounding it off by making Justice Khanna, the only member of the Supreme Court who gave a dissenting judgment in her case during the Emergency, the Law Minister. One has not heard much about the dangers of authoritarianism from these gentlemen ever since their leader, Babu Jagjivan Ram, has begun negotiating with Mrs Gandhi to remove the Chaudhury. When the Janata took sup-

port from Mrs Gandhi in Bihar, was it conditional or unconditional?

In any case, the hollowness of the decision by the top Janata leadership to enforce the ban on dual membership was underlined by the total absence of positive reaction to it. No one, for instance, found Mr L. K. Advani or Mr Nanaji Deshmukh very worried on Sunday, July 29, when the Janata decision was taken. Both have proclaimed their love for and loyalty towards the RSS more than once. They answered the decision of the Janata leadership by simply ignoring it: there could be no bigger insult to Mr Chandrashekhar, nor any better indication of its impotence, than it hardly created a ripple.

At least the response the next day of Jagannath Rao Joshi and Jagdish Prasad Mathur, both Janata MPs of RSS vintage, was more honest. In a statement they said very clearly



Chandrashekhar

"Many members of the erstwhile Jana Sangh who have been associated with the RSS continue to do so". This was as direct a denial as possible to Chandrashekhar's statement the previous day in which he had said: "The RSS and the Janata Party now stand delinked". Enough cause for disciplinary action out there, it seems. But while a large number of mice may ring the bell furiously while the cat is away, who is going to actually bell the cat?

Nobody. As soon as the Press began to query Mr Ramkrishna Hegde and Mr Jagjivan Ram on the implications of the July 29 decision of the Janata's national executive, they either became evasive or used contorted logic to explain what they meant. Either way they were exposed. Jagjivan Ram gave the game away when he said that there was no specific reference to the RSS in the amendment. So what was the

whole exercise about, then? If the the RSS is not communal, who is communal? Raj Narain? The Congress Party? Or is the amendment aimed at barring communists from the Janata?

But the exercise did have a purpose, a purpose which had nothing to do with fighting the cancer of communalism in the country. Now that the Janata leadership has begun weaving together the strands that will form a new Government, it has to do three things. First, it must bring down the Charan Singh Government on the floor of the House. The easiest way to do that is to persuade Mrs Gandhi to withdraw her support: and at the moment of writing, the indications are that this deal has gone through (naturally, nothing is certain in the game of betrayal called politics). But Jagjivan Ram's effort will be to form a Government without Mrs Gandhi's help, and with around 200 Janata MPs still in the Party he can organise that with the help of some defections. But before he can organise defections, he has to prevent defections from the Janata into the Janata (S).

There remains a strong lobby within the Janata which, while it does not mind coexistence with the Jana Sangh, is embarrassed at the RSS connection: it would prefer this love affair to remain private rather than be scrutinised under the glare of public attention, watching both the amorous housebuilding and the occasional lovers' quarrels. They need a face-saving device: what better device than the amendment which had been lying on the agenda, literally for years, an amendment which, if passed earlier would certainly have prevented people like Fernandes and Bahuguna from resigning from the Party. And the way to stop the Jana Sangh and RSS MPs from leaving the Party after this amendment would be equally simple: just stop calling the RSS a communal organisation. Brilliant.

Lastly, where were the defections to come from? Under Babuji's leadership, MPs from the Congress (S) could be expected to join. But they would not join until the amendment had been passed. QED.

The Janata Party has been too clever by about three-quarters. And that, in the murky twilight of this Parliament's life, gives it a good chance of success. ■

Fallout from Afghanistan

Afghan students protest

THE dust has barely had time to settle after the last demonstration by Iranian students and now the Afghan students have taken to the streets of Delhi to protest. Angry shouts of "CIA, Shah and American Imperialism Murdabad" have been replaced by equally angry shouts of "Tarakki Amin and Russian Imperialism Murdabad."

Of the approximately 500 Afghan students in India, nearly half of them collected in New Delhi on July 5, to protest outside the Afghanistan Embassy. They were supposed to go on to the Soviet Embassy but could not due to prohibitory orders being imposed. At a Press conference on the eve of the protest, students complained of harassment by their embassy and in particular by a First Secretary called Syed Bahauddin. They alleged that when they went to the embassy for routine work

they were invariably sent to Mr Bahauddin who would tell them that he had tapes to prove that they were disloyal to the Tarakki regime. Their families in Afghanistan would be in trouble unless they agreed to become members of the Khalq Party.

A student from the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, said that he and a few students had gone to the embassy on June 23. They were sent to Mr Bahauddin with whom they had an altercation. He then sent for the police and had them locked up for 24 hours on charges of man-handling and trespass.

Other students said that the embassy was threatening to cancel passports, scholarships and visas as another means of harassment. They also alleged that they were being spied on and followed by Embassy staff.

The students who are in the vanguard of the movement against the Tarakki regime are mostly members of the Jamiat-e-Islami. They claim that about 90 per cent of the people

of Afghanistan are anti-Tarakki for ideological reasons and it is Islam versus Marxism.

They get most of their news from a newsletter published in Pakistan by the Jamiat-e-Islami called *Mujahid* (Struggle—the word comes from jihad meaning holy war). The newsletter contains pictures of Russian planes shot down by the rebels. There are pictures of Russian weapons and tanks captured by them.

The Pakistan Ambassador, Mr Abdul Sattar, said in New Delhi recently that there were around 100,000 Afghan refugees now in Pakistan. Student sources claim that there are about 120,000 of a total population of around 18 million. The refugees include large numbers of women and children as well as the three main leaders of the rebels who have based themselves in Peshawar—they are Burhan-ud-din Rabbani, who represents 30,000 members of the Jamiat-e-Islami, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar and Sabghatullah Mujadidi. Copies of *Mujahid* also had pictures of the rebel commander-in-chief, Ghazi who is said to have been a Colonel during the Daoud regime. There were other pictures too, — of the tribal leader, Obaidullah, who was governor of Nooristan and Kunar provinces for nearly six months till they were recaptured by the Afghan army.

According to a student who was in Afghanistan, a few months ago, as many as 17 provinces are against the Tarakki regime, which is in control only in urban areas. He said that even in urban areas there was very little real support for Tarakki because he was considered 'Puppet of the Russians'. Student sources also claim that the rebels receive their weapons from Afghan Army soldiers who are also supporting them. Pakistan has given help to the refugees by providing food and shelter. Financial and other help is being received from other sources.

In the mean time, Afghan students in foreign countries are coming together in the name of various associations and intend to continue the struggle by providing information through the publication of newsletters and by protesting against what is happening in their country. The Delhi protest was also against the alleged massacre of over 150 people in the streets of Kabul. Students claim that the Russians are indiscriminately bombing villages where there is any suspicion of rebel activity. In Delhi an Association of Islamic and Patriotic Afghan Students has recently been formed which hopes to eventually involve all Afghan students in India in its activities.

TANIA SHAH, New Delhi

Afghan students demonstrating in Delhi



Dinesh Kumar

Sheikh's servant helps himself

UMMER'S young wife and ageing parents are in tears to find him in jail awaiting trial for stealing valuables worth approximately Rs 48 lakhs. Ummer's incredible act has brought shame and disgrace to all the Keralites in personal employ in the Gulf countries; they feel that their good name has been tarnished permanently. For the Sheikh, Zuroor Bin Moham med Al-Nahyan of Abu Dhabi, the theft came as a rude shock: Ummer had been his most trusted attendant for more than ten years. The good-intentioned Sheikh trusted Ummer with a duplicate set of keys to his suite and the strong-room where his precious collection of jewellery and rare coins was kept. But the blue-eyed boy turned out to be a 'namak haram'.

When Ummer smuggled his way in to Abu Dhabi some 10 years ago to make a living, little did he realise that he would be employed in the palace of a Sheikh. The handsome youth began as a cook and later became a senior waiter. The Sheikh took a personal liking for the young Muslim from India and made him his private atten-

dant with an annual salary of Rs 5,200. Naturally, he became an object of envy for all Arabs in the royal palace. How could their master trust a young man from a distant land? To some, it seemed quite mysterious. However, ten years of loyal service silenced all his critics.

Among the Sheikh's collection of jewels was a very costly necklace studded with emerald and diamond and valued at Rs. 4,50,000. He had purchased the gift in London for his would-be bride whom he was to marry when she came of age. As soon as the Sheikh left for Europe on June 19, Ummer began to contemplate seriously about get-rich-quick schemes. He collected all that he wanted from the Sheikh's treasure chest, including the expensive necklace, and flew out of Abu Dhabi. On June 22, he landed at Bombay, from where he flew into Cochin with his stolen possessions.

Ummer's sudden disappearance raised an alarm and the theft was detected sooner than Ummer had thought. The Sheikh instructed

one of the palace officials to rush to India. Khalil Radi, the Sheikh's emissary, landed at Bombay and contacted the UAE Consul-General who immediately got in touch with the Kerala Government Chief Secretary, Mr G. Bhaskaran Nair. A complaint was filed with Trichur police on behalf of the Sheikh. On June 29, Ummer, along with the stolen possessions, was tracked down in his village home. They recovered several articles, including the diamond and emerald studded necklace, some US Dollar notes, five gold coins and a Rolex wrist-watch. As the United Arab Emirates do not have an extradition treaty with the Indian Government, Ummer is being kept in judicial custody in Kerala and the recovered articles have been deposited in the State Treasury. It is not known when he will be tried. The State Government has expressed its readiness to return the recovered articles to the Sheikh in consultation with the Reserve Bank of India and the Ministry of Finance.

G. S. KARTHA, Trivandrum

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Pakistan's bomb behind purdah

Foreigners will not peep in, please!

IN Pakistan, it is difficult to find anyone who believes the Government's assurances that the country is not making a nuclear bomb: and it is almost impossible to find a person who opposes the project. To them, the bomb spells security and the means of regaining their international self-respect. It could also put Pakistan at the forefront of Muslim nations: the possessors of a nuclear capability are likely to make it available to other Islamic countries if it is felt their security or sovereignty is threatened. The first device to be detonated in Pakistan is expected sometime in October: just before the general elections which General Zia-ul-Haq has promised. The popular national acclaim likely to follow the blast might, observers calculate, help Zia through the critical weeks following: particularly if he then calls off the elections.

Meanwhile the Pakistani authorities are being so sensitive about their project that either they must feel it is at a stage where undue public attention could lead to it being seriously undermined, or—more probably—that scrutiny by outsiders yield clues to the identity of the country secretly backing them. The physical attacks on two French diplomats and a British journalist all occurred when the victims went near particular areas—near enough perhaps to see who arrived or left, or whether equipment was still being delivered. The message from the Pakistani authorities was plain: stay well clear of any construction site, or house connected with the project.

The French Ambassador, M. Pol Gourrierc, and the First Secretary at the Embassy, M. Jean Forlot, had driven a diplomatic car, clearly marked with CD plates, along an open road about 40 kilometers south-east of Islamabad, to Kahuta. Although diplomats are severely restricted in their ordinary movements in Pakistan, there are no restrictions on using the Kahuta Road. However, as the diplomats well knew, it does pass a large construction site, where work is going on behind a high wall. It is here that the Pakistanis are building their uranium enrichment plant, with some parts surreptitiously obtained by front companies in Europe. The plant is being built round a gas centrifuge system.

There was nothing for M. Gourrierc or M. Forlot to see, and they turned back. However, they found a car and a truck parked across the road, blocking their way. The two

envoys were dragged from their car and seriously beaten. The Ambassador shouted in Urdu that they were French diplomats, and showed his diplomatic identity card, but the assailants shouted back that no interference in Pakistan's affairs would be tolerated. The Ambassador was hit in the mouth by what appeared to doctors later to have been a karate blow. It snapped one of his front teeth without even loosening the root. M. Forlot was punched and fell to the ground, striking his head on the road and suffering a hairline fracture on his skull. He lost consciousness, and this is what saved the Ambassador from being even more badly beaten than he already was. The attackers thought they had killed M. Forlot, and they fled. The Ambassador dragged his unconscious First Secretary back into the car, and drove to find help.

If the Pakistani authorities were dismayed at the attack on the dip-



Raghu Ra-

lomats, they gave no sign. More than 24 hours passed before the first official communication was received. When it came, it was a telephone call from General Zia, expressing regrets but adding that if the diplomats had been flying the French flag from the bonnet of their car, they might have been safe. The diplomatic community in Islamabad, already angered at the assault, was in no way placated by Zia's call. Did it mean, they wondered, that Ambassadors flying their flags would be spared attack, while other diplomats, driving vehicles merely with CD plates, had to take their chances?

The Yugoslav Ambassador made his own protest. First taking the precaution of informing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs what he planned doing, he took his official car—flying the flag—up the Kahuta Road, and drove extremely slowly past the wall protecting the uranium en-

richment site. Then he turned around, and drove very slowly past it again, on the other side of the road. There is no doubt in diplomats' minds that the attack was the work of either Security, or Intelligence Branch men.

This was also the case in the next assault three days later, on Mr Christopher Sherwell, 31, the correspondent for the BBC and *Financial Times*. Mr Sherwell had been investigating the Pakistan nuclear story, and had already found one of the important sites for the project: the laboratory of Dr Abdul Qader Khan, who apparently discovered the secrets of the gas centrifuge while working at a nuclear plant in Holland. The laboratory is near the main runway of Islamabad International Airport, and Mr Sherwell got as far as the security office at the entrance, which was plastered with posters urging the need for secrecy. However, Mr Sherwell was anxious to see if he could interview Dr Khan, and from an informant, he was given the physicist's home address: No 16, 30th Street, in the Islamabad suburb of FB-1. Mr Sherwell took his motorcycle and drove along 30th Street, but saw that the nameplate outside No 16 said Lt. Col. S. M. Mirza.

Mr Sherwell decided to drive on round the block without stopping. When he was in a road parallel to 30th Street, a Pakistani man stepped off the pavement, as if asking for a lift. Mr Sherwell drove on, and went towards the house a second time. The Pakistani man meanwhile ran down a service lane and by the time Mr Sherwell was passing house number 16 for a second time, he was in position to attack. He pulled Mr Sherwell off his motorcycle and punched him. Immediately, seven or eight other men ran out from House Number 16, and joined in.

Mr Sherwell was beaten for about half an hour, and then dragged through the streets and imprisoned in another house for 3½ hours. He had been very professionally attacked. He was badly bruised, his feet were blistered, and a blood vessel had been ruptured in one eye, but no permanent damage had been caused. Later, his attackers loaded him into a jeep and drove him to a police station, where he was initially forbidden to contact the British Embassy, and where his notebook was taken from him.

The Pakistanis originally claimed he had been attacked because he was "flirting with a maid", but this was so clearly preposterous that they later made a statement virtually accusing Mr Sherwell of spying. He had, they said, been "indulging in acts prejudicial to the security of Pakistan", and had taken "undue advantage of the co-operation and leniency of the Government of Pakistan". He had also been "snooping and trespassing in security areas". However, no one had ever suggested before that an ordinary street in a suburb of Islamabad had

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suddenly become a "security area". There were no signs to indicate this then, and none have gone up since.

But the Pakistanis did inadvertently admit that the home of "Lt Col S. M. Mirza" was in fact "the residence of an officer of the Atomic Energy Commission". The statement added: "That officer was not permitted to talk to any Pressmen, therefore Mr Sherwell should have restrained himself from going there" However, if Col Mirza, or

Dr A. Q. Khan, is not permitted to give interviews, it is a simple matter for them to say "No comment", or even, "Get out of here before I call the police." Why the beating? Many observers feel that the Pakistanis are less afraid of what journalists and diplomats might hear than they are of what they might see.

PETER NIESEWAND. Rawalpindi

Andhra Government takes over Tirupati

Is Channa Reddy being vindictive?

INDIA's most popular and ancient religious supermarket at Tirupati is to be brought under direct control of the Andhra Pradesh Government. The State Legislative Assembly has already approved the Bill "to provide for the better administration and governance of the Tirumala-Tirupathi Devasthanams". The Opposition Parties and some dissident Congress(I) legislators are of the opinion that it is wrong for a Government professing secularism to directly control any temple. Besides, corrupt Ministers are capable of colluding with the puppet temple administrators and swindling the ever-increasing wealth of Tirupati.

Situated at Tirumala in Chittoor district, the main temple dedicated to Lord Venkateswara (also known as Balaji) is perched at a height of 3,000 feet and is surrounded by 40 smaller temples dedicated to other Vaishnava deities. Tirupati town at the foothill has a population of 38,000. The temple alone attracts 20,000 people daily. Despite widespread allegations of corruption, mismanagement, chicanery and skulduggery, it is the best administered temple-complex in the country. According to a conservative estimate the annual income is nearly Rs 14 crores. It has bank deposits of Rs 30 crores and the extensive public properties it owns, are worth another Rs 50 crores.

Historically the temple is said to have existed from the first century A.D. It has of course undergone a great many changes over the centuries. Its popularity increased when the Hindu philosopher Ramanuja visited it in the 12th century. Legend has it that Ramanuja dragged himself to the top on his bleeding knees. Royal patronage, particularly during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, contributed to the popularity and wealth of the temple-complex.

The popularity of the temple soared ironically, when it was controlled by the Muslim rulers. That the Muslims did not dare destroy the temple made the Hindus think



Tirumala Tirupati temple

that the Tirumala temple was an invincible shrine. After controlling the temple for some years the East India Company handed over its management to the mahants of a mutt. Following several complaints of mismanagement, the Madras Government (the present Andhra Pradesh and a part of Madras Presidency then) passed a special Act in 1933 entrusting the management to a committee with powers of administration and control through a Commissioner appointed by the Government. The 1966 Act led to the formation of an 11-member board of trustees and an Executive Officer, appointed by the Government from the IAS cadre. The board of trustees was aided by a virtual army of another 6,500 employees.

"The full rigours of control and supervision by the Commissioner, Endowments Department, which is essential for smaller temples for effectively supervising the trust properties are actually working as an administrative disincentive in such a huge organisation like the Tirumala-Tirupathi Devasthanams", states Mr P. C. Chowdary, Minister of Endowments and Municipal Administration. "Compulsion of events and necessities contributed to the appointment of a senior IAS officer as an Executive Officer. In the light of the past experience, the Government has decided to have a separate self-contained enactment for the better administration of the temple".

The Bill which was preceded by an Ordinance promulgated by the Governor on May 18, seeks to appoint a Governing Board constituted by the Government. The Board includes three legislators. The new arrangement gives greater power to the Executive Officer. Apart from various intricate administrative tasks, the Executive Officer is also empowered "by order to prohibit within the Tirumala hills (a) begging by any person, (b) straying of any cattle, pigs or dogs, (c) possession, use or consumption of any intoxicating liquor or drug, (d) possession, preparation or consumption of meat or other foodstuffs containing meat, (e) slaughter, killing or maiming of any animal or bird for any other purpose and (f) gaming (sic) with cards, dice, counters, money or other instruments of gaming. Any person contravening an order made by the Executive Officer shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to Rs 500 or both."

"This provision is at once ambiguous and gives too much of power over silly things to the Executive Officer", observes Mrs Kesava Rao, a Congress (I) leader. "For instance, consumption of meat is forbidden, what about eggs, ram laddus (vegetarian eggs) and fish? And then you know how long pilgrims have to wait to have the darshan of the Lord. In case they want to relax and indulge in an innocent game of cards, after the darshan, should they be made to pay the stiff fine

and spend three months in a jail?" Another provision of the Bill that came under severe attack is the one which says that the funds of Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams shall be deposited in banks or treasuries or invested in securities only according to guidelines which may be issued by the Government in this connection. "Already there are any number of charges that the Chief Minister's second daughter-in-law, an employee of a bank, has been pressing businessmen to deposit large sums with the branch she's working for", says Rama Rao, the softspoken Janata legislator.

The only provision in the Bill which is hailed as constructive is the increase in the contribution (of Rs 7 lakhs now) towards the maintenance of Sri Venkateswara University. The temple's board incidentally maintains 22 colleges and schools, including the Sri Venkateswara College, New Delhi, homes for the aged, social welfare centres and a couple of hospitals. The "age" clause in the Bill prohibits a person who has held the office of the chairman for two consecutive terms from re-appointment for a third term in continuation. It is interesting to note that Mr Chellikani Anna Rao, the ex-chairman of TTD, has filed a writ against his suspension order and is seeking to restrain the Government from proceeding against him. Anna Rao will not be able to join the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam (TTD), which he has served in various capacities for 45 years even if he can to score victory against the Government order.

The charges against Anna Rao include flying to the USA on three occasions at the cost of the TTD. Rao's son resides in Buffalo, USA. He is accused of depositing TTD funds in various scheduled banks including Vijaya Bank against commissions in addition to getting jobs for his relatives. He is also charged with using the staff car for private purposes and not maintaining a log book for two years, misuse of the TTD telephone facilities resulting in a loss of Rs 7,255.50, occupation of a TTD house for about four years without proper authorisation and without paying any rent, thus causing a loss of Rs 79,200. Selling gold in Bombay in 1977 in the absence of trustees causing a loss of several lakhs, is another charge levelled against him.

Anna Rao, who claims that he has been striving to put down corruption in the TTD right from the times he put his foot down on the "pandas" business and got them to perform the duties of temple-guides, has denied all the charges against him, furnishing valid documents, including the letters from the Hindu Temple Society, USA which invited him to help them set up the Sri Venkateswara Temple in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He was sacked on November 4, 1978: preceding the dismissal he had received a cryptic telegram at his son's residence in Buffalo from the trustees asking him to rush back to India.

Incidentally, Mr Vengal Rao, the ex-CM and Anna Rao were very close. And Dr Channa Reddy, it is alleged, would try to drive into the wilderness all Vengal Rao men left in the Administration. Dr Reddy, a regular visitor to the temple, did go there on a thanksgiving mission after he was sworn in as Chief Minister. Anna Rao was then in Delhi attending a Sanskrit conference. Some months later when Dr Channa Reddy again visited Tirupati to inaugurate a TTD financed college building, the chairman was attending to some temple work in the Dakshina Kannada district in Karnataka. Naturally the relationship between the two deteriorated swiftly thereafter. Of course, Dr Reddy has denied the accusation that he has taken umbrage to the chairman's inability to be present on two consecutive visits of his.

The residents and pilgrims to Tirupati do not understand why only Anna Rao should be prosecuted. Despite their great faith in the sanctity and miraculous powers of Lord Venkateswara levelheaded pilgrims cannot help observing

the widespread corruption and greed for money.

From the pimps who assure you that they will procure "virgin college students" in the Tirupati township (where liquor is available at any hour of the day and night) to the temple employees who can adopt you as a relative and take you into the temple without standing in the serpentine queue (for a small consideration of course), you cannot help wondering how a holy temple-town can be so commercialised.

The old-world devotees of Lord Venkateswara believe that any person who steals from the Tirupati coffers will be punished terribly by the deity. And yet insiders will tell you sordid stories of how money vanishes when the staff of 30 sort out the previous day's offerings in the "hundi". Currency notes of various denominations constitute the "hundi" collection, followed by gold ornaments. Often unusual items like daggers, guns, and art objects are also found.

ARTHUR PAIS, Hyderabad

Back from the dead

So his parents claim, but neighbours think differently

IT could have been a mystery thriller taken straight from Agatha Christie. An Indore couple, Mr and Mrs Bansilal Kapoor, claims that their eight-year-old son, Kamal, cremated after his death in a local hospital on June 18, 1972, "came back to life" after one month. The boy, who lives with the Kapoors, says, without batting an eyelid, "I've returned from heaven".

The story begins in 1972 when Kamal, the only son of Mr Bansilal

Kapoor, a businessman, died after a short illness at the local M. Y. Hospital. This was the fifth tragedy in the Kapoor family, which had lost two sons and two daughters earlier. Kamal was cremated at the Juni Indore crematorium.

The sad and the unexpected death of the only surviving son cast a pall of gloom over the family. Kamal's passing was an added heartache to his elder sister, Vijayalakshmi. "She is religious by nature," said Mr Ka-

Continued on page 28

Kamal with his sister Vijayalakshmi



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poor, "but after the death of her brother, she stopped offering prayers to God because He had failed to save her brother. One day, while passing through a temple, I offered prayer to God. Lakshmi was with me and when I asked her to do the same, she refused, saying she would not believe in God as long as her brother did not return.

"It was July 18, exactly one month after the death of Kamal" recalled Mr Kapoor. "I went to the M. Y. Hospital to supply sauce, which is my business. Just outside the hospital I saw a boy who looked exactly like Kamal. I was astounded, but brushed off the idea from my mind and proceeded. But the boy followed me—I was on a bicycle—and even as I was discussing the strange coincidence with one of my regular customers, he came there. Ultimately, at the advice of my friends, and also out of sheer pity, I took the shelterless boy home after reporting the matter to the police."

"He recognised every one of us," said Mrs Kapoor who believes, along with her husband, that the boy is their dead son. Mrs Kapoor claims that the boy not only resembled Kamal in appearance but also had similar habits. He recognised the bed in which he used to sleep and even had an scar on the tongue, similar to one that Kamal had.

The news of the strange occurrence spread like wildfire in the city and there was a tremendous rush to see the boy. Traffic was disrupted in the Zinsi area, where the Kapoors used to live then, and ultimately the boy was made to sit in a first floor balcony to satisfy the curiosity of the thousands of onlookers who had gathered to see him. The local dailies front-paged the sensational news along with photographs of the new-found celebrity. "People came to see him," recalled Mr Kapoor, "from as far as Ratlam and Ujjain".

THE boy who claims to be Kamal says that he has returned from heaven! He says that he saw the various Hindu gods there and after one month—during which period he was given bananas and rice to eat—he returned to the earth on "a black horse". Then, he says "There, in the backyard of the hospital, I saw my papa," said the boy.

"Did you recognise him?"

"Oh, yes," was the prompt answer.

Last year, a local hypnotist tried to bring him into a trance but amazingly enough, even though the boy is mentally weak for his 14 years, he could not even be brought into the "first stage" of a trance.

But most of the former neighbours of the Kapoors—they have shifted from their old Zinsi residence to another locality—who had seen both the dead boy and his 'reincarnation' refuse to believe the popular story, which they term "concocted". "He was not at all like Kamal, though there was a resemblance", said Ramkishan, the Kapoors' former landlord. Many other people in the area corroborated that the boy, who at first

claimed that his name was Shivaji, was a bit taller than Kamal. Kamal was fair, while the former was comparatively dark. Even Mr Kapoor accepted that the boy's voice was different from Kamal's. "But perhaps even God could not provide an exact replica," he reasoned.

Ramkishan's wife said that the boy was very dirty "and looked like a roadside beggar" when he came. According to the Kapoors, he was wearing a shirt and pants which did not belong to Kamal. "But he was wearing the same red thread which was around Kamal's neck, claimed Mrs Kapoor.

What is more, the boy knew and spoke Marathi—a fact denied by the Kapoors, who are Punjabi, but confirmed by their neighbours, and also corroborated by one of the newspaper reports published at that time. One of the neighbours, Ramswarup, said that the boy failed to recognise

any of them after his alleged return from heaven. "It was sheer propaganda work," said Chhotelal Parmar, who runs a barber's shop in the area. Motilal, a kirana shop owner, said that the boy was quite different from Kamal, though their features did tally somewhat.

What this correspondent found specially surprising was the fact that though the Kapoors keep a family album, in which there are photographs of not only all the other family members but also of distant relatives, they do not have even one photograph of their dead son.

But the last word is Mr Kapoor's who challenges the cynics: "If this boy is not Kamal, who is he?" No one has come to claim him, though his case was widely publicised. And so the boy continues to live with the Kapoors, as Kamal.

N. K. SINGH. Indore

END OF THE MAFIA 'GRANDFATHER'



An unidentified police inspector bends over the body of Mafia chieftain Carmine Galante shortly after he was gunned down with automatic weapons in an Italian restaurant in Brooklyn on July 12. An associate of the Mafia boss, Nino Coppola, who was lunching with him, was also killed in the attack. It has been seven years since the last Mafia boss was slain: Joey Gallo was the last victim in 1972, but as a result of the war that followed, 19 men were killed. Carmine Galante had antagonised his colleagues because of his high-handed style of operation and further because he allowed himself to be publicised as the Mafia boss. On June 25 this year some of the national and New York Mafia bosses held a clandestine meeting at a New York hotel to try and decide what they would do regarding Galante and police sources feel that the decision to eliminate him may have been taken that night. Galante had conducted his operations from a little dry-cleaning establishment in Lower Manhattan. Though people said derisively behind his back that he was more of a grandfather than a godfather, they still paid their respects to the 70-year-old ex-boss as he went on his daily walks.



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The food was lovely!

ANXIETIES that the end of the princely order would spell the doom of Indian arts and crafts were clearly unfounded.

In the post-Independence era, not only have they flourished at home but have also found considerable interest abroad. Classical music and dance, painting and sculpture, hand-woven fabrics and handicrafts — all have benefited from modern showmanship and presentation techniques.

Only one element of India's material culture lagged behind: The rich diversity of its culinary arts. The lavish banquets of the princely courts had given full scope to the great cooks of the past to transform a meal into an epicurean event. When the royal kitchens were cut down in their scope, these cooks fell on bad days. They spent their later years training their offspring, working in clubs and private wealthy houses, recounting the tales of their days of glory when they turned out this exotic dish or that. In the big cities, knowledgeable citizens sought out choice Mughalai food in select localities like Jama Masjid in Delhi, Muhammedali Road in Bombay and the Nakhoda Mosque in Calcutta. Hotels and restaurants made desultory efforts at providing European cuisine while good regional Indian cooking hardly ventured beyond the threshold of private homes.

But all this has changed now. Food is constantly in the news — be it Indian, European or Chinese. Hotels and restaurants vie with each other to attract patrons. According to the executive chef of a Delhi hotel, not one worthwhile specialist in Mughal cuisine can be found now in the old quarters of the city. He also revealed that expertly turning out Chinese food in many places were bright young Indians, often trained in the catering colleges of Bombay and Delhi.

The revival began slowly at first, almost imperceptibly. Travel agents and hotels watched with fascination as Europeans and American tourists made judicious experiments with Indian food as much a part of their experience as visits to famous landmarks. What started off slowly in the Sixties developed into a full-fledged element of the marketing programme of the hotel chains. It is but natural that Delhi should provide the finest opportunity for the revival of culinary arts. Firstly, as the capital, it has the largest number of resident foreigners as well as Indians who entertain for business. Secondly, Delhi attracts the largest number of tourists for any single city in the

HAFEEZ NOORANI reports on the revival of haute cuisine in Delhi.



*Bukhara, the new restaurant at the Maurya
Cranes on the Machan menu*



country. Thirdly, the capital is the venue of many international conferences and seminars. Finally, a very important reason: Delhi has a long enough winter for the gourmet's pleasure.

The Ashoka comes to mind as the first modern hotel in Delhi, built on a scale that echoes the concept of New Delhi's designer, Lutyens. It is here that the foundations were laid for the capital to become a gourmet's delight. Roger Moncourt, the doyen of chefs in Delhi, spent 13 of his 21 years in India at the Ashoka, shaping a tradition of excellence in European cuisine which is now nurtured by young Indian chefs. Monsieur Moncourt now reigns over the kitchens of the Maurya, about which more later.

The Rotisserie and the Peacock at the Ashoka provide menus of well-tried European and Indian specialities. The quality of cooking is good in these and other restaurants of hotels in the Ashoka group, part of the Government-owned Tourism Development Corporation. There are other hotels in the chain, which have developed specialities. The Santoor at the Ranjit, for example, provides a good selection of Kashmiri dishes while the Woodlands housed in the complex of the Lodhi attracts huge crowds with its famous Udupi cuisine.



The Akbar, too, draws consistently large crowds to its restaurant called Sheesh Mahal. The Mandarin at the Janpath is a popular rendezvous for lunch.

THE Oberoi has three restaurants, one in each of the major cooking traditions, that can all boast of good fare. The Mughal Room serves a wide range of Mughalai and tandoor dishes for vegetarians as well as non-vegetarians. But the speciality is the Kashmiri thali which provides, a unique opportunity to sample some of the famous lamb and chicken dishes of the Valley. The Mughal Room is perhaps the only Indian restaurant in a Delhi 5-star hotel that serves *kulfi*, a very delicious Pista kulfi at that.

Rooftop Chinois has a fine range of Chinese dishes, both of the Canton variety and the increasingly popular Szechwan style which is more akin to Indian cuisine. The menu lists Pumpkin soup, Peking Chicken and Whole Roast Suckling Pig among the specialities that can be prepared at advance notice of at least 24 hours.

The pride of Oberoi restaurants is, appropriately enough, called the Taj. In a decor that echoes the graceful arches and fluid lines of Mughal architecture, the restaurant serves some of the finest samples of European cuisine. In the present menu of the Taj, the young Austrian chef, Helmut Mayer, has incorporated some of the dishes that proved popular in last year's highly successful festival of Austrian food.

A party of four diners selected dishes that constituted a good test of Chef Mayer's team of cooks. To begin with there was the Escabeche a la Mazagran (cold chicken in white wine) and Cocquille de Cerveille a la Metternich (slices of poached brain and mushrooms, prepared in Sauce Duxelle and gratinated with cheese).

The main course consisted of an Escalope de Veau Viennoise (a veal escalope with a crust which is crisp but not hard and which, in the mouth, quickly separates from the meat). The other Austrian main dish was Emince de Foie d'Agneau Styrienne (lamb liver cooked in a malt vinegar sauce — very popular in southern Austria). The Fondue came with a range of sauces, concocted by Chef Mayer himself, each with a distinctive taste. Outstanding among them were the Apple and Mustard sauce and the Tomato and Red Wine sauce. For dessert the party chose the Biscuit Glace Francillion. This consists of a coffee ice-

cream sponge roll (not to be confused with an ice cream roll). The topping of whipped cream and chocolate flakes established beyond doubt that this delicious combination is not meant for serious-minded weight watchers.

Barely 29 years old, Chef Mayer worked at the Vienna Intercontinental for seven years. Matching him in youthful brilliance is B. B. Sood who is 27 and is currently the Assistant Food and Beverages Manager at the Oberoi Continental. Mr Sood spent a year at the Hotel School of Paris and worked later at the Lyons Inter-Continental before returning to India. Good humoured banter between the two young men perhaps symbolises the new technique being infused into cooking in our major hotels.

One cannot but admire the fine effort to attract gourmets, both foreign and Indian, that is the Tandoor at Hotel President on Asaf Ali Road. Evidence of a sense of marketing is provided by the text on the first page of the menu. It describes the characteristics of cooking in the clay oven. 'Our kitchen is not a restricted area' the menu states, 'nor are our recipes and cooking methods a trade secret from our guests. Please ask the hostess to arrange for a demonstration, if so desired'. Gracious Ms Nina Sarin certainly guides the patrons expertly in selecting from the menu.

Shahnaz is truly the pride of the house. A tandoori chicken that not too many restaurants in Delhi can match. Another speciality is the chicken kabab fomented in fresh garlic and grilled in the tandoor. There are a dozen other kababs from the tandoor, either of chicken, lamb or fish.

Tandoor offers an exotic chicken curry, named 'Pakeeza' after the popular movie. It consists of tender legs of chicken cooked in a rich curry which includes coconut and almonds. Mutton Patiala with slices of chicken in a masala curry is worth trying. For the enterprising, there is 'Shiraz' a brain curry described as the favourite delicacy of the ladies of the Mughal harems. The excellence of the tandoor is manifest in yet another fashion — the range of naans and rotis. Worthy of special mention are 'Khurmee' (a naan flavoured with garlic and fresh tomato) and 'Taftan' (a naan enriched with egg, milk and yoghurt).

AND then came 1978 A.D. In this year, two major Indian hotel chains opened their doors to reveal a breathtaking display of elegant decor and a spread of good food that would satisfy the most fastidious. The Taj Mahal Hotel of Bombay celebrated its 75th year by opening its namesake in the capital. Modern hotel marketing techniques are evident everywhere. Detailed surveys were carried out among Delhi's diplomatic corps and the potential Indian patrons to determine food preferences. Each restaurant

has been conceived as an entity and everything stays studiously aligned to the concept — the decor, the uniforms of the staff and the menus. The concepts are crystallised in the names of the restaurants, all of them symbolising man's expression of wealth and elegance. There is the Haveli, the airy home of the rich, for Indian food; the House of Ming, recalling the Chinese dynasty of that name; the Captain's Cabin, where the fruits of the sea are served, and finally the Machan — the hunting lodge.

The Machan is a total experience in every way — the decor, the menu, the food and the hours it operates. It is a fascinating concept. Game of all kinds can be seen, from the hunting lodge in the jungle, depending upon the time of the day. Similarly, the new restaurant at the Taj combines the cuisine of the world with a 24-hour service which rises to a crescendo in the evening. The owl on the post-midnight menu is no deterrent to the mod set of Delhi. A false-ceiling of matting and wood constitutes the roof of the Machan with tiles that simulate a rough flooring of cement and red earth. Chandeliers are shaped as hurricane lamps — three huge ones and many small — extending the atmosphere of the hunting lodge. Walls covered with jungle scenes and the lush green garden visible through the large glass windows complete the setting. Young men under the command of Ronnie Lobo, the master of the lodge, are dressed in appropriate khaki, their ammunition bags holding the equipment for their own kind of shooting — ball pens and papers with which to shoot orders to the kitchen.

And that is where 32-year-old Arvind Saraswata, the executive chef, directs his team of young cooks. He has spent all his eleven years of work with the Taj Group, his first job after a three-year diploma in Hotel Management and Catering. The Taj in Bombay, the Hilton in London, the Coromandel in Madras and Chef Saraswata was ready to display his fine synthesis of culinary arts at the Machan.

But first a word about the menus which are masterpieces in their field. There are three of them: The breakfast menu, featuring a beautiful illustration of Sarus Cranes in early morning light, the one for the main meals served from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. and from 7 p.m. to midnight. The spotted deer, the lion, the tiger and the wild ass in natural settings adorn the pages. The third menu called 'The Night Owl' operates



from midnight to 6 a.m. Unlike the other two, this menu in black-and-white carries a striking photograph of an owl surprised by the electronic flash.

The dishes on this menu are no less surprising for the hour! Besides the standard coffee shop fare, there is a Mutton Biryani in Hyderabadi style and a Dutch East Indies Crepe that should delight the vegetarian gourmet. It consists of diced mushrooms, pimento, capsicum and bean sprouts — all enveloped in a lightly made crepe sautéed in butter and covered with a special Machan sauce.

Keeping company to the standard breakfast items are idli, dosa and utthapam from the South Indian breakfast. But innovation lies in presenting two specialities of Bombay: Pao Bhaji and Pao Keema. Fashionable Bombayites looking for midnight meals discovered these items in the bylanes of Bombay where handcarts and pavement stalls catered to the industrial workers on late shifts. Pao Bhaji consists of a variety of diced vegetables — cauliflower, tomato, capsicum and potatoes — sautéed in butter, with the green herbs raising an appetising aroma. The pau (Portuguese for bread) is Bombay bread halved and rubbed on the same tava or griddle in which the vegetables have been



ried. Pao Keema also called 'Nan chaap' in Bombay is delicious mince mutton cooked in a lagan over a low fire. The fat simmering with ghee aids in generating the flavour. The Machan steadily serves 80 to 100 portions per day of these Bombay specialities which, in moving to Delhi, have retained the full authenticity of their appetising flavours. These items also feature in the main menu which almost reads like the menuship of the United Nations.

Rubbing shoulders with an authentic Moussaka (a Greek favourite combining minced mutton with brinjals and tomatoes in a rich cheese sauce and served with rice) and Pork Chops Belgic, are Keow Warn from Thailand (a fiery chicken curry) and Prawu Tempura from Japan. The famed cooking of Burma, for the first time, finds a home in a Delhi 5-star hotel. There is the MAH-MI soup which is a delicate blend of chicken and shrimp bouillon, bean sprouts and egg noodles, lightly spiced for flavour. Burma also contributes a main dish in the form of Panthe Koshwe (pronounced pan-thay-koshway), a chicken curry which is very mildly spiced and served on a bed of egg noodles. The Kaju Panner curry from Kerala should

specially attract vegetarians looking for variety.



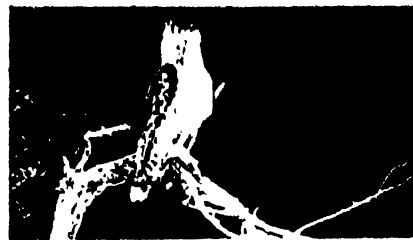
TC'S Welcomhotel chain has maintained a close association with history. When entering the capital with a prestigious new addition, ITC chose to call it The Maurya. This flashback to 4th century BC combines with 20th century comforts, aptly illustrating the claim 'A mingling of great traditions'. The restaurants, too, continue this blend of antiquity with demands of modern lifestyle. There are as many as six of them offering a wider choice than any other hotel in Delhi and ranging from the Mediterranean to the Far East.

Takshila, the name brings forth a procession of history. Sitting in Maurya's rooftop restaurant of this name, one has enough opportunity to think back while gazing at the panorama of burgeoning Delhi. As the menu explains, this restaurant offers Mediterranean fare—with special touches of Spanish, French and Italian — 'in acknowledgement of the debt that Takshila owes to the cultural influences of the West'. Here, the grandmaster, Roger Moncourt, presents a bewildering array of his art. With a gentle, guiding hand he has trained his young Indian staff to produce a Vichyssoise Frappe which can compare with the finest in Paris itself.

The chef's own creation is Gratin de Langouste 'Maurya'. This consists of a lobster sautéed in butter, combining mushrooms, tomatoes, red wine and cream and baked with Swiss Gruyere cheese. Aptly described as the gourmets' treat is Poulet en Cocotte 'Souvaroff'. Braised chicken with goose liver pate and wine sauce is cooked in a cocotte and served with buttered potatoes and carrots. The desserts are no less exciting and deserving special mention are Parfait Glace 'Mont Blanc' (a dessert with a chestnut flavour) and 'Profiterolles au Praline' (a dessert with vanilla ice cream topped with a cream almond sauce). Chef Moncourt's creations are also offered in the coffee shop 'Amrapali', where they share the menu with the artistry of another great cook — Imtiaz.

Burly and bewhiskered Imtiaz is the fourth generation of cooks from Lucknow, dating back to the times when the traditions of the Awadh court under Wajid Ali Shah were still extant in that city of elegance and culture. Given the opportunity, Imtiaz will willingly explain how his team in the kitchen meets the challenge of preparing ancient recipes under today's conditions. In a tour of his kitchen, he shows how broiler chicken is 'brought around' to receive the full flavours of the curries and masalas.

Mayur and Bukhara offer the Indian delicacies prepared under the supervision of Imtiaz. Carefully executed marketing concepts are abundantly visible here. Echoing the vibrant hues of the peacock — green, blue and turquoise — the restaurant,

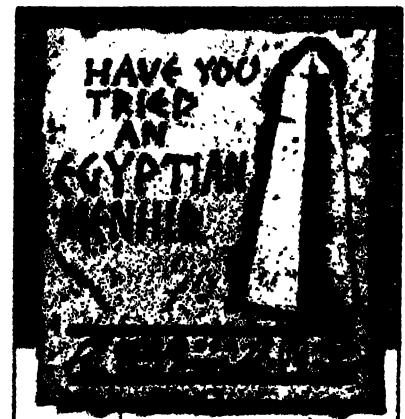
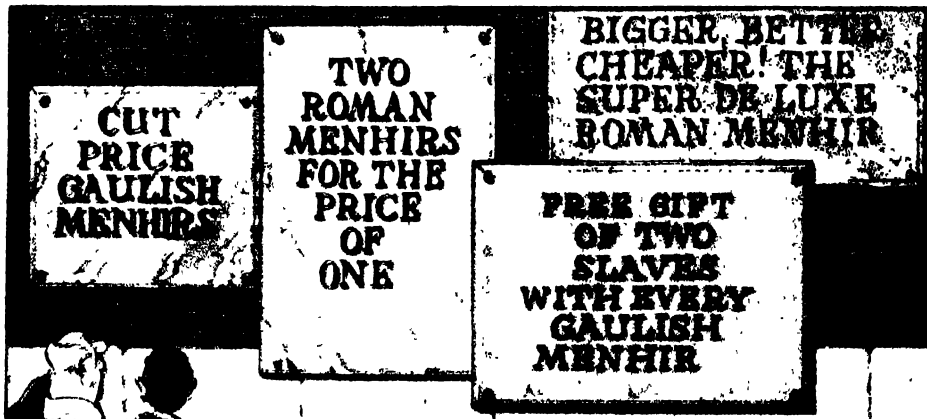
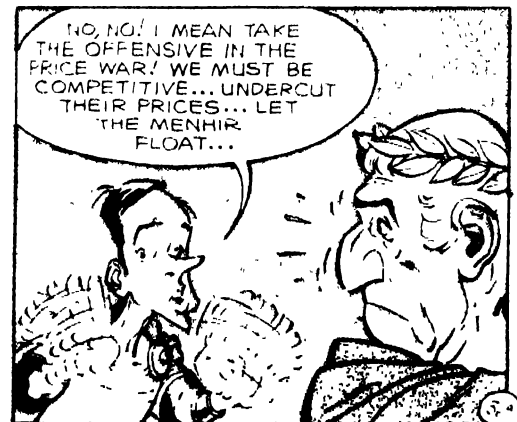
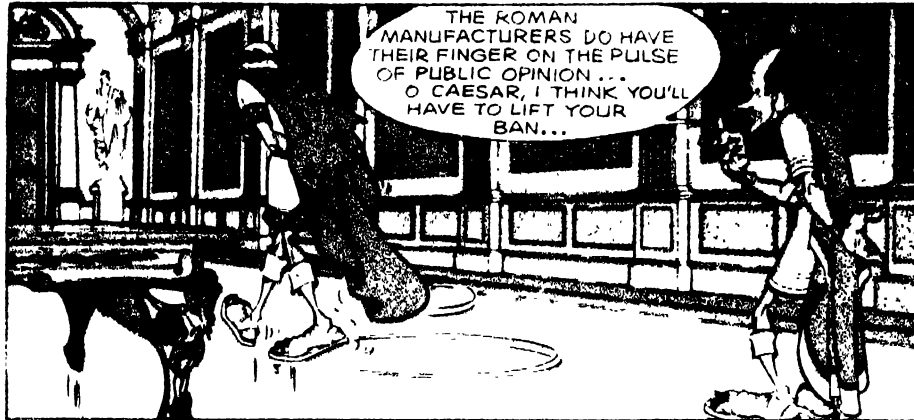


too, provides three colourful cooking traditions of northern India: The Kashmiri, the Punjabi and the Mughalai. Kofta Curry and Gushtafa offer a peep into the cuisine of the Valley, famous for using lamb more than chicken. Methi Chaman is a tasty vegetarian speciality. The menu goes beyond the popular Mughalai dishes to offer something different. There is the Murgh Akbari (chicken stuffed with dry fruits and cottage cheese and cooked in a brown curry) and Moong Gosht (a lamb curry with lentils). In a wide range of Punjabi dishes Tandoori Chooza, 'Imtiaz' and Aloo Mumtaz carry the chef's personal seal of merit.

It is the Bukhara that has really revived in Delhi the appreciation of good tandoori cooking of the North West Frontier. In a rustic setting of stone walls and log tables and seats, young men and women in the dress of the Pathans briskly move about serving food. In full gaze of the patrons, turbaned chefs work at the Tandoor or the clay oven. The menu is painted on tablets of wood and aprons replace napkins to prevent food juices running over the diners' clothes. Selecting from the wide range of tandoori specialities is a challenge. There is the Sikandari Raan (Leg of lamb marinated in rum and spices), Murgh Malai Kabab (pieces of chicken marinated with cheese cream, lime juice and chillies) and Jhinga Yabosch (giant prawns given the tandoor treatment). The menu also carries a delicious paya which is offered in the Mayur as 'Nahari'.

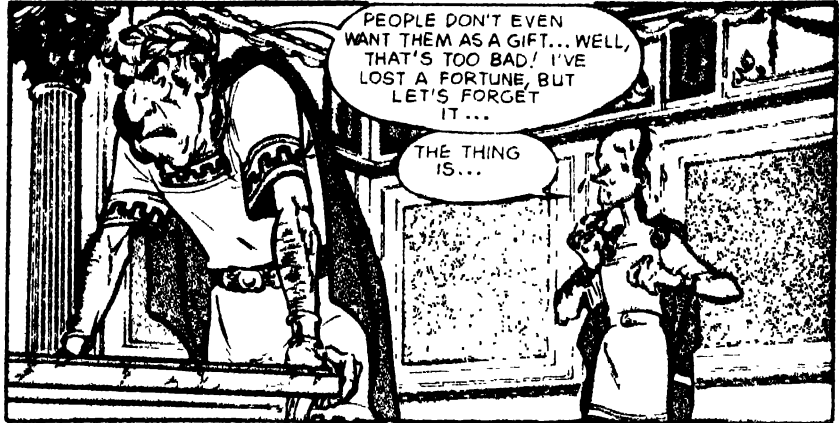
Besides the standard range of naans, the two restaurants offer some other varieties. The Bukhara offers a crisp Pudina (Mint) Paratha and Makki ki Roti; the Mayur matches them with Mughalai Paratha and Keema naan. Both restaurants offer an identical range of sweets, with some additions in the Mayur. Common to both are Shabe Tukra, Shakora Phirni and Chenna Kheer.

Clearly, the cuisine of Delhi is anything but static. Two clear trends are visible. There is a trend towards fast food for working meals in which pizzas and hamburgers share the menu with idlis, dosas and channa bhaturas. There is, unmistakably, the other trend: The revival of interest in good cooking from the various cuisines, domestic and foreign. In time, a new set of chefs may come up experimenting to produce a synthesis of cooking which will enjoy a life span to match that of the Mughal school.



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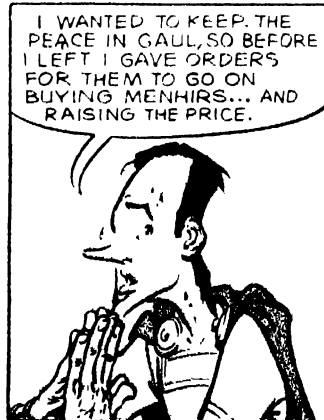
PEOPLE DON'T EVEN WANT THEM AS A GIFT... WELL, THAT'S TOO BAD! I'VE LOST A FORTUNE, BUT LET'S FORGET IT...

THE THING IS...



YES?

WELL, IT'S LIKE THIS, O CAESAR...



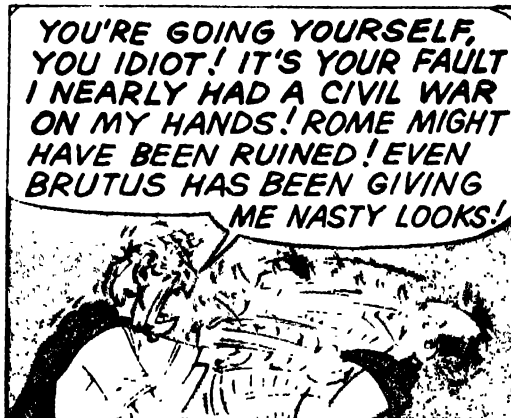
I WANTED TO KEEP THE PEACE IN GAUL, SO BEFORE I LEFT I GAVE ORDERS FOR THEM TO GO ON BUYING MENHIRS... AND RAISING THE PRICE.



WHAT? YOU KNOW THE STATE OF MY FINANCES? AND YOU SAID WE'D MAKE A KILLING! GET BACK TO GAUL AND STOP IT!!!



FR...YOU WOULDN'T LIKE TO SEND SOMEONE ELSE WOULD YOU? I HAVE A FRIEND WHO WAS AT BUSINESS SCHOOL WITH ME. HE...

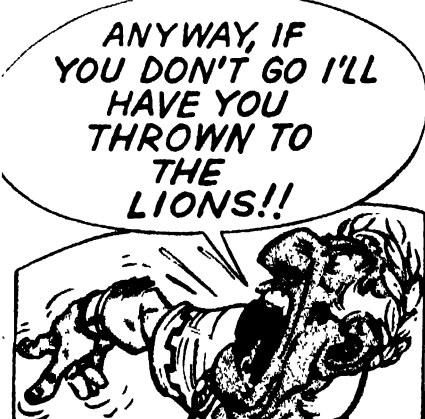


YOU'RE GOING YOURSELF, YOU IDIOT! IT'S YOUR FAULT I NEARLY HAD A CIVIL WAR ON MY HANDS! ROME MIGHT HAVE BEEN RUINED! EVEN BRUTUS HAS BEEN GIVING ME NASTY LOOKS!

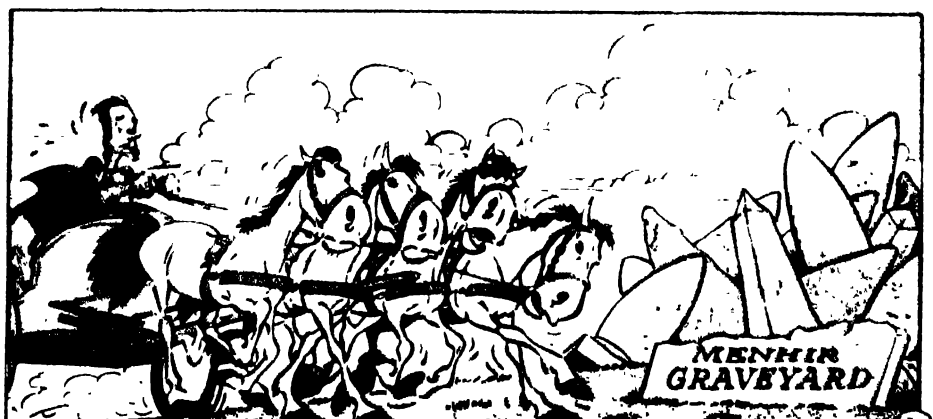


BUT... BUT THEY'LL KILL ME!

THAT PARTICULAR KILLING WOULDN'T WORRY ME!



ANYWAY, IF YOU DON'T GO I'LL HAVE YOU THROWN TO THE LIONS!!



MENHIR GRAVEYARD



Bharat Reddy claims scalp of Brearley

One down, three to go

ASHIS RAY reports from Edgbaston on a tragedy (for India) in three innings

SIPPING champagne and seemingly delighted with his team's success, England's captain Mike Brearley had several pertinent observations to offer at the end of his team's innings and 83 run victory over India. Firstly, he was generous enough to point out that with an unfit Chandra filling the breach for an unavailable Bedi coupled with Amarnath leaving the field in course of the English innings, it was tough on Venkat in terms of handling a woefully inadequate attack, compelled as he was to over-bowl Kapil Dev. To supplement this view he asserted: "England would never go on tour without at least

eight frontline bowlers in its ranks". Predictably silent after the ignominy of his team being cut to size in less than four days on a passive track, Venkat nodded his approval to both remarks then in a rather sombre tone stressed: "The crucial moment was the devilish ball that got Gavaskar out in the second innings."

There is no reason to dispute any of these comments, for there can be no two opinions about which was the superior side. But the assessments understandably omitted a reference to the umpiring. It was not for Brearley to raise the issue — having no cause to begrudge any decision — and one suspects Venkat's sense of savoir-faire precluded such criticism. However, the fact remains that some of the verdicts of Messrs Constant and Meyer did make native commentators and critics look the other way in embarrassment. It is perhaps unfair to pass judgment on the supervision, aided as media men are in this country with a slow-motion television re-run of an event moments after it has occurred. But many will agree that the four rulings that went against India in the tie were distinguishable even without electronic assistance.

Wicket keeper Bon Taylor runs out Gavaskar



Patrick Eagar

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Rawsilin Shirtings!

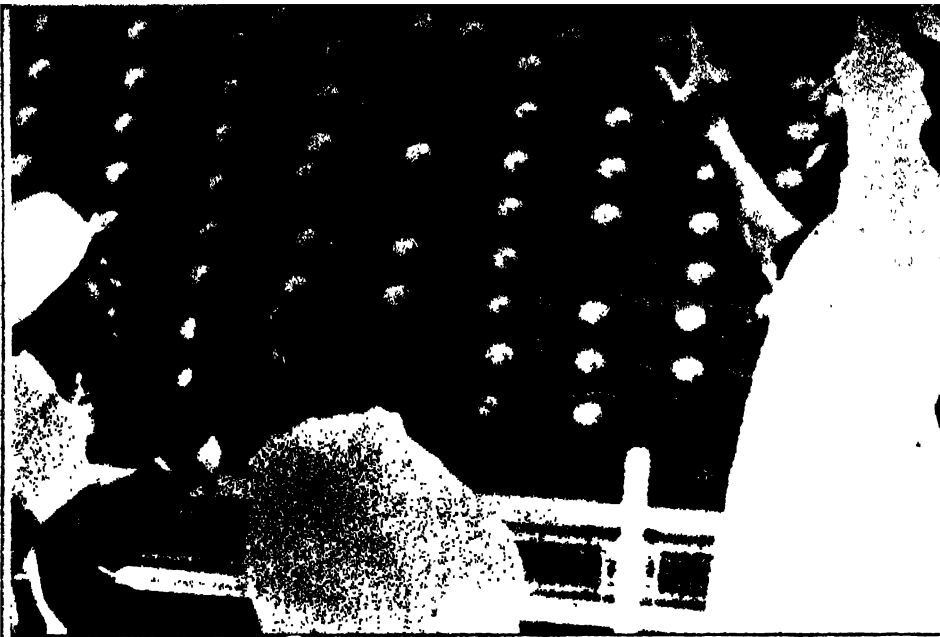
Rawsilin
SUITING SHIRTING

JIYAJEE



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Jubilation as wicket keeper Bob Taylor dismisses Vishwanath off Botham



Breareley takes evasive action



shire ground-staff. But as is generally the case in England there was a "wind blowing from some direction or the other and, so, there existed a modicum of "purchase" for swing bowlers. Switched around to hurl it in with the breeze, young Kapil proved exactly that, getting rid of Breareley and Randall with perfectly pitched outswingers. Both the batsmen attempted to push the ball square and only succeeded in snick-ing to debutant Bharat Reddy, who it must be said, actually did very well to hold Randall's edge in front of first slip. Prior to Breareley's exit, there was an lbw appeal against Boycott when he had only scored 7 runs. Shuffling to cover his stumps in the face of Kapil's off-cutter, the 38-year-old veteran from Yorkshire stood his ground and was visibly re-lieved when the appeal was turned down. He missed his shots outside the off-stump a number of times and Kapil Dev continued to torment him. Ghavri's bouncers also harried him — the solitary potent weapon this bowler seemed to possess — but Boycott proceeded to score 155.

Graham Gooch, who had come and gone amidst the stubborn resistance at the other end, played the innings spectators will remember most. This Essex player is still a bit "upright" and "square-on" in negotiat-ing the bowling, but on this occasion with his inherent quickness of eye and muscular frame, timed the ball impeccably. The 13 beefy hits to the fence and the six to midwicket off Vekat bore ample evidence of these qualities. The fact that he failed to notch up his maiden hundred detracted little from a thoroughly enjoyable exhibition. The termina-tion of his pursuit was once more the work of the Kapil-Reddy alliance. Filling the breach, David Gower of Leicestershire was also quick to emphasise his propensities.

Breareley delayed the declaration till Gower completed his double cen-tury—his highest knock in Test cricket and irrespective of the medio-cre bowling this was as enterprising as his two previous Test "tons". To-wards the latter stage of England's gigantic innings, Botham with a hur-ricane 33 which included a towering six off Kapil, the man who ultimately clean bowled him, and Miller with an unbeaten 63 kept him company. It was not easy to steal the limelight away from a Gower riddling the cover ropes with exquisite drives, but Miller, the Derbyshire all-rounder better known for his off-spin bowling, demonstrated the cor-rect style of executing the hook.

VENKAT for no reason underbowled himself and in any event sent down far too many loose balls for a "trundler" cast in the role of checking the runs. He also made a few errors in the field in what was a most un-enviable assignment for a captain. But as Breareley put it, leading a side can be such bliss with 633 runs in the kitty and no impediments to

all-out aggression. The postponement of the closure made no difference to his plans of making early dents in India's batting armoury. While England had registered three century partnerships, none were presented by the visitors in their first outing. After Chauhan and Vengsarkar had left early, Gavaskar and Vishwanath raised hopes of a memorable stand. But an unforgivable error by Gavaskar and the subsequent run-out, cut short the partnership and with it much of India's aspirations of avoiding the follow-on. Beaten a couple of times while trying to drive, the prodigious run-getter from Bombay had settled down to the machine-like efficiency which cricketers the world over have come to fear and respect. Driving beautifully on both sides of the wicket and steering harmless outswingers down to third-man, the 'architect' clipped one to midwicket and without paying heed to the movements of Randall at widish mid-on set off for a single. That was it—Randall sent in a quick return and Taylor despite being caught off balance did not allow the opportunity to slip by. 61 is what he scored, but as Colin Cowdrey decreed: "Randall may not have got very many runs, but with this piece of fielding he had surely saved 140". For quite a while thereafter Vishwanath carved out the impression that his brother-in-law's departure was not the end of the road. Unusually circumspect, his wristy brilliance was kept in cold storage for the greater part of his contribution of 78. It was all the more sad that he became a victim of a dubious judgement while playing forward to a ball from Edmonds spinning away from him.

Of the rest, Amarnath recovered from the back injury he suffered while bowling. Having emerged triumphant in bumper-hook duel with Botham—who had overshot the mark anyway by sending down no less than three short-pitched deliveries in an over for three overs on the trot—the batsman, played over and inside a yorker from Willis to perish at 31. Reddy gave a better account of himself than expected. Together with Venkat, he was not intimidated by the pace of Willis or the aerial gyrations of Hendrick and Botham. It was a defiant and delightful ninth wicket association embellished as it was with the captain blasting Edmonds for two sixes in one over. Alas! it was not good enough and the Indians were invited to bat a second time. 297 on a wicket that could be blamed only for the delivery that removed Chauhan was a sad commentary on a side's resilience. True, the light kept fluctuating while India batted, unlike the sunshine during the English innings.

In the second innings Gavaskar spearheaded a cavalier first wicket partnership of 124 runs with Chauhan. To the English he bore an ominous touch, sweeping and driving with such disdain that the



Hendrick is congratulated after removing opener Gavaskar

field was spreading out for a leather hunt. Yet the advance was halted — reaching 68 in quick time he received a beast of a ball from Hendrick, cocking up from a good length, which grazed the bat's outer edge and his shoulder before carrying to third slip.

A second 50 of the match was Vishwanath's destiny as well. But it was a lacklustre display. Lucky to be dropped by Hendrick and not stumped by Taylor, the "pint-sized wizard" unleashed many a stroke without using his feet and finally fell to Botham's outswinger to be caught behind the stumps. Amarnath was also missed off Edmonds by Brearley, but any scope of it proving expensive was nullified by a lbw sentence extraordinary! How that incoming ball hitting the batsman on the front would not have missed the leg-stump only the gentleman concerned can explain. Thus it all crumbled. Six wickets falling like ainepins in the space of a meagre 26 runs and the curtain rung

down at 253. The irrepressible Ian Botham's five wickets—four of them with the second new ball had inflicted the maximum damage. But no praise can be too lofty for the nagging accuracy of Hendrick in both innings.

It is now abundantly clear that Gaekwad with his limited strokeplay is a misfit at number five and Vengsarkar with his bat lunging ahead of his pads is easy prey to any intelligent bowler. On the other hand Patel from the evidence of his form against the West Indies and New Zealand in the Prudential Cup is a more organized batsman than five years ago and with the pitches likely to be on the slower side in this half of the summer and the bowling not excessively fast he could be the ideal foil for Gavaskar and Vishwanath. As for Yashpal, his batting in the county games was a revelation and if anybody deserves a place in the side it is this talented North Zone star. Amarnath would be my choice for first wicket down. ■

Kapil Dev strikes



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SPECIAL REPORT

AT CALCUTTA Airport, an isolated grassy enclave near Hangar Number 2 is called the "Hijack Bay". On Wednesday, July 25, this enclave more than lived up to its name, it was occupied for roughly 11 hours by a small blue-and-white Bangladesh Biman Fokker Friendship. It all began when, soon after the routine Jessore-Dacca flight took off, a 20-year-old Bangladeshi youth of medium build and height whipped out his toy pistol, an eight-inch knife, placed a briefcase which he said contained a bomb in the aisle, bluffed that he had two associates among the passengers and told the pilot to fly to Calcutta. The drama finally ended at midnight, peacefully, with not a shot fired, when the stranded passengers were flown back to Dacca, aboard the same plane.

"I want ten lakh US dollars, a Boeing 707 and a pilot from Bangladesh to fly me wherever I choose," one of the passengers seated near



Tarapada Banerjee

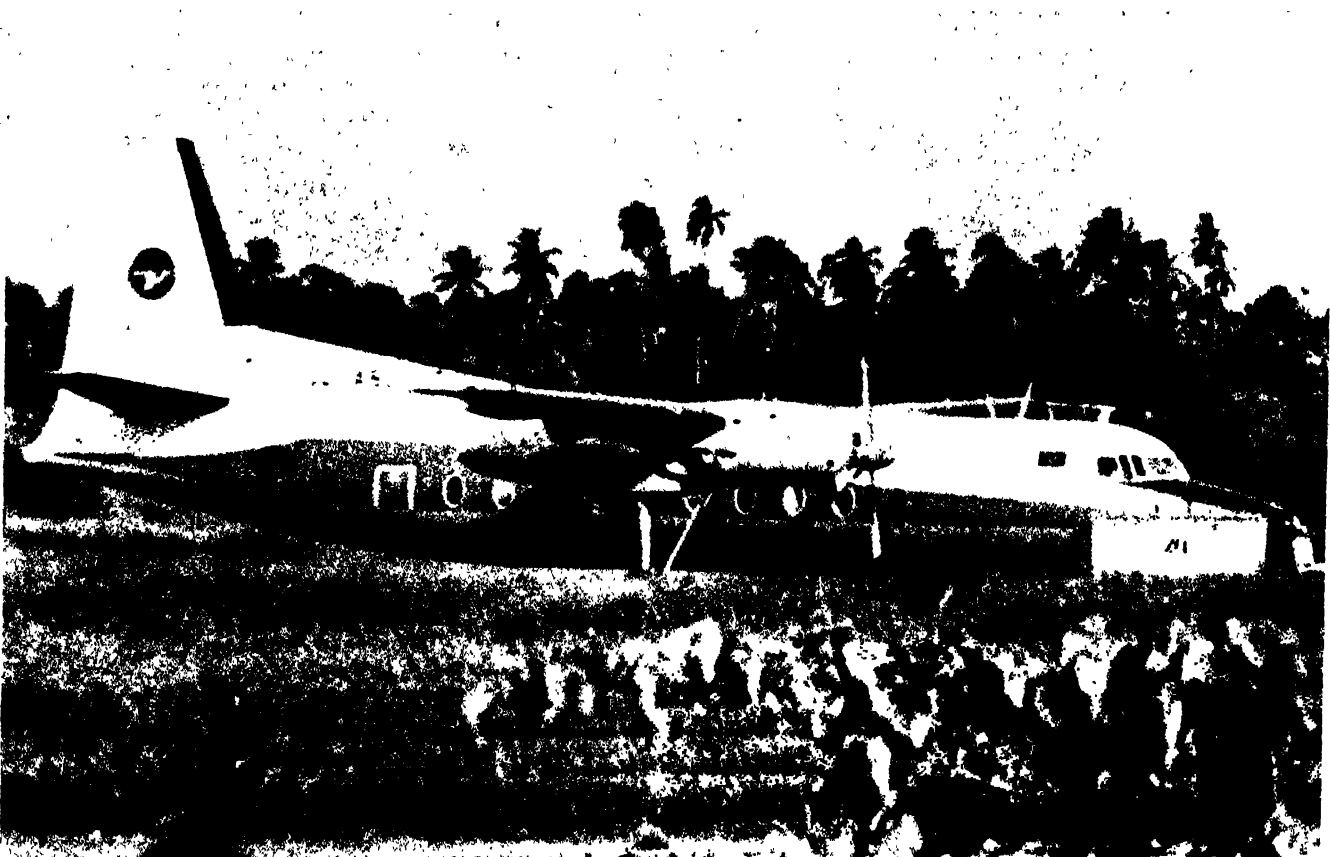
the cockpit heard Nazrul Islam tell the Calcutta ground control officials over the plane's radio. He negotiated with the West Bengal Home Secretary Mr Rathin Sengupta and the Bangladesh Deputy High Commissioner Mr Atiquzzaman. "You are demanding ten lakh US dollars. This is impossible for a poor country like Bangladesh. And you want the money in ten hours. When the Japanese Red Army demanded 60 lakh US dollars the Japanese Government asked for at least a month's time. The holy month of Ramzan is nearing. Do not harm the passengers," Mr Atiquzzaman told his troublesome compatriot.

Nazrul Islam was said to be extremely rude with the passengers in the beginning, but later softened. He was apparently a Robin Hood of sorts. Once in the course of a monologue he told the passengers: "People are starving all over Bangladesh while you are enjoying this flight." When a passenger wanted to go to

Plane mischief

NIRMAL MITRA and SYED NISAR MEHDI ABDI describe how a lone Bangladeshi hijacked a Fokker Friendship in an impossible adventure.

Top, Nazrul Islam caught by the collar and below, the hijacked plane



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Vital facts about Colds and Flu and how to fight these ailments

*"Anacin is a big help
for quick relief from
the miseries of colds
and flu"*
says Nurse Natalia D'Souza



What causes colds and flu?

Air-borne viruses from infected persons spread colds and flu. Normally, the body resists these viruses. But over-exertion or under-nourishment weakens the body and lowers resistance to infection.

What are the symptoms?

Bodyache, heaviness in the head, sneezing and a runny nose. Flu is often accompanied by shivering, discomfort and sweating. Cough, sore throat, loss of appetite and fatigue may follow.

Can it lead to complications?

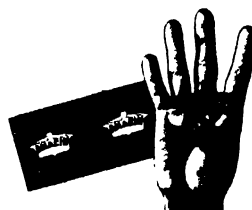
Neglected cases may lead to pneumonia and infection of the upper respiratory tract.

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the toilet, he would turn suspicious, and follow him to the door of the toilet at the point of his long knife. After landing at Calcutta, he ordered everyone to surrender their wrist watches, bags and other valuables. Khokon Roy, 19, was reluctant to oblige. He was grabbed by the arm, and forcibly deprived of his watch. The teenager collapsed in fright, to regain consciousness five hours later. The air hostess, Miss Molly, a dark young girl, was so scared, she cried almost incessantly, and had to be consoled by the passengers.

Captain Rizvi, the pilot, showed more presence of mind. He tried to scare the hijacker by raising false alarms. Once, when the plane stood in the Hijack Bay, he warned Nazrul Islam about the possibility of an explosion if the plane was not detached from the mobile ground generator which had caught fire. He wanted some people to push the plane backward. The hijacker finally let five men get off. In the confusion, three people escaped, one running through the tall grass and two others clinging to the rear of a fire brigade vehicle that had come to put out the fire.

From outside, the scene was one of uneasy calm for about 11 hours. While negotiations between the hijacker and the authorities continued, newsmen searched for titbits and the police grew tense. One civil aviation jeep after another would approach the plane, then drive away. The hijacker's patience began running out. Maybe it was the heat inside the plane that did the trick. The fire in the generator latched on to the plane had stopped the airconditioning. Lunch was asked for around 2 p.m., and about the same time three passengers, a woman and her sick two-and-a-half-month-old baby and a person with breathing trouble, were released. An hour later, tea was delivered.

Not willing to take any chances, the Indian authorities brought in reinforcements on the double. A number of Army and Air Force personnel could be seen moving about in the control tower. In fact, two plane-loads of Indian commandos were flown in and started readying for action.

At 5:45 p.m. some movements were visible in the cockpit. The pilot got off the plane, walked up to the nose and signalled for a vehicle with his arms. Shortly, an ambulance drove up and after some hesitation, the pilot left in it.

Back in the control tower, we found two very worried men from the Japanese Consulate, who claimed there was a Japanese national among the passengers, talking to each other and persistently questioning the Briefing Officer. There was a torrent of telephone calls from Dacca, but the Calcutta Exchange was unable to connect them to the airport. For quite some time now all telephone links between the city and the airport have been disrupted. Even now, only radio telephones are in operation. The only messages that could

be sent or received were on wireless. At least two officials whom we met said that the situation could have been tackled much more effectively had the telephone links been available. In fact, when the drama was over, the Bangladesh Deputy High Commissioner Mr Atiquzzaman sent his message to Dacca on the Dum Dum wireless set.

At about 6:45 p.m. the pilot Captain Rizvi left the Tower after informing the officials that the hijacker would be surrendering. All the passengers would first be released, but the hijacker would come out later. The decision had apparently been made after a lot of cajoling and persuasion by the pilot and the passengers. At one point the hijacker refused to let up, and threatened to commit suicide. The passengers promised to ensure his safety after



Tarapada Banerjee

surrender: "We told him nothing would happen to him if he gave up, and his objective was quite impossible. He replied 'I shall see' and finally had a word with Captain Rizvi, after which the Captain left to tell the authorities," said Mezbaddin, one of the passengers. "The hijacker then returned all our possessions. That was our moment of joy," he added. At seven, in the faint light of dusk, we could see the passengers walking out of the plane wearily in a single file, and boarding an Indian Airlines bus that took them to the VIP lounge.

Meanwhile, the hijacker decided to mingle into the trooping passengers, hoping to escape notice. After the passengers left, the police and other officials who went to the plane, found to their surprise that Nazrul Islam was not there. They immediately rushed to the VIP lounge and asked the other passengers where he was, but no one spoke. Eventually a trolley operator who had seen Nazrul Islam inside the plane, pointed him out, and the nearest plainclothesman pounced upon a suspicious, dark young man dressed in a jean shirt and grey flares. Nazrul Islam was "displayed" to the photographers and then promptly pushed into the bathroom of the VIP lounge where he was given a sound beating by IB men. Some Military Intelligence per-

sonnel were also present at the airport. The hijacker was first interrogated at the Anti-Hijacking Special Committee headquarters in the airport, and later at the IB office on Lord Sinha Road. An IB spokesman said: "We got the hijacker. It is perhaps early to pronounce a verdict. He may possibly be innocent, but we will have to conduct our investigations and haul him up in court. The investigation will be conducted by the CID and we will be assisting them."

The passengers and Bangladesh officials were far from pleased with the handling of the hijacking. The passengers did not get what they most needed, sitting as hostages in the heat of the aeroplane—the benefit of a proper mobile generator to run the airconditioning. Mr A. B. M. Altaf Hussain, one of the passengers, said: "We were served food, water, cold drinks and Wills Filter Kings, but India did not supply us with a generator to operate the airconditioning. We felt suffocated. The hijacker himself opened the door to let some fresh air in". This despite the fact that a week before the event, the Anti-Hijacking Special Committee had actually organised a mock-hijack, to test their alertness and efficiency. An incoming flight from Kathmandu informed the Calcutta Control Tower that the plane had been hijacked, and wanted permission to land at Calcutta. The rehearsal was carried out without informing the Calcutta airport officials. A top-ranking officer of the IB who participated in the exercise said that he concerned officials had given a good account of themselves.

Also in evidence was a definite feeling of estrangement between Bangladesh and Indian officials. When a high-powered three-member delegation arrived from Dacca to get Nazrul Islam released and taken to Bangladesh for trial, they were promptly refused. The Indian authorities said that he had committed a grave cognizable offence in Indian territory, and would therefore be tried here. A spokesman of the Bangladesh High Commission said that their request had apparently been dismissed on orders from the Indian Foreign Ministry. Nazrul Islam was later produced in the Barrackpore Sub-Divisional Judicial Magistrate's Court to face a total of seven charges including extortion, criminal intimidation, and wrongful confinement under Section 14 of the Foreigner's Act, Section 10 of the Maintenance of Public Order Act and Indian Aircraft Act. He was kept in police custody till August 9. Meanwhile, in Bangladesh, a five-man committee was set up to inquire into the hijacking.

A senior Bangladesh official also objected to a newspaper report which said that the three-member delegation that had arrived from Dacca had actually brought the ransom money for the hijacker. "This is baseless and incredibly absurd. Why should we patronise hijackers?" the official said.

THE brass nameplate beside the ten-foot-high steel gates says "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Bar at law". Above it is another plate, much older and more faded, bearing the name of his father, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto. The links with the past are strong at No 70, Clifton. Inside the house, it is as if the former Prime Minister of Pakistan had never left. Indeed, there are many — including his daughter Benazir — who believe that he has not really gone. His spirit lingers, they say, guiding and fortifying them.

Benazir admitted: "I can feel his presence around me. At times, I feel he is not with me and I get depressed. At other times, I feel him so close. When I snap or get angry, I feel him move away from me."

Since his death, Bhutto's power has increased. In some ways, he is as powerful now as he was at the height of his career. He is widely considered to be a martyr: Chairman Shabaz, they call him. Many also believe he has become a saint, and they say miracles have been performed by him since his death.

There are two new places of pilgrimage in Pakistan. The one is the small, remote walled graveyard in which the military buried Bhutto shortly after dawn on April 4. Hundreds visit here every week, undaunted by the difficulty of reaching Naudero in the province of Sind, or by the fact that there are few facilities once they get there. The other place of pilgrimage is 70 Clifton, with its steel gates, high light grey walls, and barbed wire strung over the top.

Crowds gather regularly, first in the street, and then when the numbers become too large, the gates open and they are allowed to hurry along the driveway with its potted palm trees and shrubs and sit on the large lawn. Here they wait through the day.

Inside, Bhutto's widow, Begum Nusrat, is still in mourning and will see no one beyond the immediate family. Also inside is Benazir, working harder than she ever has in her life, and under great strain. The pressures mount up: the weakening effects of her detention, the strain of her father's trial and the visits to the death cell, then the appalling period of his death. Now Benazir is free, but there is little time for rest. Literally thousands come to see her every week. Some are politicians or local leaders who have travelled great distances to tell her their troubles and ask for help, to find out if she is a left-wing fanatic or a right-wing reactionary, and to offer condolences on Bhutto's death.

From about 10 am until midnight or after, Benazir sees delegations, or organises the People's Party, copes with squabbling factions and does

'The military regime wants to eliminate us'

Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, talks to PETER NIESEWAND in Karachi.



Aloke Mitra

the job her father left behind. Everyone wants "just one minute" with Benazir, but means twenty. The ordinary people sit outside, waiting for her to appear. They have come to condole and comfort her. She usually ends up comforting them as they wail and scream in the garden. It's astonishing she has not cracked up, and clearly, General Zia-ul-Haq, would not be unhappy to see her carried, gibbering to some nice, quiet psychiatric clinic. So it was that among her visitors came an army captain, who seemed to take pleasure in giving her graphic details of precisely how her father died, and of the pain he could feel. As he cruelly twisted the knife, the man claimed to be a sympathiser. It was behaviour almost beyond belief.

Yet Benazir survives; planning, listening, talking, making speeches to crowds outside the house, sleeping when she can, waiting for the next blow to fall—and preparing for the day when the People's Party might again be elected to office.

She herself plays down the strains that are on her: it is from her assistants that you hear the full story.

For this interview, we began talking about imprisonment, and solitary confinement, and how people tolerated it.

BENAZIR: I don't know how my father coped. He used to take one subject—say, Peter Niesewand. He would think about that person, when they met, what they said. So he would do A Day In My Life. How did I spend that particular day, June whatever, 1953 or 1957, and then he would go over the whole day, keeping his mind active all the time, exercising all the time, because physically, it was not possible in the size of the cell to exercise. He always believed in protesting against humiliation. He always believed in fighting. No matter what they did with him, he would fight. For instance, according to the gaol manual—the gaol manual—they say you can have one hour out in the sun. As soon as he went out in the sun, they would say: 'Ten minutes left'. Because they insulted him all the time, he considered it demeaning, so he would not go out. When we had our visits, five minutes before the visit finished he would say, 'Go, I don't want them to come and tell you the time is up'. This is how he kept his dignity.

Q: What happened in the days leading up to the execution?

Benazir: After the review petition was dismissed and they took away his possessions, he would not eat. It is the ultimate protest weapon any individual has. If he couldn't do anything else, at least he could register his protest against that act. When I went on a Saturday, I took some sandwiches with me and he said 'I am not eating'. I said the gaol authorities told me to send food from home. He said: 'I'd be happy with the gaol food, but I'm protesting'. He didn't eat from March 24 until April 3, the day he

was assassinated. He hadn't eaten a thing. They sent all these thugs in. They grabbed hold of all his things and gave him convict's clothes to wear. He said: 'Let me see which one of you makes me put them on'. He was such a clean person, and smart, and he always wanted us to be like that too. He said you must be clean. It is a clean world. He would wash his shalwar in the bucket in his cell, and he would not wear convict's clothes. He never gave up fighting. He would show them 'You can't break me'.

Q: One of the things General Zia was anxious to get was an appeal for clemency. Do you think if your father had done this his life would have been spared?

Benazir: In fact, a concerted effort was made to get him to sign an appeal, and either my mother or

The jawans and the lower officers (of the Army) are with the PPP. They are against General Zia-ul-Haq. They know the man who brought them back and gave them their honour. The man who fought for them.



myself to sign one, and they would commute the sentence. But my father would say: 'I won't sign. He will still hang me. And even if he wouldn't, I won't live with dishonour'. He wanted to live, but not with dishonour. He knew for two years they would do it. He said: 'I will show them how a leader of the people dies'. We've had three martial laws in Pakistan, and each time they've tried to discredit democracy and democratic institutions. He wanted to add respect to the name of democracy. He wanted to enhance democratic concepts by showing and demonstrating how someone who is the elected President, Prime Minister and representative of the people behaves. Otherwise, each military regime tries to say: these politicians squabble, or politicians are corrupt, or politicians are this. They are trying to tell the people, forget about democracy and forget democratic rule. It was an obligation on him as a democratic leader to show the people of Pakistan and

the world how the leader of the people faces death and doesn't compromise with dictatorship and unrepresentative rule.

Q: Just before he died, your father gave you a final message to the people of Pakistan. What's happened to it?

Benazir: It is no longer in my possession. Nothing is safe. Our houses have been constantly raided. It has been sent out of the country. It is not with my brothers. It is in safe hands, and when the time comes, perhaps we will publish it, perhaps we will announce it at a public meeting. It is there, and it is in his own handwriting. It is a brief message. He told us verbally too.

Q: Do you think the military will launch further actions against you and your mother?

Benazir: Of course there will be. Of course the military regime wants to eliminate us either physically or politically. Even in the latest Budget, please look at the amount sanctioned under Law and Order. There has never been any civil administration which has sanctioned something for Law and Order. They can hardly write: this is to crush the PPP, so they call it Law and Order. It is Zia-ul-Haq who is the obstruction. If he feared my father, if he could not bear to face him, if he did not have the guts to face him, if he assassinated him after that, how is he going to hand over power to the Party of which he was Chairman? It is not logical. We expect a new wave of persecution to start against us.

Q: What's happened about your mother's case? Is she still being taken before a tribunal?

Benazir: My mother's so-called cases are still pending before the disqualification tribunal. The purpose of a disqualification tribunal is to look into the misuse of public funds. None of the charges refer to the period when my mother was a public office holder, and anyway, that was for less than two months.

Q: Just before your father died, the military raided this house—70 Clifton—and your other houses. They said they'd found top secret State documents hidden here in concealed cupboards and other places. Has anything further happened about that?

Benazir: We are trying to recover the items they stole, because they have nothing to do with the official records. They are all personal; a bound file containing the receipts for each and every item which my father paid for from his personal account. They took seven antique maps of ours from my father's library.

Q: Antique maps?

Benazir: Yes. They took our personal belongings. They came at 2 am on April 3. They jumped across the walls. Why didn't they knock on the door? They beat up our guards. The guards told them the keys were with my cousin across the street.

Q: I'd heard they let themselves in with their keys.

Benazir: They had a special piece of equipment. They just slide it in to a keyhole and it opens the lock. My mother has a safe in her bedroom. They opened it. The milkman came and was arrested. They searched the roofs and gardens. They brought a red cloth with papers on it for the television people to film, but there are no films of the secret hiding places, because these don't exist. When one servant came for his duty in the morning, they arrested him. The magistrate was with the Army. He said, 'Well, when I am here, you don't need a search warrant.' They wanted the servant to sign a piece of paper. He refused. The magistrate said: 'Well, if you don't sign, you see what happened to your Sahib. Imagine what will happen to you'. So he was frightened and he signed. I had my secretary write to General Abbasi, the martial law administrator, and asked for an inventory of what they took. The search went on for 8-10 hours. They locked everybody up. We did not have any secret closets or secret places. How many false cases can they bring? They have made a laughing stock of themselves in the world. After the assassination, people would be more interested in what is happening to us. Perhaps they are letting the international disgust die down. They took quite a lot of stuff. The magistrate was fingering my father's ties and his clothes, and saying 'Look from where to where he has gone'. They played all my cassettes. Pop music streamed out to their ears. I had not heard these cassettes since I left England. I don't think they could have found anything because we had nothing. My father would not put us in a position where we could reveal things by being tortured or whatever. They took some letters he had written to me when I was a student at Oxford. Just personal stuff like that. How can I get them back? Money can't buy those back. They apparently got excited when they opened my father's closet. Whether my father had something or didn't have something, I don't know. They said, 'Oh, this is very dangerous stuff'. But they had raided the house previously, so if there was something, why didn't they take that on the previous occasion? Nobody had opened my father's cupboards. I think now we have never opened the cupboards. They opened a briefcase and took everything from it. I went to see the cupboard. There is a briefcase and it is empty. It doesn't look like one of my father's briefcases, but I don't know.

Q: What do you think is going to happen about the elections General Zia has promised for November? Will they be held, do you think?

Benazir: I think what Zia would like to do—I'm looking at it from his point of view—I think what he says is, he will hold 'local bodies' elections, which is a limited constituency, and then he will get these

local bodies to pass a Constitutional amendment giving powers to the President and making Pakistan, which is a Federation, into a unitary State. He will resign as Chief of Army Staff and become President only, and he will bring in his brother-in-law as Chief of Army Staff. Then I think he would like to explode the nuclear device in October, and then try to take the credit for it. If he says he can't fool the people, then he would like to call the local bodies and get them to say, postpone the polls, so it doesn't fall on him. Because there is political instability, border tension, economic crises, student trouble. The Army has to put things right. But we must have some representatives, so he'll have indirect polls. The way he is pursuing local bodies, as if the very existence of the regime and his life depended on it! Why the obsession with local bodies? If you are prepared for local bodies, you must be prepared for general elections, because the same preparations are necessary.

Q: What future is there for Zia?

BENAZIR. I think that events have long since escaped his hands, and social forces proceed in a particular direction and he can't stop the rise of the people. It is inevitable. It will come. And he will not leave unless there is a mass upsurge. It is the external factor, his ostracisation, which will make it difficult for him to continue in the international community. By ostracising him, the international community, if they believe in human rights, if they believe in democratic

Benazir prays after her release from detention on May 29, 1979



concepts, are siding themselves with the peoples of this Federation against the usurper. But the essential factor is the internal factor. It is the people of Pakistan who will have to rid themselves of this monster. He won't go otherwise. He loves the office. He treats it as his private property.

Q: Do you see any role for the Army in this?

Benazir: The Army as an institution must realise that Zia has ruined the name of the armed forces. In Punjab, which is the base of the Army, people in uniform are hated, despised, so as an institution they must realise that this man has to go if they want to retain their institution. If they want to avoid a situation such as there exists in Iran, then they will have to get rid of Zia. But how does that help the people of Pakistan? To exchange one military dictator for another? Unless the new General says 'I am holding the polls and going back to barracks'. This is the only way they can redeem the honour of the armed forces. The dichotomy is the jawans and the lower officers are with the PPP. They are against General Zia-ul-Haq. They know the man who brought them back and gave them their honour. The man who fought for them. It is so (amazing): the poor people are never ungrateful. It is the ones who have received offices or been promoted who are. Disraeli said there was never greatness which did not invite envy and malice. But I think the people should do something. I think the people should rise and overthrow the dictator if he doesn't keep his promise. This is the year of going forward.

Q: There've been a number of predictions that the election campaign will be marked by violence, and General Zia will give that as a reason for postponing the polls. It's like Pakistan's a pressure cooker. The lid's been on for a couple of years. Suddenly you take it off, and whoosh.

Benazir: Who will do the violence? General Zia's pals in the PNA? This is why they left. Everything has been very carefully orchestrated. They served their purpose by joining Zia and trying to give his martial regime a civilian facade. Then they left it and their criticism appears in the papers. We criticise Zia and we are locked up and our papers are banned. One law for them. One law for us. So unless they do it themselves, violence is not possible. You say the lid has been on the people so long. The lid must come off. The longer the lid is on, the greater the violence. In Iran, the lid was on for more than 20 years. The result is before you. It is an historical reality. This is why people don't want a political vacuum, and a political void to be caused. This is why the PPP, since July 5 has said that repression is not the answer because the consequences that follow repression are far more ruinous than any other policy.

He became a saint since his martyrdom. He always said: 'I am a sinner. Everyone sins. He always admitted his human frailty.



Q: What about violence from the PPP itself?

Benazir: There is no motivation for us to resort to violence. Nor are our people the violent kind. Unlike Jamaat, we are a mass Party, and a mass Party loses by indulging in violence. If they mean to say that there is the noise of democracy when the lid is lifted, then this is good. It is true exchange, debates. Then ideas grow and flourish. They had been in the desert. This was forced upon us by the military regime. All this talk about violence: unless they pre-plan it, it won't happen. People want to get rid of Zia. The people are mentally prepared for the fact that Zia does not want elections. They are gearing up for the fact that if we don't want Zia, we must have a mass upsurge. In fact, there is polarisation at all levels at the moment — provincial and class levels. But it will coalesce and explode. It is very difficult. How does one deflate this? What is the future of this Federation? It is very unclear, very difficult. The PPP is the only national link. If elections are held and if they are held under the 1973 Constitution, if they are fair and free, then the PPP will march as the victorious Party. And if power is transferred, then I think that will be the salvation of the Federation. It won't be an easy task, but if there is an institution which can save the Federation, that institution is the PPP. But there are so many ifs. A lot of damage has been caused. How do you build? How do you heal? You need patience. You need understanding. You need the participation of the people.

This is our strength. We can mobilise people. We can give them a sense of participation in the whole process of the Federation. By so doing, we could resuscitate the Federation. Nobody else can do that. The others are just pocket groups, not Parties.

Q: Will you stand for election yourself?

BENAZIR: In June 1978, I met my father in the death cell. It was the day of my birthday. I had just turned 25. He smiled and told me: 'Now Zia will never hold elections, because you can contest'. This is why it was so painful this year when June 21 came. I remembered that I was to see him in the morning, and the gaol authorities kept delaying it, and when finally in the evening they let me in, he said: 'Today is the longest day in the world, which is why they couldn't stop you seeing me'. I believe they are trying to bring a Constitutional amendment changing the age of running for Parliament from 25 to 30. It is ridiculous. You kill the Chairman. You disqualify his wife and then you have an arbitrary amendment of this nature. This is what we have been informed. This is fine. We will put up another surrogate. The vote is going to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. It is not going to anybody else, no matter who is standing. People want to vindicate the honour of their leader. They want to vindicate his name and establish his innocence. They will vote for him. But there are a lot of imponderables about the elections. Already the election is rigged by disqualifying our people.

Q: There's a lot of speculation at the moment about Pakistan exploding a nuclear bomb. Do you really think it's likely in October?

Benazir: I don't know anything about the nuclear programme — because it is an Official Secret, and my father never discussed Official Secrets with us. But after the sensational disclosure in the "Eight Days" journal, things came back to my mind. The way he was always saying that 'My greatest gift to the Federation will materialise after my assassination'. One didn't know what he was referring to, and I would ask him and he would smile and say: 'Don't ask too many questions'. In his affidavit filed before the Lahore High Court, he again

Begum Nusrat, now in seclusion



People have been to his mazar (martyr's grave) and they have eaten the flower petals from there and been cured.



made reference to his greatest achievement which was yet to come. Then in the Rejoinder, there is also a reference. The people would know it immediately. Because he has mentioned it. What else could it be? Even greater than the Islamic summit? Even greater than the return of prisoners-of-war? Even greater than the Constitution? What can it be?

Q: What does having the nuclear bomb mean to the people of Pakistan?

Benazir: The people of Pakistan have often felt, if you look at it just on the national level, they feel India is going to overpower us and conquer us, and take us back, and our Islamic civilisation is threatened, and unless we have a deterrent it is going to be inescapable. But with a deterrent, it is a different story. They also think that in terms of the Islamic world, that if our Islamic civilisation—if our country can be threatened, then other civilisations can be threatened. And their sovereignty and integrity violated. And it is important to have a deterrent force. People in the West feel nuclear proliferation will mean the devastation of the entire universe, but we in the Third World feel that if the West is really serious in this view, they would themselves get rid of their nuclear weapons. Why should a so-called powerful country have nuclear devices and not a developing country? Why should the developed world have it and not the developing world? Why should there be discrimination? If you believe in equality, either none should have it, or others should be able to have it.

Q: Can we go back now to your father's last hours in the death cell? There've been a lot of different versions of what took place. Were you ever able to find out exactly what happened?

Benazir: We heard that at about 4 or 4.30 in the evening, the barber came in. My father wanted to shave before the assassination. There were

If he (Zia-ul Haq) feared my father, if he could not bear to face him, if he did not have the guts to face him, if he assassinated him after that, how is he going to hand over power to the Party of which he was Chairman? It is not logical



a whole lot of civilians, and also Colonel Rafi, who was in charge of the gaol. My father was in a very good mood. He was confident, not nervous. He asked the gaol people not to have long faces. He said: 'I am going to be free tonight'. He seemed like a person who is going towards freedom. He told me this also at the last meeting. I told him that every day I used to pray for these prison doors to open so he would be free. He said: 'Don't you know, tonight the doors will open and I will be free'. The barber went away, and at about 7 pm, the magistrate came and asked if he had anything to say, did he want to make a will? After he left, we are told Colonel Rafi and two other military men came in and there was also one in civilian clothes, and they opened the cell door and they went to talk. First it seemed amicable, but then an altercation took place. We have been informed they wanted two things: the main thing they wanted was for him to sign a document saying 'I asked General Zia-ul-Haq to take over on July 5'. He had never asked Zia to do that. They wanted to give legitimacy to Zia. When I was told this, I understood. This clicked. When Zia first did the coup he did his best to give people the impression that it was Bhutto who had arranged it. The keynote of this whole regime has been duplicity and deception. To cause confusion in the minds of the people. Even now, the stories they feed—compromises between the PPP and the junta—all the time, deception. When people are confused, they can't organise. They are not capable of coherent thought. It has been very well psychologically masterminded, the whole thing. They also wanted my father to sign that he was responsible for the fall

of East Pakistan. Then the Chairman really let them have it. He said: 'I protected you. Where were you in 1971? You were decimated, destroyed, and now you have the audacity to come here and ask me to sign this'. They said: 'Your life will be saved'. He said 'I don't want to live a life of dishonour and lies. I have shouldered the blame for too long. You must face up to your own mistakes'. They said: 'It is an order. You will do as you're told'. They caught his hand and there was a struggle. Then he cried out: 'Oh God help me, for I am innocent!' Everybody heard it, in the cells and the courtyard. He started shaking the Army man but he was shaken like a rag doll. In their panic and hurry, they hit him, but the hit went straight on the spinal cord. When he fell down, his head hit the floor. His wedding ring fell off his finger because it was very loose. A glass fell from the table and smashed on the floor. They brought a major from the Central Military Hospital, and the major said 'He is dying'. They gave him an injection to make his heart beat, but he collapsed further. They couldn't feel a pulse. There was no blood pressure and no response to light from his pupils. They tried to pump oxygen into him. They performed a tracheotomy and made a small wound on the throat and pumped in oxygen. They tried to revive his heart but he was dead. From the moment they hit him, he never regained consciousness. The people of our family who saw his body say when he arrived, his face was perfectly normal. He looked like a young boy. He looked as though he was 16 years old, as though any moment he would get up and talk to them. Except for two marks, like two fingers across his throat. One of the marks was red and one was blue, and now we have been informed by doctors that that was the mark always left on a person when a tracheotomy is performed. In a hanging, there's supposed to be a bruise on the side of the neck from the knot in the rope, but there was an actual wound in my father's throat. We have been told when a man is hanged, his tongue comes out. His eyes bulge out because pressure is exerted by the rope around his neck, and his face is mottled because the blood is cut off. But his face was peaceful and serene, and bore no sign whatever of the last hours. The military took photographs when they were burying him, so photographs exist of his face, how it was. Putting these two together, I am 100 per cent convinced now that he did not meet his martyrdom by hanging.

Q: Was this a comfort to you?

BENAZIR: When I first heard it, it certainly was not a comfort, I think something in me died when I knew he was dead and when I heard they had tortured him and beaten him, something in me died a little more. But after my release when people have been tell-

ing me about all these awful after-effects, I am glad that Allah did not allow those beasts to damage his handsome face.

Q: Would you favour a post-mortem to determine exactly what did happen to your father?

Benazir: We don't believe in exhumation. His mortal remains are there. He should be allowed to rest in peace. What the truth is, exhumation will not prove. Who do we go to? The courts that sentenced him to death? Where do we seek our justice? Exhumation will serve no purpose. Aside from the fact that we don't—at least, I don't—want to see his body desecrated by exhumation. There are so many people who know what happened—so many people who saw it and heard his voice. They are alive. They will tell the story.

Q: Someone was telling me that since your release, you've had a visit from an armyman who said he saw your father die. Is this true?

Benazir: A man who called himself a captain and claimed to have been there, came here, and he was just so terrible. He came to this house. How can a captain.... he phones up on our tapped phones and says who he is. He arrives at the gate, watched by everyone, and comes in to tell me, 'Yes, it is true, they tortured him. I was there. Yes it is true, they wanted him to sign these papers. They were going to hang him anyway, because my friend was appointed at the hanging place—some major—but you see, he was unconscious yet he was conscious. He knew what was happening, and yet he could not speak.' He said they left my father's body dangling for 40 minutes. Can you imagine? (She mimics the captain's mook-anguished voice). 'Body dangling there, dangling there...' It was ghastly, simply ghastly. But I knew when he was saying it: they want to unnerv me. They want me to be so psychologi-

Benazir during the Simla Summit



Alok Mitta

cally disturbed that I would be unable to contribute towards the march of the people towards progress. The military assumed that after the Chairman's martyrdom, my mother and myself would be so grief-stricken that we would be immobilised and incapable of giving leadership, or keep the Party united. What they didn't realise was that the *Shaheed* (martyr) was looking upon us, and we had to fulfil what the *Shaheed* would expect of us. He would expect us to keep the banner of the people flying high, and this is what we shall endeavour to do.

Q: Since your father's death, there have been strange stories going around: stories of miracles. What do you know about these?

Benazir: I have always been very religious, but this is the first time I have become something of a mystic. People have been to his *mazar* (martyr's grave) and they have eaten the flower petals from there and been cured. One person went there with his paralysed son—the legs were paralysed. He said 'If you are really a *Shaheed*, my son will be able to walk again', and before the villagers, they saw that boy who was paralysed, stand up. Some may say it is faith, will power. But there have been so many people. My own cousin used to suffer from low blood pressure. She took some flowers from the grave and ate the flowers and became better. I have just met so many people who say this.

Q: There was also a report that you yourself saw one of these miracles—your father's face on the moon.

Benazir: I was told before my release that on the 14th day of the lunar calendar that his face appears in profile with a peaked cap. In Larkana early in June, I was meeting with some of my father's senior colleagues. My friend walked into the room, I wondered why she was walking in, because she knew these were senior politicians. She said: 'Come quickly, on the moon—your father, wearing a Chinese peaked cap.' We all went out. I saw him looking at me and smiling a half-smile. He had that smile as if to say, 'I see—how does it feel to do what I was doing?' I saw the full face turned to me, but they had only seen the profile when they came to call me. They said 'His face has turned—he is looking at you!' If I hadn't seen it, I would never have believed it. When they were outside they saw him in profile, and when they came to get me, he had turned and was looking at me. I had been sitting with his political colleagues in his office, discussing politics, perhaps as he discussed it. It was so unbelievable. I couldn't believe it. I know—I saw it. I know everybody else saw it. If I had seen it by myself, I'd have said I was dreaming I can't explain it.

Q: So for some people, he's becoming a saint.

Benazir: He was a politician in his lifetime. He became a saint since his martyrdom. He always

said: 'I am a sinner. Everyone sins.' He always admitted his human frailty. I can feel his presence around me. At times I feel he is not with me and I get depressed. At other times, I feel him so close. When I snap or get angry, I feel him move away from me. I had a dream on the third day of his martyrdom. In the dream, I was running screaming 'My god, they have killed him. They have killed him'. The crowd was running in the other direction, to see what I had already seen. Suddenly I heard his voice near me saying 'What's the matter?' I said 'Oh, you are here'. He said: 'Yes, I am here. Are you all right?' I said 'Yes, I'm all right'. After that I woke up and felt so much better. It is uncanny. One has always been religious and grown up with this sort of thing, but now it has happened to me. People's reaction at first was, 'My god, we prayed for him and he still died'. But the second reaction is the reinforcement of their faith because of all these things which occurred.

Q: Tell me some of the other reports you've heard.

Benazir: This other man came to me, and said 'I have read in my lifetime, I don't know, 70,000 *Khatma* (complete readings of the Koran) in the mosque. I prayed to God, please show me Mr Bhutto in a dream or I won't read any more.' He saw him in a dream, and my father told him he had not been hanged. People's

Amir Begum, Bhutto's first wife, after her visit to the prison



Now the military can do nothing to him. His enemies can do nothing to him. He is beyond their grasp. He is the one who is free. They are the ones who are gaoled, imprisoned, haunted by their thoughts and pursued by their consciences.



faith has just been so much reinforced. I go there (to the graveyard) and I don't feel he is there, although his mortal remains are. This is because all the time I feel he is with me.

Q: You really feel he's helping you get through your days?

Benazir: Yes I do. In the journey to Larkana after my release, I hadn't had any sleep for two nights. People were wailing and shouting. When the crowds turned out at the stations, I thought I could just wave at them, but they wanted to hear me speak. I heard something from inside come out, almost as another person, and then people were weeping and crying out at what I said: My father used to tell me—don't use notes, get into the habit of speaking extemporaneously. I can't explain it. Somebody who doesn't experience it might say, what does she mean? For me, right now talking to you, I can feel his nearness. He can see you. He is alive. He can move. The man who had read 70,000 *Khatma* asked him in the dream if he was really a *Shaheed*. He said the Angel Gabriel said to him: 'Because you loved the poor and did so much for the poor, all your sins are washed away and you are *Shaheed*.' They believe it. It is a matter of faith. Everybody has to go to the *mazar*. He used to say: 'People will not forsake me', and they have not forsaken him. They borrow money. They take leave to go to pay homage to him. Now the military can do nothing to him. His enemies can do nothing to him. He is beyond their grasp. He is the one who is free. They are the ones who are gaoled, imprisoned, haunted by their thoughts and pursued by their consciences. He is at rest, and they cannot rest.

NOW that Sanjay Khan's *Abdullah* has been completed, people are trying to figure out whether this is going to signify the end of the Sanjay-Zeenat alliance as well. They've been going steady ever since the filming of this production began. There was even talk of his wife, Zarine, having left for America and so on. Zeenat came in for a lot of criticism for her affair with Sanjay, since people believed that it was unbecoming of an artiste of her stature. Now, when the word has spread that Zeenat is slowly slipping down the popularity charts with all the attention and concentration she has been giving to her favourite producer-director-co-star, comes the news of the film's completion. Chances are that the Khan-Aman friendship will come undone. Or so everyone hopes. Meanwhile, Zarine Khan is doing very well as an interior decorator, working for a number of big establishments which include embassies.

consulates and industrial houses. She won't let anything dampen her spirit's. Good for Zarine.

TALKING of Zarine reminds me of *Zarina Wahab*. Recently she was mad about some allegations made against her. First she dislikes being compared to Rekha, whom she is accused of copying. And second, she is quite perturbed about the allegation that she has married Ramesh Narang, a good friend of hers, on the sly. She says, "Just because it is rumoured that Rekha married Vinod Mehra secretly and divorced him under similar circumstances, I, too, am being linked with a similar stunt with Ramesh." She said she would never do such a silly sly thing. "Just to be like Rekha". Though she did not say so in so many words, if she does marry Ramesh Narang, it is going to be a gala event.

IT IS a pity that *Jalal Agha* couldn't do

anything much beyond a few memorable roles in a few art films, and not reach the level of popularity of his father, Agha. Apart from putting on a lot of weight and years to his person, acquiring a stunning, beautiful wife, Valerie, and a lovely little son, Jalal has little to boast of. You can see that the sparkle in his eyes is missing.

THERE was a time when *Rajesh Khanna* would only team up with actresses of his own choice—usually with women on top of the popularity chart. *Jaya Bhadhuri* was removed from a couple of his films simply because he did not want to act with her. Today, he accepts roles opposite girls like *Yogita Bali* and is signing up films with newcomers like *Poonam Dhillon* and *Kim*, who are themselves looking for big breaks. As one of his directors said, he is still the same—comes in late for shooting and has a group of friends around

him, whom the onlookers call *chamchas*.

WE HAVE all heard of silver jubilee hits and golden jubilee hits. But have you ever heard of a 'Sholay' jubilee hit? Well, it's true. These days, if a film has a very successful run, it is referred to as a 'Sholay' jubilee hit. The success of *Sholay* has become an index for judging the success of other films. Well, for this we do owe a bit to *Ramesh Sippy*, don't we?

MALA JAGGI, who has acquired a bit of fame with *Suraksha*, and has six other assignments in hand, began her career many years ago. Unfortunately, right at the beginning of her career she faced a slump, primarily because of a mysterious relationship with a man, who, folks insisted, was her husband. She did all that she could to deny this. But now, it seems, better times are ahead of her. At least we should hope so.

Despite a none too auspicious start, Mala Jaggi's career has finally got off the ground



JAMUNA, who used to be a multilingual heartthrob a decade ago, has aged with grace: with twenty-five years in films, Jamuna still corners good character roles. Though she spends most of her time in Hyderabad, she turns up in Madras now and then. It's delightful to listen to an old-timer who exhibits little rancour.

One of the panelists on the selection board for international film festivals, Jamuna was in Madras recently, at the request of the Film Festival Directorate which is supposed to make all arrangements for the travel and stay of panelists who hail from the neighbouring States. But as usual, the Directorate bungled and delegates were told by the local representative that their bills would be forwarded to Delhi, but there was not even a hint of when the money would be reimbursed. Jamuna took it cool, though a couple of other delegates frowned. She certainly wasn't desperately in need of the money. But how many people care to be so composed and cultured?

AS A novelist and script-writer, Padmarajan, the handsome Malayalee, has contributed to the success of many films, though some of these films contained more sex than he had envisaged. But as the director of *Peruvazhiyamalam*, a modest black and white film, Padmarajan hasn't achieved anything worthwhile: the film received a weak response. Why didn't he act in the film since he presented many newcomers? "Since I performed as a triple-leader—as a story-writer, screenplay-writer and director, I didn't want to take up acting", he says. When asked if he'll act in his next film, which too will feature many newcomers, Padmarajan flatly said, "No".

Aziz, who played the illage bully in *Peruvazhiyamalam* gave an impressive performance. Well-built and tough looking, Aziz, an ex-police officer, has done well in the film. Another interesting performance came from Ashok, who



Seema: Too many stupid questions from the Press

plays the teenager, who kills the village bully.

SEEMA is one actress who admits that she likes to see her name and pictures in print, often. "When newspapers all over India published that my first film, *Her Nights*, was temporarily banned, I felt very important", she recalls. And yet, Seema is not keen on giving interviews these days. Her complaint is that many journalists down South ask the same silly questions, like whether she's fond of flowers, what her favourite colour is, whether she likes crackers or if she like to play with children.

RUMOURMONGERS in Karnataka swear that jealousy has spoilt the once-cordial relationship between actor Shankar Nag and his bother Anant Nag, ever since Shankar started to get plum roles. This is nonsense: Elder brother Anant was not really interested in doing the hero's role. He is more interested in meaty character roles (remember him as the jilted matinee-idol in *Bhumika*). He's quite happy that debonair Shankar is doing better as

the hero. Shankar, too, is interested in character roles, but right now he seems to have no choice. And Anant has had a couple of hits to his credit in recent months, like *Naa Ninna Bidalare* in which he shared some romantic scenes with Lakshmi. They will be seen together in *Chandanda Gombu*, a much discussed Kannada film.

WONDER if Karunanidhi wanted to be an actor when he was in his teens! Of late, he has been showing up in all films scripted by him, offering comments about the story, invoking Annadurai's name, and seems to be enjoying what he is doing. Rival MGR for once can't issue a celluloid retort! *Aadu Pambai*, Karunanidhi's newest crude film has had a good opening and may turn out to be an average hit at the box-office. Will he try to resurrect his son Muthu's film career? People close to Karunanidhi believe that Muthu, who was once groomed to be a rival to MGR, has given up all hopes of a celluloid career, even if Karunanidhi comes up with yet another interesting script.

MUTHURAMAN may not be getting as many roles as he should, but this gentlemen star continues to be contented. So often in movies you come across stars who, though level-headed and gentle in the beginning suddenly become temperamental. But Muthuraman continues to remain what he was two decades ago. Critics and the public still consider him to be an excellent actor. The quiet, non-interfering Muthuraman has been a great hit with his leading ladies, be it K. R. Vijaya or Lakshmi or Nandita Bose. Lakshmi, who has acted with all the big stars down South, including MGR, says there's nothing like having Muthuraman as the leading man.

DESPITE his dozen odd acting assignments in Bombay, Girish Karnad helped his one-time assistant, Nagabharana, to complete a colour film, *Anweshane* in Kannada. Apart from acting in it, Karnad scripted the film and roped in friends Smita Patil and Anant Nag.

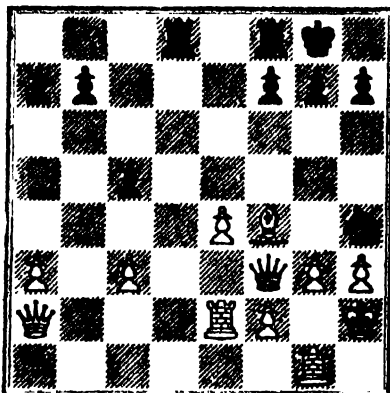
Nagabharana's maiden directorial attempt *Grahana*, national award winner, is being salted away as the distributors aren't keen on it, but he's sure that *Anweshane* should do well. It has tempo, colour and a couple of songs. Says Nagabharana: "The film is about the middle class' attitude to a murder committed in its midst."

In Karnataka, Karnad is rated rather high as a director and not many producers showed interest in signing him for acting. But now that he's seen in big Bombay productions like *Man Pasand* and *Aasha*, Kannada producers are taking a keen interest in him. Girish says he's picking up money to make off-beat Kannada films and he isn't really interested in acting. But who really knows? Director Basu Chatterjee used to justify his commercial films by swearing from time to time that he was just earning money to make films like *Sara Akash*. But what we are getting is *Baton Baton Mein* and similar bores.

PIOUSJI

chess

Olafsson (Black) to play



Rodriguez (White)
Position after White's 26th move

We are one people, proclaims the motto of FIDE (the world chess federation), but are we? There has been an increasing amount of political squabbling within the ranks of FIDE in recent years and the omens do not bode well. Eighteen months ago South Africa was expelled. Not an unreasonable fate to befall such an unreasonable country, one might think, but in excluding South Africa FIDE chose to overlook the very genuine efforts being made by the South African players and federation alike to remove racial barriers in chess. There are those who would nevertheless support the expulsion, but how can they then justify the recent decision of FIDE to admit Uganda? If FIDE is going to make political decisions it should at least be consistent. No doubt Uganda has a great deal to offer the chess world with grandmaster Amin playing his famous Entebbe Defence, but does the world chess federation (or anyone else for that matter) really consider the Ugandan regime to be more palatable than the South African? There is widespread fear that next in line for the chopping block is Israel, in which case FIDE will probably blow itself apart.

The one man who, I believe, can hold things together is the new FIDE President, Fredrik Olafsson. He has both the power and the integrity to redirect FIDE onto a more reasonable course. Being an Islander, he is politically neutral (providing of course our trawlers stay out of his fishing grounds), but in the battle between those who want to play politics and those who want to play chess he will side with the latter. The only unfortunate side to his acquisition of the presidency is that the job may impair his career as a player. I hope not. Olafsson is still one of the most fluent attacking players in the world as the following miniature shows.

White: O Rodriguez. Black: F Olafsson. Las Palmas, 1978. Nimzo-Indian Defence.

1. P-Q4, N-KB3; 2. P-QB4, P-K3; 3. N-QB3, B-N6; 4. P-K3, P-B4; 5. B-Q3, P-Q4; 6. N-B3; 7. O-O, N-B3; 8. P-QR3, BxN; 9. PxP, PxBP; 10. BxP, Q-B2; 11. R-K1. An old system White intends P-K4.
11. ... P-K4! leading to a pawn sacrifice, but Black obtains strong counterplay.
12. P-Q6, N-QR4; 13. P-Q6, Q-Q1; 14. NxB, NxN; 15. NxN, B-K3; 16. Q-Q3? N-N5! Black already has many threats, including 17. NxBP; 18. KxN, Q-R5+, which explains White's reply

17. R-K2, BxN; 18. QxB, QxP; 19. P-N3, N-K4; 20. Q-R2, Q-N3; 21. P-K4, QR-Q1. Black has regained his pawn with clear advantage, but the speed and artistry with which Olafsson now wraps up the game is remarkable.
22. B-B4, N-B6+; 23. K-N2, Q-N6; 24. P-R3, N-R5+; 25. K-R2, Q-B6; 26. R-KN1 (diagram).
28. ... Q-N7+!! and White resigned. It's mate after 27. RxQ, N-B6+, 28. K-R1, R-Q6+; 29. R-N1, RxR.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge



SIX HEARTS looks difficult on the hand below, and Four Hearts easy. Oddly enough, the game contract makes more demands on technique. Let's look at the slam first.

Dealer, South. Love all

♠ Q 4 3
♥ K 7 6 5
♦ 5 4 3
♣ A J 4

♠ K led
N E
W S

♠ 2
♥ A Q J 10 9 8
♦ A Q 2
♣ K 3 2

Your partner, North, is a fancy bidder and he carries you to a slam as follows:

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
1♥	1♠	2♠	No
2♠	No	4♥	No
5♣	No	6♥	No
No	No		

West holds the first trick with the King of spades and switches to the 10 of clubs.

What do you need for the slam? First, you must assume that both finesses are right. That gives you eleven tricks. The twelfth must come from a squeeze, and your only menace cards are the Queen of spades and the third round of diamonds. It can be done if West holds something like ♠AKJxx ♥—♦Jxxxx ♣Q109. You put in ♣J, draw trumps, finesse ♣Q, and play off all the trumps. Then comes ♠K and a club to the Ace, squeezing West, you hope.

Now try Four Hearts, with the cards not lying so favourably:

♠ Q 4 3
♥ K 7 6 5
♦ 5 4 3
♣ A J 4
♠ AK10765
♥ 3
♦ K 10 6
♣ 10 9 6
N E
W S
♠ J 9 8
♥ 4 2
♦ J 9 8 7
♣ Q 8 7 5
♠ 2
♥ A Q J 10 9 8
♦ A Q 2
♣ K 3 2

Again West leads ♠K and switches to ♣10. Playing in Four Hearts, you assume that the finesses are wrong. The first key play is to duck ♣10 in both hands. You win the continuation, draw trumps, ruff ♣4, and lead a club to the Ace. Then you lead ♠Q from dummy, discarding ♠2 from hand. West wins and is left on play. The technique is that of a 'loser-on-loser' elimination.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



THE West Indian island of Barbuda, a dependency of Antigua, first had stamps of its own in 1922, when the current King George V series of the Leeward Islands was overprinted BARBUDA. This series was withdrawn soon afterwards and the island then used the stamps of Antigua. Separate issues for Barbuda were resumed in 1968. One series comprises 37 stamps portraying the English monarchs from William the Conqueror to Queen Victoria. No. 12 has a portrait of Richard II. The set of 37 monarchs now costs about £10.

C.W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

- Who in Indian history was Sikandar-e-Azam?
- When and where was Leon Trotsky murdered?
- Who is called the Flying Sikh?
- When did Sardar Vallabhai Patel die?
- Hitler was the Fuhrer; what was Franco?
- For which film did John Wayne win the Oscar?
- Of which organisation is the Fleur de Lis the emblem?
- What is the venue for the next Asian Games?
- What was Mark Twain's real name?
- What is the Key to the Mediterranean?



- Alexander the Great.
- In 1940, in a hotel in Mexico City.
- Joginder Singh.
- December 15, 1950.
- The Caudillo.
- "True Grit".
- The Scouts and Guides.
- New Delhi.
- Samuel L. Clemens.
- Gibraltar.

ANSWERS

Beginning August 5

This week the Sun, Jupiter, Venus and Mercury are conjoined in Cancer. Saturn and Rahu are in Leo. Uranus is in Libra. Neptune is in Scorpio, Kethu is in Aquarius and Mars is in Gemini. The Moon will be moving through Capricorn, Aquarius and Pisces from Sagittarius.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) Your prospects are brighter this week, thanks to the beneficial effect of your ruling planet. Both professional and domestic affairs will bring joy and happiness. Advice of your relatives will prove very helpful. A change of job or even residence is not very unlikely. Some people will win a lottery prize. An important journey is forecast for you. **Good dates:** 5, 8, 8 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) You are strongly advised not to take any sort of risk this week. Patience should be your watchword otherwise mishaps and misadventures are bound to occur. You will reap in due time the fruits of labour. Extravagant tendencies must be curbed. Conserve your resources wisely. Pay attention to business details. It would be foolish to take anything for granted. **Good dates:** 7, 8 and 10. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 6. **Favourable directions:** North and West.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) A favourable week is forecast and this is a suitable time for looking into property matters. Push your business interests to the utmost. Promotion is probable, especially for people in Government service. Love and romance are on the cards; go straight ahead. Your health will remain excellent and you will make new friends. Control your temper in office. **Good dates:** 5, 6, 7 and 9. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** West.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) Your business interests require all your time and attention. Pay attention to the minutest details. On the whole this will be a good week for you if you are careful and discreet. Friends and relatives will show cooperation and their advice will prove very helpful to your ventures. Watch your health closely and do not be extravagant. **Good dates:** 7, 9 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) Outlook for financial and business affairs do not appear very bright this week. A prolonged affair or association is likely to be terminated. The domestic scene will remain bright but you must attend to your profession. Otherwise, you may even lose your job. Remain on your guard; there may be an attempt to deceive you. Letters will bring good news. **Good dates:** 5, 8 and 10. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North-east.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) The stars favour you and a lucky week is forecast. You will gain in almost all spheres. There are chances that you will inherit property. You are advised to exercise caution in your dealings, particularly with your elders. Enterprise and hard work will bring their rewards. Choose your friends carefully, otherwise you will repent in the near future. **Good dates:** 5, 6, 9 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 5. **Favourable directions:** North and East.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) You will make steady, all round progress. Stellar influences favour you as never before. A new friendship may lead to a prolonged love affair. Old friends will prove valuable to your new ventures. Some people will inherit property. An important journey is probable. Letters will bring good news. Pay attention to business affairs and avoid speculation. **Good dates:** 5, 6, 7 and 10. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 10. **Favourable direction:** South.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) An old person is likely to oppose your plans and this may lead to problems for you. You are advised to be discreet and meet this challenge carefully. However, some good fortune will be yours. On the business front, secret information from reliable sources may prove helpful. Your health will show improvement. **Good dates:** 7, 8 and 10. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 11. **Favourable directions:** East and North.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) Hard work and industry will boost your business interests. Ambition and enterprise should bring rich dividends. The health of women folk in the family needs to be watched. Success should not make you arrogant. Be courteous towards your seniors. This is a time when you must push forward your business interests even at reasonable risks. **Good dates:** 5, 6, 9 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 22) This will be a week of mixed fortunes. You may face some problems in your professional life but these will be offset by domestic bliss and harmony. A timely hunch may eventually prove invaluable for business expansion. Property matters should be dealt carefully. Avoid arguments. **Good dates:** 6, 7, 9 and 11. **Favourable direction:** South.

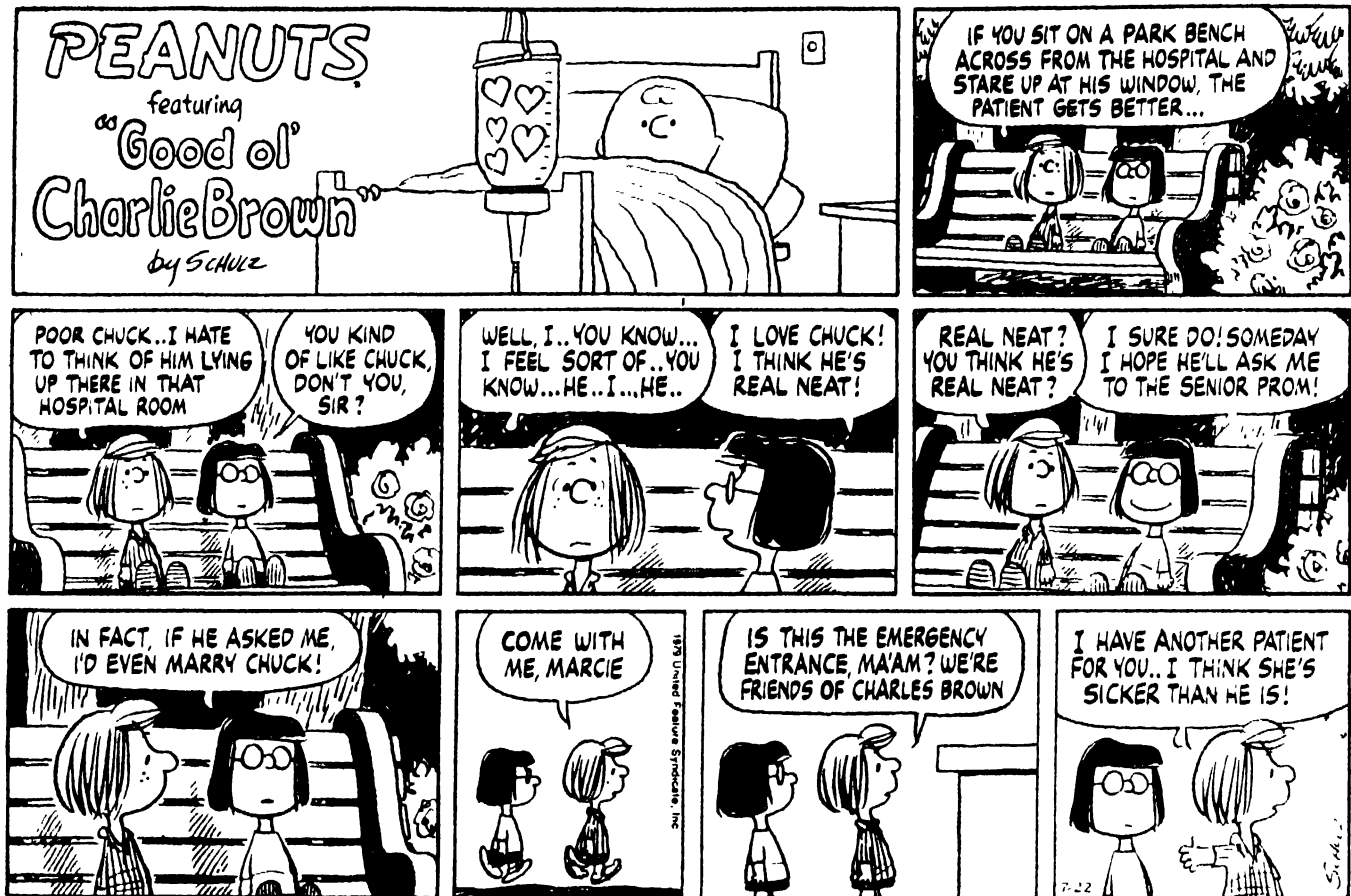


AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) This will be an unlucky week for business and financial affairs. You are advised to conserve your energy and quietly consolidate all recent gains. Your health will remain excellent and a new friendship made this week will prove invaluable to your ventures in the future. **Good dates:** 9, 10 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) Be tactful and patient in all matters. You will be able to overcome the difficulties and trials now facing you. Do not take unnecessary risks in business. Children and new friends contribute to happiness. Defer new ventures. The home front will remain peaceful. Some opposition from an elderly person is forecast. **Good dates:** 7, 8, 10 and 11. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 7. **Favourable direction:** North.

M. B. RAMAN



Stop bad breath... fight tooth decay with Colgate Dental Cream

Brush your teeth with Colgate after every meal. It protects you just the way dentists recommend all over the world.

Bacteria grow in food particles left between your teeth. These can cause bad odour, and later—painful decay.

So always brush the Colgate way right after eating. It's proven most effective to freshen your breath, whiten your teeth and fight decay.

How Colgate's trusted formula works



Odour and decay causing bacteria grow in food particles trapped between your teeth.



Colgate's unique active foam reaches deep to remove dangerous food particles and bacteria.



The result: attractive white teeth, fresh breath confidence, protection against decay.

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better dental care.**



For complete dental care use Colgate Tri-guard Toothbrushes. They guard tooth enamel, guard against dental plaque and guard gums. A varieties to suit everyone in your family.



NEW DELHI: Due to interruption in water supply, there will be a heavy reduction in the distribution of milk by the Delhi Milk Scheme on Friday, July 12, says an official release—*The Statesman* (Aflatoon Desai, Varanasi)

BILASPUR: A 60-year-old widow who ekes out her living as a petty hawker saw a Hindi movie all the 183 days it was screened at a cinema house here. She was presented a sari and a blouse piece by the cinema house management when she came to see the movie on the last day of its screening. The illiterate Mrs Juga Bai told that she went to the movie every day to see a scene depicting a 'qawali'.—*Indian Express* (R. Subramaniam, Coimbatore)

ALIGARH: Mrs Hanifa Khursheed 40, a lecturer of women's college of Aligarh Muslim University, has been arrested by the police on the charge of murdering her 12-year-old domestic servant, Jamil. Jamil had been brought from Delhi by Mrs Khursheed's brother. From the day Jamil came to the house, he was allegedly ill-treated and not paid anything. At times he was also said to have been beaten up. With the passage of time the treatment meted out to him became so bad that he reportedly wanted to run away. But with no money with him

he could not do so. As ill-luck would have it, on July 4 Jamil accidentally broke a chinaclay plate, which so angered Mrs Khursheed that she allegedly confined him to a room, tied his hands and feet with a rope and set him on fire. She then allegedly left the house after locking the room from outside — *Sunday Standard* (Chandra Manoharan, Ootacamund)

BANDA: A 17-year-old newly wedded bride Javitri, committed "sati" at the funeral pyre of her husband, Ramakant Tewari, a third-year engineering student, who was shot dead along with his younger brother by a gang of dacoits in Jari village, 10 km from here. While the arrangements for the cremation of the two brothers were being made by the relations, Javitri made known her decision to consign herself to the flames along with her husband. Soon after the body of Ramakant was kept on the fire, Javitri reached the cremation ground, got herself seated at the fire with her husband's head in her lap and asked the fire to be lit. When repeated requests to Javitri to change her decision failed, the fire was lit and her body was consumed in the flames along with her husband—*The Hindu* (S. Balakrishnan, Trichy)

MADRAS: A 48-year-old man was fatally injured in Korukkupet on July 12 when pushed down by another person in the course of a quarrel. According to the police, the victim Krishnan, was a lessee of a house in Korukkupet. There was a wordy duel between him and another tenant in the house over the latter's non-payment of rent for the past few years. The tenant's wife and two sons also joined the quarrel. Krishnan who was pushed down by them sustained injuries on the head and died after admission in Stanley Hospital. The police have arrested all the four members of the tenant's family and remanded them to custody—*The Hindu* (N. Chandra-sekharan, Madras)

IF WE are a caretaker Government, Mr Jagjivan Ram is the undertaker of his Party—S. N. Mishra, Minister for External Affairs

MR MORARJI DESAI had developed an inordinate desire to stick to power, at least till 1982, and wanted to be left in peace till then—Charan Singh

WHY SHOULD there be a mid-term poll? If the Charan Singh Government falls, another Government will replace it—Jagjivan Ram

I AM glad the Janata Government has gone—Mrs Gandhi

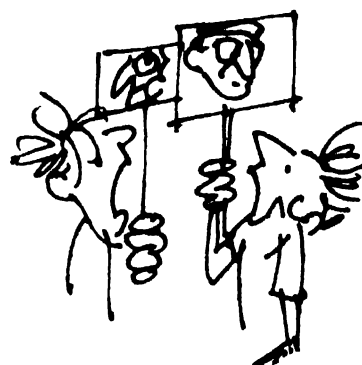
THE AUTHORITARIAN forces represented by Mrs Gandhi will certainly have the advantage as Mr Charan Singh will have to depend on them—Jyoti Basu

IT IS an unmitigated lie. It is nonsense — Charan Singh when asked if Congress(I) had imposed conditions for supporting him.

I REFUSE to believe that Mrs Indira Gandhi, who is an astute politician, would have agreed to support Mr Charan Singh without quid pro quo — M. C. Chagla

MUCH MORE has been done by the custodians of public interest during the last 28 months to harm public cause than anybody can imagine or relate—Charan Singh

humour in real life



"CAN YOU tell me the difference between the C.P.I. and C.P.M.?" I asked my friend. Pat came his reply, "C.P.I. means 'Communist Party Indira' and C.P.M. means 'Communist Party Morarji'" —Sk. Niamat Ali, Calcutta

A PRO-RSS poster in the Allahabad university campus reads "JOIN RSS, To SHAVE INDIA" —Manubhai, Allahabad

india abroad

CAGAYAN DE ORO CITY (Philippines): Investigators had uncovered no leads to kidnappers or the whereabouts of a wealthy Indian businessman abducted as he left his department store. No ransom demand had been transmitted, the man's family said. Four gunmen seized Mr Wadhus Darandas (40), an ethnic Indian and son-in-law of a regional police official, as he got into his car on Tuesday (July 9) night. They sped out of town abandoning his car and escaped in

another automobile. The police suspect that Mr Darandas was kidnapped by Muslim insurgents looking for ransom money to finance their rebellion. Witnesses said the kidnappers spoke with accents of Maranaos, a Muslim tribe from nearby Lanao del Norte, a centre of rebellion led by the Moro National Liberation Front. In Manila, the Indian embassy said it had learnt that Mr Darandas was "of Indian origin" but is now a Philippine citizen—*The Hindu*.



Central Newsphoto Service

WITH WHAT, DEAR MORARJI ?

MR Desai, who is always stern and acerbic, was at the receiving end when he first went to Mr Reddy on Sunday, July 15. Mr Desai said something about the "bane of defections" and went on to add that a situation had come where Mr Reddy would have to consider the dissolution of the House. Mr Reddy had a ready answer for the outgoing Prime Minister. "With what shall I dissolve the House? There is no water in the capital" (The capital was without water for a few days during the political crisis due to large-scale sabotage by water supply workers.)

TOO CLEVER BY HALF

WHY did Mr Desai include the names of as many as 21 Congress (S) MPs in his list of supporters? Mr Desai, to be fair to him, left the task of drawing up the list to Mr Jagjivan Ram and Mr Ravindra Varma. Mr Ram did have the support of these 21 Congress (S) MPs and thus included their names in the Desai list. But why he did not provide evidence of their support to Mr Desai is a big question. Those who know the wily old Babuji feel that the veteran Minister of many Central Governments was hoping that once Mr Singh and Mr Desai failed to get absolute majority support in the Lok Sabha, he would spring a surprise and lay

claims to the Prime Ministership by producing evidence that he commanded the loyalty of more than one half of the MPs in the Lok Sabha. Alas, Babuji was baulked by Reddy. Morarji, it is commonly said, fell a victim to his obduracy. But the charitable among his critics believe that he stood steadfast to his principles to the very last and in the high season of horse-trading kept himself detached from the unseemly goings-on. An illustrative case is the support of the nine-member Akali group in the Lok Sabha. Till two o'clock on July 26, the Akalis were willing to lend their support to Mr Desai if only "Mr Desai gave his word to sanction an international airport at Amritsar." Mr Desai, cold and firm as ever, said that these things could not be considered along with the issue of their support for him. The Akali representatives left his South Block room determined to declare their "neutrality".

PROMISES ARE FOR BREAKING

IF memory serves, during the 1969 Congress split, Mrs Gandhi made promises in search of support—left, right, and centre. A famous case is the assurance which was widely publicised about the setting up of three steel plants in the south. This assurance had won her the support of the then undivided DMK group. But till 1977, when she finally bowed out, no steel plant had come up at any of the three sites, including Salem. Charan Singh, when his turn comes to bow out, will probably

have a shorter innings as an excuse for his inevitable legacy of unfulfilled promises.

HUGELY WITTY

MR PILLOO MODY's wit, like his girth, is unmatched by any politician in the land: The architect-turned-politician was among the stream of callers on President Sanjeeva Reddy during the recent political crisis at the Centre. In the midst of the business of Government-making and Government-breaking Mr Mody introduced some welcome levity when he asked Mr Reddy to call for the Delhi telephone directory. The directory was duly brought while Mr Reddy looked askance. Mr Mody opened the last but few pages of the telephone book and declared:



Creative Eye

"Here is my list of supporters, ring up each member of the Lok Sabha listed here and give me the letter to form the next Government." Mr Mody was heard remarking in the Central Hall of Parliament after Mr Desai and Mr Singh had submitted their respective lists of supporters: "Mr Reddy will decide who is less dishonest, Mr Desai or Mr Singh."

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

"No thank you...."



I'll wait a bit longer"

We're sorry to keep you waiting. Quite frankly we have rarely had such family differences. We are more used to working together—pooling our talent, contributing our individual skills for just one objective: to blend and deliver the finest quality Lipton teas. For over eighty years this has been our way of life.

Today, with differences keeping some of our people away from work, we just cannot meet the total demand for Lipton quality teas. That's why some of you may have to wait a bit longer for your favourite brand of Lipton teas. Till then, please bear with us.

The tea that's worth waiting for



GOLD has both—
smoothness and
satisfaction



GOLD
FILTER

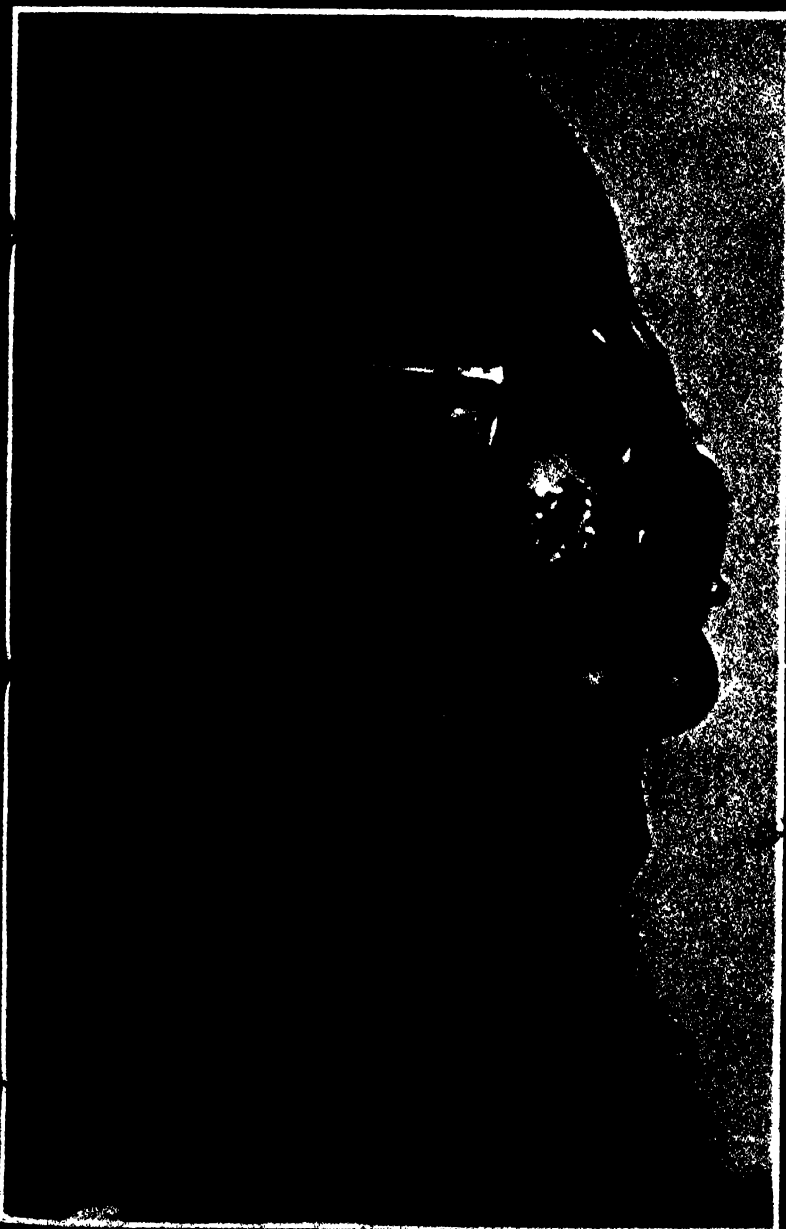


Smoothness has
never been
so satisfying.

SUNDAY

Politicians are cynically
using his name

THE EXPLOITATION OF JP



By Air Marshal
Asghar Khan
of Pakistan



THE EYE-CATCHERS

HINDON

SUITINGS, SHIRTINGS, DRESS MATERIALS, SAREES.



Fabrics from the Most Modern Mill

DCM
TEXTILES

asian/HRM/1

On
toasts



Between
breads



Over
crackers



With
desserts



Inside



puffs...

We're getting ourselves
into a lot of jams to please you

NOGA

Mixed fruit jam

The choicest fruits
get themselves into
this jam.

Orange M-m-marmalade

Made from fresh-picked
Nagpur oranges. A delicious
way to enjoy an orange.

And 4 other fruity ways
to toast yourself
at breakfast

Pineapple jam

Mango jam

Strawberry jam

And Guava jelly

NOGA-IT'S ONLY NATURAL!



Maharashtra Agro-Industries Development Corporation Ltd Noga Unit, Nagpur.

MAID 6 '79

GIVE YOUR
CHILDREN
LOVE AND
AFFECTION AND...



CORPORATION BANK'S KIDDY BANK



Saving is an instinct. Let your child
make it a habit through
Corporation Bank's Kiddy Bank.

The jingling sound of
coins in the toy bank
will help your child
learn the value of money—
money saved every day.

Besides, the child gets a
colouring book free
for every Rs. 100 saved.

Give your child
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Kiddy Bank today.



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Regd Office Udupi Administrative Office Mangaloré Chairman N N Pai

The 7 a.m. Experience.

Shave with the extra-thick, rich
foam only Williams Shaving
Cream* can give. Do it lazily,
pleasurably. Indulge yourself.

Then splash on a cold, thrilling
pintful of Aqua Velva aftershave—
that clean, sophisticated and
boldly masculine fragrance.

Ahhh...



**Aqua Velva &
Williams
Shaving Cream.**

For the sheer,
manly pleasure of
shaving...



*Available in luxurious Lanolin Regular. And super-cool Menthol Lanolin.



Mummy, why do
we put ODONIL IN
our cupboards also?

CAUTION
Beware
of
imitations



BALSARA
— FOR MODERN AIDS
TO BETTER LIVING
BALSARA & COMPANY (PRIVATE) LIMITED
43 Nagindas Master Road, Fort, Bombay 400 023.

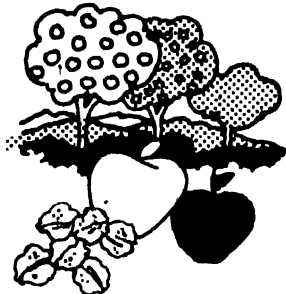
Because
ODONIL drives away moths
and cockroaches, makes
sure our clothes stay fresh,
fragrant and safe from
insects.

- 30 times more powerful than naphthalene balls.
- Keeps the air fresh and fragrant in homes... especially in toilets.

**It's exciting ropeways,
fruit-laden orchards,
chinar leaves turning gold.**

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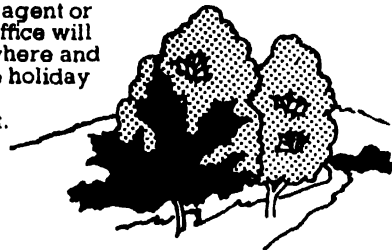
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Very late in his life JP came to occupy a unique position on the national scene. Without holding any official position he exerted considerable influence. Tragically his health has rapidly deteriorated in the same period. The nation has consequently witnessed the shocking spectacle of the name of the man, frail in mind and body, being dragged into partisan conflicts in aid of the contending factions. The exploitation of JP goes further—there are grave doubts about the way the Rs 75 lakhs (or is it 90?) raised in his name is being handled. A thorough investigation by a team of SUNDAY correspondents.



Could Pakistan have won the 1965 war against India? Yes, says Air Marshal Asghar Khan of Pakistan. Though the national morale was high, lack of coordination and vacillation on the part of Ayub Khan made him settle for a ceasefire and, in the process, he threw away possibly the only chance Pakistan had of winning a war against India. Exclusive extracts from his book "The First Round, Indo-Pakistan war of 1965".

The Christian faith has been facing an unprecedented crisis of confidence in the last hundred years, the worst in its 2,000 years of existence. But Christianity survives—and flourishes—today, despite the dire prognostications of the sceptics. The faith somehow refuses to be buried in spite of many apparently terminal ailments.

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Cover transparency by Kamal Sahai

Editor M. J. Akbar

Assistant Editor Subir Roy Editorial Staff Nirjal Mitra,
David McMahon, Saumitra Banerjee, Tirthankar Ghosh,
S. N. M. Abdi Delhi Correspondent Ajoy Bose
Art Director Bipul Guha Asst Art Director Anirya Bhattacharya



Revolt for uniformity

YOUR coverage of the police revolt ("The lawless lawmen" by Sammitra Banerjee, July 15) was factual and thought-provoking. The episode was the immediate cause of the Janata Government's fall, and also marks the watershed in our national life. A sweeper in Bokaro earns twice as much as a CISF jawan, and a peon in a bank more than an average doctor. Such distortions are bound to cause ill-feelings. The cue was too obvious for the policemen to miss. Our Governments should realise that it is impossible to maintain tiny islands of discipline in a sea of chaos. The jawans can see for themselves that a clerk in a bank or insurance firm is able to extort three times his pay by resorting to deliberate and organised dereliction of duty—euphemistically called a "democratic trade union right", "collective bargaining", etc. If that be so, how can one deny the same right to others, including men in uniform?
S. K. Bam, Calcutta

EVEN after 32 years of Independence, some police officers suffer from a superiority complex, and maltreat their subordinates. This often leads to insubordination.
A. Vincent, Sgt. (Retd.), Coimbatore
THE CISF jawans were "made aware" of their rights perhaps by the labour forces around them in the Steel City. You have rightly pointed out the dangers of employing other sister forces, and the Army in particular, to crush the police uprising. The police never took up arms against the state. They were demonstrating peacefully. The strike was started more for fun's sake than

anything else, by some overenthusiastic young policemen. How this warranted a commando-type military operation cannot be understood. In the post-Emergency period it was emphasised that the law and order situation was in the charge of the respective State Governments. Yet the former Janata Government asked for and used the CRPF more frequently than the previous regime.
Nihar Ranjan Ray, Silchar

THE Army should be used to protect the country from foreign aggression, not to solve the country's internal problems.
A. Sagayarajan, Salem

WE are sitting atop a volcano which can erupt any time. There is no law and order in the country. The police and CRP personnel feel neglected, cheated and humiliated by the politicians, who use them to serve their own personal political ends. There is constant interference in their work by politicians. Now these same politicians threaten them and woo them at the same time.
Pranod Mishra, Convener, Hindu Sam Andolan, Orissa

AJOY BOSE's report "Is the Government impotent?" (July 15) delves deep into the background of revolt and agitation by the police, paramilitary forces and the Army. Right from the year 1950, the dreadful spectre of police revolt has been haunting everybody. Now, with the revolt having erupted, the Government tried desperately to placate the policemen by offering certain benefits. But the system of maintaining orderlies in the police and Army is bound to generate further mistrust, hatred and indifference toward the Government.
Sombhagyabanta Maharana, Bolangir

MR BOSE quotes the CRPF Director General, Mr R. C. Gopal, as threatening the agitating policemen: "If you don't give up your agitation, I'll blow you up with tanks." Such a remark is not surprising from a person like Mr Gopal. The Home Ministry should be blamed for appointing an irresponsible person like him in such a high position.
V. R. Purushothaman, Hyderabad

THE trouble and violence in police camps can be directly attributed to the senior officers who seem to have lost their equanimity with their men. Ajoy Bose would do well to spend a few days in an Army unit deployed in inhospitable terrain to understand how Army officers and their men live, work and rough it together with pride, little caring for better working conditions, the orderly system and changing times.
Radha B. Kunneeth, West Hill (Kerala)

An apology

IN "Goa's secret war" (July 8) I portray Mr Chico Fernandes' father as one who "collaborated with Koch". While so doing I had in mind the general pattern of attitudes of staunch Indian nationalists—as the Fernandes family—in World War II, the Germans being regarded as "friends" because they opposed the British. Mr Fernandes has now made it explicitly clear to me that his father had no role as such in the spy drama. He was only a close friend and admirer of the Goan doctor, who, actually, was Koch's friend. Mr Fernandes' activities, if any, were only peripheral and with no other intention than of being helpful to a dear friend. In as much as Mr Chico Fernandes, who happens to be my personal friend, was unhappy at the manner of his late father's characterisation, I would like to unconditionally apologise to him for whatever inconvenience, even if unintended, I may have caused him and his family.
Mario Cabral E Sa, Piedade, Goa

The answer

IT appears VIP sons are just born to sin in this country ("Sins of a son" by A. K. Chakravorty and Udayan Sharma, July 8). Starting with Mrs Gandhi, those who have suffered in one way or another due to their sons include Messrs Morarji Desai, Jagjivan Ram, Devi Lal, Bansi Lal and V. K. Sakshecha. And apart from VIP sons, privileged sons-in-law too have not lagged far behind: Messrs Charan Singh, Devaraj Urs, Mirza Afzal Beg and Sheikh Abdullah will bear testimony to this. How about making celibacy a prime requisite for holding political office in this country?
Nancy Koul, Jammu Tawi.

First lesson

MRS INDIRA GANDHI is the first Indian woman to become PM, the first to enforce the Emergency for so long, first for her cruelty, the first MP to be expelled from Parliament, the first PM to face a Special Court, the first professed democrat to believe in authoritarianism, and would stand first in any 'mother' competition. Now here is a tip to help her attain more distinction. She should teach her son Sanjay healthy politics, and persuade him that it is not birth, but the personality of an individual that brings him success.
Harshananda Mallik, Phulbart.

Startling logic

B. GHOSH (Opinion, July 1) thinks troublemakers are behind the demand for *zabeha* chicken, as though the Muslim boys had invented the practice. He has taken pains to twist a simple practice, and generalise about the religious susceptibilities of all minorities. The next thing he would say is: "Burn you dead and avoid trouble", proceeding with his logic of generalisation.

Sayed Shamsul Huda, Sardhapur

THE letter by Mr Ghosh exhibits contempt and lack of a sense of accommodation. I am pained to learn that some misunderstanding is spoiling the high traditions of IIT, Kharagpur, of which I am a proud alumnus, and am sure the problem can be resolved with some mutual understanding. Among meat dealers, the difference between meat and

flesh is that meat is free from blood. Meat is considered tastier without blood, and many people prefer it that way. While slaughtering an animal or bird in order to ensure good bleeding, the spinal cord behind the neck is not cut. Only the two veins, windpipe and alimentary canal are cut. If the spinal cord is cut, the bleeding is incomplete, and blood clots and sticks to the flesh. As far as Muslims are concerned, blood is a prohibited item in food. For this reason, the slaughter must be done according to the practice of 'zabah' or 'halal', which ensures complete bleeding. The slaughter must be done, not for any cruel pleasure it gives, but as food permitted by God, so the name of God must be taken while slaughtering the bird or animal. I do not think any Hindu friend will fail to understand these sentiments.

Dr M. S. Abdul Kadir, Trichur

Bigoted, or blind

I WRITE, nauseated by Satish Mehta's letter (Opinion, July 15) in which he says: "Except for a couple of misdeeds, Hitler was one of the greatest leaders that Europe, if not the world, has produced". Mr Mehta means to say that the concentration camps in which millions of Jews were gassed to death vindicated Hitler's theory of Teutonic superiority, and all this was just a misdeed!! If he cannot see anything wrong in a closely knit organisation in the country idolising a man who could feel proud about such "misdeeds", he is either a fanatic or blind. As a rational human being, I am opposed to religion which transcends its purpose of providing fellowship in prayer. Further, as a culture, the characteristic attractive feature of Hinduism is its tolerance and melting-pot nature. The RSS and allied organisations negate both the above, and yet it has an important plus point: The fact that it is a disciplined body—so rare in our country now.

But for its foundation, its philosophy of Hindu rashtra being disgustingly narrow, the RSS would have been a most potent force—and unobjectionable too. To gain a firm mooring in today's polluted political ocean, the Jana Sangh seems to be ready to discard its ideology. It would be so much better if this change were genuine, and not merely dictated by expediency.

What is happening in many Islamic countries in the name of God and religion should be enough to warn us off a parallel path. The first thing to do is to put Hitler back in his place.

K. A. Paul, Trichur

TILL today I always thought of the RSS as an overdisciplined organisation with archaic religious ideas. But thanks to Mr Mehta, I have deve-

loped a rabid hatred for it now. If this is the way an RSS "sympathiser" thinks, I shudder to think of how the mind of an RSS fanatic works. Regarding the Aligarh riots, he talks about the "clean chit" given to the RSS by Mr Chandrashekhar as if it were any fitness certificate. He absolved the RSS only to appease the powerful Jana Sangh lobby. Regarding Mr Dinanath Pandey of Jamshedpur, Mr Mehta refuses to believe there are any RSS MLAs. What Mr Madhu Limaye meant by that term was MLAs with RSS affiliations. Surely no one can claim there are none of them.

D. Satya Murthy, Visakhapatnam

NO sane person can laud the barbarism of Hitler. Every single act of his against Jews was a blot on human civilisation. Hitler's madness should never be repeated. If people really know him, they would stop comparing him to Indira Gandhi or even Idi Amin.

T. Santhanam, Bombay

MR MEHTA says: "It was Hitler who from the brink of bankruptcy made his nation one of the foremost in Europe and the world." Perhaps he is not aware of the records of history. Hitler capitalised on a situation which may be described as the "darkest hour before dawn". The immediate post-depression era was undoubtedly a trying period for Germany but recovery was well within sight when Hitler came to the saddle.

S. K. Basu, Calcutta

IF the RSS's aim is to establish and encourage a nation in which people of different faiths can live in peace and harmony, why the emphasis on the word Hindu? I am sure neither Muslims nor Christians would like to be called so.

Abha Pandey, New Delhi

Correspondence on this subject is now closed.

Callous policy

"INSURING unhappiness" (July 1) by Indeera Chand exposes the callous attitude of highly-paid employees towards the economically weaker sections of the country. If SUNDAY found it exasperating to help a poor woman collect her dues from the LIC, one can guess the plight of numerous other policy beneficiaries waiting on the staircases of LIC offices all over the country.

P. Ramraj, Erode

THOUGH the experience narrated by Ms Chand is an almost everyday occurrence all over the country, there is yet no provision for claim cheques to be personally handed over to any claimant. This appears to have been overlooked. It requires a massive public effort and a powerful campaign by the media to redeem the monolithic set-up of LIC and make it work for the benefit of the small policy-holder, which is the real motive for its foundation. Presently, the management, instead of managing the institution's affairs, is locked in litigation against not only its own employees, but also policy-holders. Though the former Janata Government appointed a panel to review the entire working of the LIC, the induction of bureaucrats and ex-bureaucrats in the panel will mean that it will be just another eyewash.

R. L. Jain, Agent, LIC of India, Satna

MS CHAND forgets that LIC officers are to abide by some norms and procedures which are not their creation. At the time of final payment, it is understandable for the concerned officer to ask for the policy-holder/beneficiary's proper identity.

Pradip Hom Roy, North Lakhimpur

Poor state of affairs

IT IS disheartening to note the problems faced by the poor and weaker sections in obtaining destitution and poverty certificates from Tahsildars. A destitute is admitted to an orphanage on the basis of a destitution certificate issued by the Tahsildar, when he is satisfied that the parent or guardian earns not more than Rs. 300 per annum. The voluntary organisations housing destitutes are given grants at the rate of Rs 14 per month per inmate on the basis of these certificates. But the redtapism in Government departments creates great difficulties in obtaining these certificates, for which reason the poor have to suffer in hardship. The system of obtaining certificates, starting from the level of the village munsif, is so cumbersome, it takes a month to cross all hurdles, by which time admissions to orphanages are closed.

S. Rajaram, Sivananda Orphanage, Kankolathur

It begins with the country's topmost leaders and has the connivance of his secretariat. BHOLA CHATTERJI and S.P. SAGAR detail how a sick man is being "used" for cynical personal gains.

THE EXPLOITATION OF JP

IN the sunset years of his life Mao Tse-tung was said to have been a captive in the hands of the "gang of four". The policy statements and decisions which carried his signature were alleged to have been those of the three bad men and a woman and not his. Although everything was done in the name of the Chairman, the real voice behind the show was that of the "gang". For, both physically as well as mentally, he was an invalid. One theory was that the "gang of four" did this to keep alive the fiction that the all-seeing and all-knowing Mao was infallible, that he continued to be the nation's pace maker, his feeble state of health notwithstanding. This only betrayed the totalitarian character of the regime, the theory continued. This sort of diabolical play acting could never take place in an open society like India. For, in a democracy, it would not be possible to palm off such a fraud on the people.

But any such feeling of superiority that we may possess will have to be given up now. There are Indians who will not hesitate to stoop so low as to ape even the "gang of four". And they are located right at the place where a 77-year-old sick man, who was said to have saved Indian democracy from being consigned to limbo, is living on borrowed time.

First, how sick is Jayaprakash Narayan? Is it only the flesh that is giving up or are his other faculties also failing? This his doctors alone can tell, but they will not, hamstrung as they are by the ethics of their profession. But circumstantial evidence would confirm that he is sick beyond any hope of recovery. And his physical sickness has had its deep impact, much more than is generally believed, on his mind. So much so that it is beyond him today to arrange his train of thoughts and ideas as logically as would be neces-



sary to correlate issues and events, see things in their right perspective and get to the heart of a problem. Perhaps the Janata Party president had this in mind when he observed sometime ago that JP should not be involved in partisan politics.

The point that must be emphasised is that JP's weakening heart condition since his return from Jaslok Hospital early last month has added a complex new dimension to his existing ailments. The administration of blood along with the dialysis complicates matters in that it forces the heart to overwork in order to assimilate the transfused blood. Again, repeated blood transfusions may have an adverse effect on his liver which surely is not in sprightly condition. As Dr M. K.

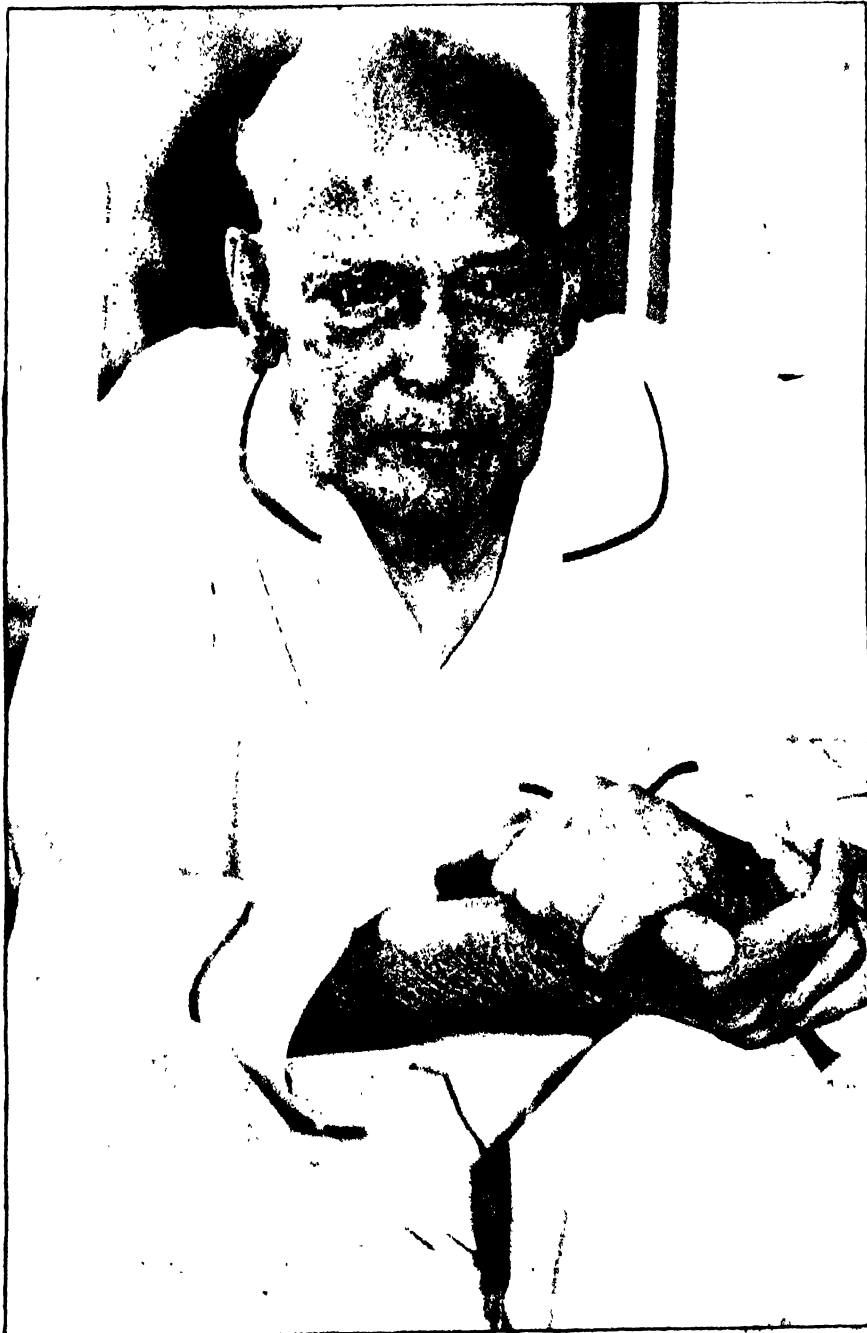
Mani of Jaslok Hospital, who has been attending JP all these months, put it soon after examining him on July 25: "This is a condition known as ischaemic colitis. There is no cure for this condition and the only treatment available for him is blood transfusion to make up the blood lost as well as to strengthen the blood to carry oxygen to the intestine." JP has an ulcer in his colon causing rectal bleeding, which requires a major surgery that his present health will not enable him to withstand. Because of the rectal bleeding he needs regular transfusions which have to be administered not in drips but along with the dialysis.

On July 23 as the Janata Party breathlessly waited to end its days.

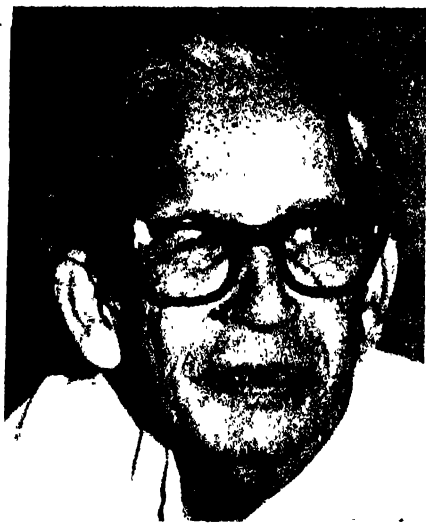
its chief architect hovered between life and death. The past 24 hours had been a critical time and the doctors attending JP kept their fingers crossed. What with rectal bleeding, nausea and breathing trouble, JP gave his friends and physicians a very anxious time. They had a feeling of fear and uncertainty about the future; and none made any effort to suppress it. But it was quite another story when it came to the question of the men who ran his household. One instance out of many will tell the tale. Around 11 in the morning of July 24 Devendra Prasad Singh, a former vice-chancellor of Bhagalpur University and one of JP's close associates, had to beg of the police security guard (JP's Kadam Kuan residence is literally crowded with security men, oddly enough) to allow him to go upstairs. He did so just to get a glimpse of JP from outside his room. What he saw was much too depressing for him not to agree with JP's younger brother, Rajeswar Prasad, that his condition had further deteriorated.

That touched Sachidanand, JP's secretary, to the quick. Rudely he told them that they should not indulge in such "defeatist" talk. The expression of anger, this 'more royalist than the king' attitude, was not a little embarrassing for the urbane Rajeswar Prasad. After all, he knew only too well all about the present state of his elder brother's health. There is no getting away from the fact that JP is in bad shape, both physically and mentally. But it is not very difficult to guess why some men are morbidly averse to letting the world into the truth about the present condition of JP's body and mind. The fact is that they have an axe to grind. Which is why they insist that the myth must remain in circulation that JP has complete control of his mental faculties that neither his mind nor his memory has suffered impairment despite the punishing ailment which afflicts him.

The cold fact of life is that JP is no longer in a position to address himself to the kind of rigorous and methodical mental exercise that would be required to comprehend and dissect any complex issue and pass judgment on it. The man's once alert, incisive mind, almost elephantine memory and the unique capacity for taking a dispassionate view of men and events are a thing of the past. One hoped things would get better, but as it is they are getting worse. That partly explains why Sachidanand stubbornly resists any request for a taped interview with JP—he does not want others to discover the truth. With the possible exception of the humane Thomas Abraham who administers dialysis to JP, none of the other decision makers in the JP household—Sachidanand, Janaki Bahen (JP's adopted daughter), her husband Kumar Prashant and former socialist Jagdish Babu who hails from JP's home district of Ballia—hesitate to treat him as an object of cynical exploitation. The touch of philistinism that is so evident at JP's residence and



JP photographed after his return to Patna



S. M. Joshi

the utterly conscienceless use of his name that goes on day in and day out for small political and material gains are indeed sickening.

The most recent glaring example of JP being "used" is his letter to the then PM Morarji Desai requesting him to quit in favour of Jagjivan Ram as leader of the Janata Parliamentary Party. The sordid business was rigged up in a manner that would beggar description. On July 17 Mr S. M. Joshi, had a talk with the Madhu Dandavate-Surendra Mohan group of former Socialists. If Mr Jagjivan Ram became the JPP leader, he would get many more MPs along caste lines even from other Parties, they concluded. Mr Desai was dragging his feet and clinging to the JPP leadership, almost "holding on to it physically". Mr Joshi broached this to Mr Gore at a dinner and the two decided to approach Mr Jayaprakash Narayan to enlist Babuji who gleefully said, "Aap chahte ham to jaroor kijiye" (If you so like, do it).

The problem was who would carry the letter of S. M. Joshi to Mr Narayan. Joshi had talked to JP's secretary Mr Sachidanand, and the arrangement was made that Joshi should detail the situation in a letter since he was not free to come to Patna. Joshi would have liked Mr Madhu Limaye's wife who was like a daughter to him, to be the confidante to do the emissary's job. But right there was Mr Arjun Singh Bhadoria who suggested the name of his wife, Mrs Sarla Bhadoria. Mr Joshi drafted his letter to JP and described how Jagjivan Babu would be a better man in that situation. Thus came about the controversial visit of Mrs Sarla Bhadoria. The lightning speed with which she did the magic startled everybody. She came by the morning flight on July 18, and got back the same afternoon with Mr Narayan committed to support Mr Jagjivan Ram in black and white. It was July 18, Wednesday, a day for Mr Narayan's routine dialysis. This is a forbidden day for most visitors. The dialysis was delayed. Two letters, one for Mr Desai and another for Mr Chandra-

shekhar, were hastily drafted, signed by Mr Narayan and despatched through the courier. All this was done with remarkable rapidity. "We were even prepared to delay the dialysis for half an hour to ensure that Mr Narayan signs the letters", someone confided at JP's house. Indeed, when Joshi's letter was read out to Mr Narayan, he agreed to the line of argument. Yes, Jagjivan Babu should be the JPP leader and all others, including Mr Chandra-shekhar, should support it. The letters were despatched through Mrs Bhadoria. She, it is said, telephoned Delhi at the first available opportunity. The contents were disclosed even before she had reached Delhi. Mr Arjun Singh Bhadoria had spoken all about it at Jagjivan Babu's residence and the Advani-run All India Radio was parroting it over and over again. The whole feat would not have been possible without Sachidanand's active co-operation.

The immature publicity given to Mr Narayan's letters even before they had been delivered deeply pained him. He chose to remain indifferent to the Janata squabbles. But the following day, Mr Prakash Singh Badal with three top Akali leaders, besides Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir, arrived in batches to seek JP's "guidance in the hour of national peril". It seemed he was again going to be caught in a fresh controversy. The Akali leaders and the Shiekh in their separate talks urged him to visit Delhi to offer his good offices. They were concerned that instability at the Centre would badly affect the states. The Akali leaders suggested that alternatively JP should summon national leaders to Panna. But no. JP would not be drawn into it again. He had had enough of it.

The last to make a vain attempt at JP's house was Mr Harbhanjan Singh, a Socialist leader of Punjab. He came and later pursued it over telephone. JP should ask the Akalis to support the Janata camp outright and shed the attitude of neutrality. For hadn't Akali leaders told JP "Ham to aapke sipahi ham. Aap jo

Dr M. K. Mani of Jaslok Hospital



kahenge ham wahi karenge" (We are your soldiers. We shall do what you ask us to do.) But JP quietly replied, "Ab ham ye jhamele mein jyada nahin parna chathe hain" (Now I don't want to be dragged in the controversy any more).

It is a well known fact that seldom does JP take an initiative in either sending a letter or issuing a statement. It is always done at somebody's behest and all that JP does is to trim the wording to make it conform to his own feelings as much as possible. This holds good for the series of letters and statements that he supposedly issued out of his own free will in 1978 and afterwards. Those who know JP say that "he is too good a man, too simple, least assertive, most generous and obliging. Gandhi was greater than he was, but then Gandhi was shrewd too. JP is not shrewd and hence is often cheated, easily impressed by wheedling words."

A well known example of this is his message issued at the time of Mrs Nandini Satpathy's election. This is how the message was obtained. JP was in Bombay at the Express Towers. Mrs Satpathy was seeking election in 1977 against Mrs Malati Chaudhury. Someone on Mrs Chaudhury's behalf, counting upon the Sarvodaya links, pressed JP for an electoral message. JP was reluctant for on the other side was a Janata candidate. But he could not say no for long. He sent a message of good wishes to Malati Chaudhury making it clear that it was for Mrs Chaudhury only. Soon the courier rushed to the Press and gave the portion that wished Mrs Chaudhury all success. So after the courier had left the scene JP wanted the message to be withdrawn. But by then AIR had flashed it. The controversy became so bitter that even Mr Chandra-shekhar and Mr Desai publicly commented against JP's supposed stand against Mrs Nandini Satpathy in favour of a non-Janata candidate.

It is a common complaint in Patna that the men who run JP's household are very choosy about whom he should meet, what letters should be read out to him or which messages or reports should be brought to his notice. The formidable list of people who have suffered indignities in trying to meet JP includes some of his longterm friends and close associates like Bihar's additional advocate-general Radha Raman, Sundari Devi, one of JP's relations, the late Phulan Prasad Varma's wife (Phulan Babu, a Socialist member of the Constituent Assembly, was among JP's inner circle of friends), and another close friend of JP, Brijnandan Azad, who was a former editor of the *Indian Nation*. The secretariat has made enormous contributions towards keeping JP away from the masses. People seeking appointments are needlessly harassed, for which JP has had to apologise later. People from all over the country write to him but seldom get replies thanks to a secretariat which has its own axe to grind.

Ever since the Janata Government came to power in Delhi people close

to JP have aligned themselves with one faction or the other. He has become a virtual puppet in their hands. A statement supporting one group will be signed by an ailing JP and released promptly to the Press. Then the other group will get a contradictory statement signed and released to the Press. The more ambitious among the men around him have their respective politician and industrialist patrons who loosen their purse strings as and when necessary. One recent entrant to the secretariat, who is said to owe his allegiance to Mr Morarji Desai, sat beside JP for hours, dined into his ears the virtues of the former Prime Minister, pried into all official correspondence and took objection to any statement issued by JP disapproving of Mr Desai. And with the fall of the Morarji Government this great social worker simply disappeared. He is of course none other than Siddharaj Dhadda.

Mr Jagganath Kaushal, the then Governor of Bihar received a letter

signed by JP which requested that a certain person be favoured. The Governor, who apparently knew JP's signature well, found out that the signature on the letter was forged. The Governor sent the letter to JP's secretariat which confirmed that it was a case of forgery. The matter was immediately hushed up and there were no attempts to track down the miscreant.

Those in Patna know well that frequent letters would reach the Bihar government for favours of one nature or the other saying that "JP desires that.....". A bunch of such letters was carried by a Minister and shown to JP and after that the speed with which these letters surfaced slowed down. The last but not the least instance is one of a new recruit of the secretariat. The smart young boy wrote a letter to George Fernandes, then Industries Minister, for a job. The letter was written on JP's pad, and was supposedly signed in JP's own hand. Bad luck for him that the matter was referred back

and the cat was out of the bag.

JP's house and his life have thus become a thoroughfare. Politicians will stop at nothing to use him for the fulfilment of their ambitions, when, if they had even a shred of decency, they would have left him to his peace in his last days among us. His modest house at Kadam Kua in Patna, which could not have been further in anyone's imagination from a palace, is now a hotbed of intrigue. Sachidanand, his secretary, plays politics upto the hilt, Siddharaj kept watch for Mr Desai while he was in power, Kumar Prashant is not officially in anything but has a finger in every pie and Jagdish Babu is hardly there for selfless service. The final symbolic act that has removed JP and his secretariat from the public is the closure of the secretariat's office downstairs. (Some letters had reportedly disappeared from the files.) The stairs are blocked by a collapsible gate with security guards. But what good is that when the undesirables are all upstairs?

A fund to dishonour the Loknayak

That is how Sarvodaya worker, Baburao Chandawar, sees the Amrit Mahotsava Kosh, reports OLGA TELLIS.

WHERE has the Rs 90 lakhs collected on the eve of JP's birth anniversary celebrations in 1977 gone? This is the question that has been haunting the humble workers wedded to the fulfilment of JP's unfinished total revolution. These workers are pained, saddened and angry that this fund, collected to further JP's dream of a total revolution, is neither available to the humble mainstream workers nor does anyone know where the money is and how it is being used. There are vague indications that some of it is in Delhi, some in Bombay and Ahmedabad and elsewhere with the conveners who collected the money. In sheer despair, Baburao Chandawar, who has worked with JP for 30 years in Bhojpur district of Bihar and shoulder to shoulder with the Naxalites since 1974, has announced that he will go on fast from October 2 this year if the Amrit Mahotsava Kosh does not give an account of how much money it has and what it intends to do with it.

When I met Chandawar in his modest home in Bhiwandi about 50 miles from Bombay, he was at work on his book on Bhojpur. Surrounded by his teacher-wife Vanita and three children, Chandawar looked deceptively docile but was seething with anguish inside, his firm jawline underlining his determination to call a halt to the "deliberate attempt on



JP sells well: Jaslok Hospital bookshop

the part of capitalists, Gandhians and liberal democrats to tarnish JP's image and kill the movement JP envisaged for the landless and the downtrodden."

Explaining the root cause of his decision to go on fast, Chandawar said, "those who were against the idea of total revolution and those who never participated in the 1974 Bihar Movement are today controlling the Amrit Mahotsava Kosh. None of them were ever in the Bihar Movement, yet they became trustees of the Kosh. The chairman of the collection fund was Acharya J. B. Kripalani until last year when he gave up all public posts. The managing trustee of the Kosh that was formed is Mr Radhakrishna, the secretary is Govindrao Deshpande and the other trustees are Mr L. C. Jain treasurer of the Janata Party, Mr Siddharaj Dhaddha, Mr Ramnath Goenka and Mr Ramkrishna Bajaj. None of these were anywhere near the Bihar Movement. (Mr Goenka, of course, aided the movement but perhaps for his own reasons.)

"In fact Acharya Kripalani ridiculed the idea of a total revolution. In an article in *Dharmayug* he had said that he does not believe in total revolution because violence is involved. In fact, all Gandhians attacked the idea. Yet Kripalani was made chairman of the fund and the fund was meant to propagate total revolution."

JP, Chandawar continued, was aware that his total revolution was being ridiculed. That is why he wrote in *Navbharat Times* on April 13, 1977; "The total revolution has been mocked at and hatred and scorn has been poured over it. They said it is only a dream. Therefore I want to repeat again that I believe in total revolution and I promise that when I am well I will take up this work again."

From the very beginning the capitalists, Gandhians and liberal democrats sought to downgrade the idea of a total revolution. Says Chandawar, "In January 1977 when the elections were announced some others and I sat with JP for three days and discussed that the programme of total revolution should be put before the people when asking them for their vote. But people surrounding JP were quick to dissuade him. They said if you do this you will alienate the upper middle class and middle class people. So JP had no alternative but to bow to their thinking. You know JP is not an aggressive person. Besides, his ill health makes him submissive. These Gandhians, capitalists and industrialists therefore misuse him and his name.

"I will tell you something else. When the talks were on for the formation of the Janata Party, JP asked them all to resign first from their respective parties and then form a brand new Party. But Nanaji, Goray and Surendra Mohan did not agree to this. So JP sent a letter through me to Krishna Kant saying that since the Janata Party could never become a vehicle of total revolution because of the way in which it was constituted, all the socialists, Young Turks and Sarvodaya people should

come together and form an organisation that would work for ushering in total revolution. But no one could proceed any further because Acharya Kripalani intervened and put a stop to everything."

Asked whether he had ever approached Ramkrishna Bajaj or R. N. Goenka personally about the problems of the fund and its utilisation, Chandawar said, "How could I go anywhere near them. They are mighty people. It's so difficult to even get near them, leave alone talk with them. Besides when in Bihar the movement was started in 1974, JP sent me to these people several times but we got no response nor any cooperation from them. Therefore, I told Siddharaj that people like Ramkrishna Bajaj had no moral right to be trustees on the Kosh. That is why today the Kosh has no programmes for the landless, the weaker sections of the people oppressed by the evils of caste. I have been with JP for 30 years and he always thought in terms of the landless, the downtrodden and the victims of casteism. But none of these



Sachidanand

have been incorporated in the Kosh for which money was collected in JP's name.

"In fact JP did not know anything about the trust. When the purse (a piece of paper) was presented to JP at the Gandhi maidan, Mr Ramkrishna Bajaj in his introductory speech announced the formation of the trust. When I met JP later I asked him about the trust and he said he hoped the money would be used for total revolution work. In his speech earlier he said that the method in which the money was to be spent should be discussed with the main stream workers. JP told me that no one had discussed the trust deed with him at any time. When we were talking, Thakurdas Bang and Siddharaj Dhaddha were seated with us. I asked Dhaddha why JP was not informed about the trust and he said within hearing of everyone that there was no time. 'We had to form the trust soon to avoid income tax'. However JP stressed the need to clear all this before the people but nothing was ever done. It was then that I had decided

to go on fast on November 15, 1978. However, the Sarva Seva Sangh people, Dada Dharma Adhikari and others tried to dissuade me. They said they would find out the money that was collected. Even Acharya Kripalani, whom I informed about the trust that was formed and said it was a good idea to go on the fast, I had seen the trust deed in Delhi and I saw that they had made an institution and there was not a word about total revolution programmes. There was mention of work during floods, drought and some social work, etc, which would only help in boosting the image of the trustees. I was told about some work they are doing like having selected 100 areas for experiment and paying 200 workers for bogus work like spinning, weaving and about education. This may be constructive but it is not revolutionary like land reforms."

Talking about the background of the fund collection drive, Chandawar said, "I was against the manner of collection from the beginning. When I was invited by Mr Thakurdas Bang to participate in the deliberations of the committee set up for the purpose of raising funds I made it clear that it was wrong and the move should be abandoned. I gave them the experience I had with the Gram Swaraj Kosh (Village Self-government Fund) collected on the birth anniversary of Vinoba Bhave. There were large scale irregularities in handling the money and this became the order of the day. No accounts were maintained and nobody knew how the Rs 75 lakhs collected was ultimately spent. I understand the money was frittered away on a trader who wanted to start a business and on another official who wanted to buy a car, etc. But they went ahead with the collection. On January 28, 1978 I wrote a letter to JP expressing my anguish over the whole affair. In this letter I voiced serious misgivings about the move and its effectiveness in furthering the cause of total revolution. You know my fight is for values. If we want total revolution our strategy should be honest. Till you have a programme, to collect funds is a mistake.

"I met JP a number of times and also wrote letters to the Amrit Mahotsav Kosh on this issue. Once JP himself directed Siddharaj to place before the country the details of how the funds were being disbursed. When Thakurdas Bang submitted a report on the manner of disbursement it was so vague that JP asked Siddharaj to make the report more clear and specific. Yet the people were nowhere in the picture. A trust consisting of VIP's was formed and it was clear that there was a gap between the thinking of the trustees and JP. And the result is that there is absolutely no scheme in the entire budget of the Kosh which in any way touches the weaker sections of the people and as such the whole process runs counter to the basic assumptions of the total revolution."

CHANDAWAR is also angry at the way the money was collected. "The rules framed for the collection drive stipulated that 60 per cent of the funds would come from subscriptions ranging from Rs 100 downwards and the rest may be subscribed by persons commanding greater resources. This was to avoid black money from coming in. But in practice, it was just the opposite. The 60 per cent came from Rs 10,000 and above and 40 per cent from the small contributions. This was disclosed by Mr Ramkrishna Bajaj, the treasurer of the fund, at the Gandhi Maidan speech in Patna, on the occasion of the presentation of the purse to JP. In fact some of my Bombay friends tell me that out of the Rs 40 lakhs collected in Bombay only Rs 5 lakhs came in small contributions. All the remaining came from big business and even from smugglers notwithstanding the fact that they gave in cheques. Large scale irregularities have been reported in fund collection and many friends think that over Rs 90 lakhs must have been collected. No one bothered to clear all these doubts that I and friends like me had and so I decided to go on fast on November 15, 1978. I then postponed it since everyone prevailed upon me and promised to get the matter rectified. Since nothing has been done to date, I have announced an indefinite fast from October 2 this year to express my feelings against the corrupt practices and irregularities in collecting and operating the fund.

"I am convinced that the capitalists, Gandhians and the liberal democrats are out to demolish the total revolution. JP told me recently that the movement started by Gandhi died after his death and the total revolution movement will also die. But I am determined to see that it does not. Ramkrishna Bajaj and Goenka and people like them are definitely against total revolution.

"I will give you an example of how we have been hitting our heads against the wall in trying to get their assistance. In November 1977 when I was to go to Bhojpur again for work, JP wrote a letter to the Gandhi Peace Foundation and others asking them to cooperate and assist me. He had wanted to start the second phase of the total revolution. In his letter he had written: 'The increasing social tension and its manifestation in sporadic class and caste conflicts and continued clashes in some parts of Bihar should set us all thinking. These are symptoms of a deep rooted malady which calls for revolutionary solutions. The student and youth movements which snowballed into a massive people's movement in 1974-75 was perhaps the beginning of what might have been a violent upheaval. Having sensed this I tried to channelise it in a peaceful direction. I called it total revolution. But the movement assumed the shape of a political struggle for the preservation of democracy against the totalitarian tendencies of the Congress regime. With the



JP with his younger brother Rajeswar Prasad

end of the Congress misrule and restoration of democracy under the new Janata regime the people heaved a sigh of relief. The Janata Government symbolised the aspirations of the people who expected it to solve their urgent economic and social problems. The Janata Government's inability to offer quick solutions is likely to make the people restive... I have always held that our basic problems cannot be solved except through organised people's power, youth power. A friendly Government can only extend a helping hand. I appeal to all social and constructive workers including youth and student activists who had participated in the 1974-75 movement to come together and carry forward the programme of total revolution. They have to organise the people, specially the weaker sections of society, along peaceful lines and show them the way to solve their problems. The exploited classes have no alternative but to unite to assert their rights. I am not suggesting that class struggle should be invited and fomented everywhere. But when it becomes inevitable it must be waged peacefully and firmly... I am particularly concerned about the explosive situation in Bhojpur district where in the last few

years many landless harijans are reported to have been killed in the course of clashes with well-to-do farmers in the area... In this context JP introduced Chandawar as a senior Sarvodaya activist worker from Maharashtra and asked them to help him in his task which he had undertaken in Bhojpur. But this brought no response. In fact it was anathema to the capitalists who were only interested in using and abusing JP's name and image. They saw to it that JP was separated from the people whom he loved.

In Jaslok Hospital and the penthouse of Mr Goenka in Bombay, only the rich and powerful were allowed near JP. The others were driven away. All these dinners and lunches they had for him with food from five star hotels were designed to tarnish JP's image of the man of the people, the man whose heart and soul was with the downtrodden and weaker classes. That is why, says Chandawar sadly, JP does not want to move away from Patna again. You know his people in Bombay cannot afford JP the treatment he needs nor the care and the food so he becomes a victim of the capitalists and industrialists. He has realised this and has pleaded that he should be allowed to remain and die in Patna.

Chandawar is now trying to build public opinion against the "treachery" indulged in by the trustees of the Kosh at the cost of the downtrodden and the landless. As he says, "There are many little groups working in Bihar, eastern UP, Orissa and elsewhere but they need money for their work. Money is needed for little things like transport conveyance, letter writing, postage, etc. Mobility is very important. But ironically the money which is collected for this purpose has been kept out of the reach of the people who desperately need it. My fight is for making this available for the downtrodden for the second phase of the total revolution."



Baburao Chandawar

JP had nothing to do with the fund

THE Jayaprakash Amrit Mahotsava Samiti was set up sometime after the March '77 elections to celebrate the seventy-fifth birthday of the Loknayak, which would fall on October 21. The sponsors of the committee also decided to present JP with a purse of Rs 75 lakhs. The people and organisations concerned, including the JP Birth Celebration Committee of which J. B. Kripalani was the chairman, enjoined that certain principles must be observed while collecting money for the proposed purse. That these principles were honoured more in the breach right from the word go is apparent from the statement JP issued in early October, 1977. "I strongly disapprove of unauthorised collections made by all sorts of people in my name. I warn the public against such persons". It is worth noting that JP was then in full command of his senses and in comparative good health.

But few cared to pay any heed to JP's entreaty. Soon after the Amrit Kosh Trust was formally launched, accusations of misuse of funds came in thick and fast. Also people began to approach JP for assistance from the fund. Once again JP had to clarify his position regarding the Amrit Kosh Trust. On September 18, 1978 he said: "I have been receiving requests for help from the Amrit Kosh fund that was collected on the occasion of my seventy-fifth birth anniversary last year. I take this opportunity to make it clear that although the fund was collected in my name and formally presented to me, it actually vests in the Amrit Kosh Trust that came into existence on October 11, 1977. This trust alone is responsible for and competent to disburse any part of the fund for purposes in keeping with the aims and objects laid down in the trust deed. I would, therefore, advise all concerned to send their requests for any help or assistance directly to the managing trustees of the Amrit Kosh Trust located at the Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi."

Here lies the rub. JP had nothing to do with the trust and yet his name continued to be exploited, as and when necessary, in connection with its functioning. The doubts that Chandawar has expressed about the way the fund was raised and its disbursement are not new to those who have kept track of the whole thing. I found the Patna air thick with incriminating reports on the working of the Amrit Kosh Trust even as early as April 1978. It was in JP's residence that I chanced upon Sarva Seva Sangh leader Siddharaj Dhad-

By BHOLA CHATTERJI

dha, one of the members of the trust. When I referred to the rumours and asked for his clarifications the following interview emerged. The point that needs to be stressed is that the doubts raised then have not been cleared up in the intervening period of over a year.

Q: How did you come to join the Sarva Seva Sangh and what was your politics before you joined it?

A: From the very beginning of my college days I had been influenc-



Siddharaj Dhadha

ed by Gandhiji's ideas and my coming to the Sarva Seva Sangh was only a culmination of what I had been working and living for for the last 40 years.

Q: What's your age now?

A: I am now 70.

Q: Well, you look quite sprightly for your age. Incidentally, the Bihar Government State Guest House (where Mr Dhadha was staying) is a relatively comfortable place. It seems a world apart from where the common man lives. Also, the arrangement and upkeep of the place do not appear to have changed much from what they were in the colonial days.

A: Well, so far as I am concerned personally, it makes no difference to me whether I am here or in a small hut in the village. It is the work and the mission that you have got that is more important.

Q: I understand that about Rs 90 lakhs was collected during Jayaprakash Narayan's Amrit Mahotsab year. I also understand that a trust has been formed and you are one of its leading members. How do you propose to spend that money?

A: The trust has had its preliminary meetings and it has chalked out a programme and decided upon certain items on which the trust money will be largely spent. The

items naturally are those in which JP has been interested all these years. His programmes, his activities and his ideas form the main nucleus round which the activities that will take place will be financed by the fund.

Q: Have you already spent any money from the fund? For that matter, has anything been done so far?

A: No, not yet. The first meeting of the trust was held only early this month. We have decided to publicise this thing in the newspapers and call for suggestions from the people, keeping in view the broad objectives, of which I told you. If anybody has got any plan, he will send it to the trust and then the trust will finalise it.

Q: Did you ever publish any list of donors, I mean people who contributed to the fund?

A: It comes out (inaudible) by the State committees. So far as the small collections are concerned, it is not possible to publish the list because they have been collected through coupons. And coupons had been given one rupee, two rupees, five rupees (denomination). So far as the bigger donations are concerned certainly a list will be published.

Q: Report has it that some of the large contributions to the fund were not clean money. It is even said that smugglers also contributed to the fund. Is there any truth in it?

A: Anything can be said in a democracy, we cannot prevent people from saying anything. Everything that has been collected has been collected by receipts. It is there for everybody to see.

Q: Don't you think that to take out the sting of that report, the best idea would be to publish a list of the big donors?

A: That is what we are contemplating to do.

Q: What about accountability? People would naturally like to know how the money is spent? You know, in the past there had been such trust funds, but when it came to the question of accountability one could see that there was not very rigid adherence to rules which ought to have been observed. What do you propose to do regarding that?

A: As I told you, the trust is a public registered trust. Its proceedings are there and everything will be decided by the trust. Loose talk does not help and, unfortunately, there has been quite a lot of loose talk during previous years. I do not say that undesirable things may not have happened. But for public trusts and public institutions, since their reports are always open, anybody can see them and derive a measure of satisfaction. ■

RAJENDRA SINGH: 'Mr Limaye's article contains many wrong and half-wrong facts'

The RSS General Secretary responds to our invitation to reply to Madhu Limaye's "The ambitions of the RSS" (SUNDAY, June 10)

A MAN who normally tells the truth and only occasionally an untruth is a dangerous man, because his untruths may be mistaken for truths. But one who has a lot of misrepresentation and distortion to his credit does not cause much damage because people learn to make discounts to his assertions. As such Shri Madhu Limaye's article contains so many wrong and half-wrong facts and surmises that it was not necessary to contradict it. People know the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh sufficiently well not to be misled by Shri Limaye's so-called scathing attack. We do not like to indulge in controversies because the nature of a constructive worker is essentially different from a political demagogue. Still, since Shri Akbar was very keen that some records must be set right, I am writing this brief reply.

Shri Limaye says in his article that RSS work was started with the blessings of the princely States. Why then did it not start or flourish in those States? Why was it confined to Nagpur and its vicinity in those early years? Then, without any proof, he asserts that we were great admirers of Hitler. One earlier edition of Shri Limaye, the late Shri Govind Sahai of U. P., even disclosed in his book that our founder had been to Germany and our work started on Hitler's instructions. People know that the RSS was started in 1925, eight years before Hitler was even heard of in India.

Shri Limaye feels that his meetings in M.P. have been disturbed by RSS people. Our swayamsevaks neither bother about his foreign policy nor are they trained for such activities. We never have morchas nor slogan-shouting of "zindabad" or "murdabad", and our branches, which are a must, mostly hold their get-togethers in the evenings when Shri Limaye must have been holding his meetings. He thinks we have become admirers of China. Let him remember that one of the first to bring to the notice of the people the Chinese invasion was Shri Gurukul, and let me also refresh his memory with the words used by the USSR in those days: "India is our friend but China is our brother". We would



like every nationalist to look to our national interest and not try to become more loyal than the king himself.

Then he talks at great length about my affidavit about the RSS being a political Party. I have given a public statement that no such affidavit was given. First it was sought to be propagated that this affidavit was given to get exemption from income tax by the RSS, since political Parties are exempt from it. Now they have changed that stand and say that submissions have been made at the Nagpur court against the judgment of the Charity Commissioner ordering the RSS to register as a religious charitable trust. We are contesting the case on the basis of the famous Kesari Maratha Trust judgment of the Supreme Court. In order to clearly differentiate our work from religious and charitable, we have submitted that it is cultural social work with a patriotic purpose some of whose activities are akin to political. If, in clearly differentiating the human species biologically we say that it is akin to the ape, man does not become an ape. Tearing sentences out of context and presenting them to suit one's objectives may be cunning, but certainly has nothing to do with truth.

Then there is a reference to Shri Bala Saheb Deoras delivering an inflammatory speech at Jamshedpur, causing the riot. The Sarsanghchalak and myself visit almost two hundred and fifty places every year. Why do no riots take place elsewhere? He should also have tried to get an authentic version of the speech which is tape-recorded. I was present at the function and I am confident that Shri Limaye cannot point out one single sentence to substantiate his contention. Probably he himself delivers inflammatory speeches and naturally he thinks all others follow his methods.

Shri Limaye then goes on to make a fantastic assertion that 70 per cent of RSS workers had sent in apologies during the Emergency. How was it that in Maharashtra 8,000 RSS activists responded to the satyagraha call, and not so many hundreds came from Shri Limaye's camp? On insinuations from people like Shri Limaye a question was asked in the Maharashtra Assembly on October 18, 1977 as to how many people tendered apologies during the Emergency. The answer given by the then Home Minister Shri Sharad Pawar was—only two, one belonging to the Ananda Marg and the other to the Jamait-e-Islami. So far as U.P. and Bihar are concerned, where I was in direct charge, let him produce evidence of even one per cent apologies. Having not even a few hundred to offer satyagraha during Emergency, trying to denigrate others may be Limaye's logic, but does not do credit to a Gandhian which he swears he is.

Certainly Shri Limaye cannot be so naive as to try to understand the Sangh through Dr. Subramaniam Swamy. Dr. Swamy did some excellent work during the Emergency here and abroad but that does not make him an authority on the RSS and he need not be quoted.

The whole article is full of many such inaccuracies and untruths. Shri Limaye should fight out his political battles with his Janata Party opponents but need not drag in the RSS. Let us be permitted to do our work of nation-building quietly. ■



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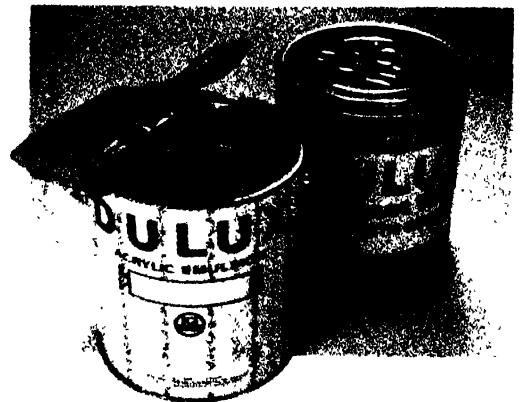
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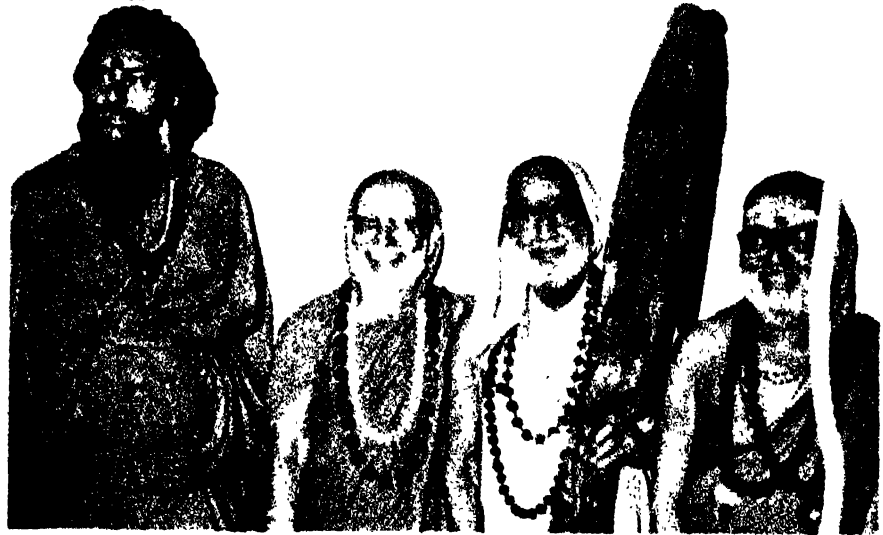
Revive Hinduism!

SUBIR ROY went to Sringeri to report on the meeting of the four standard bearers of the Adi-Shankaracharya : the Swamijis of Sringeri, Dwarka, Puri and Badrikshetra. The four were meeting for the first time in history to take stock of their common heritage

SRINGERI math, set amid the green hills of pretty Chikmagalur, hills that turn blue when the heavy clouds of the south-easterly monsoons brood over them, is just about the finest place where anyone could have built a temple to god. It speaks volumes about the perspicacy and wisdom of the Adi-Shankaracharya that he selected this spot to plant firmly the standard of Hindu dharma in the south, to match the mountain-top math he built in the north at Badrikshetra. He also set up two more maths, one on the western coast at Dwarka and the other in the east by the side of the Bay of Bengal in Puri, thus staking out what he considered was an indisputable claim for Hinduism in what to him was Akhanda Bharat.

Twelve centuries later, on May 1, the birthday of the Adi-Shankaracharya, the four present standard bearers, the Shankaracharyas of the four maths, met for the first time in Sringeri. The event had all the pageantry of a Hindu festive gathering of its kind. At precisely 10 a.m. on the day the three guests of the Sringeri swami arrived at the portals of the math to be received by him and accompanied in procession to the temple. The milling crowd of bhaktas surged around as cries of *Shankaracharya ki jai* rent the air. The police struggled to keep a cordon around them as the bhaktas, a mixture of women in colourful South Indian silks and men with half bare torsos and wrap-around dhotis and bibhuti marks on the foreheads, jostled and pushed.

What immediately stood out through the crush was the sublime calm on the faces of the swamis. All of them were in flowing saffron and each carried the standard of his math, straight at the shoulder, with which he is never parted when venturing out. As the parade of the sages, the procession of the godly moved forward towards the main temple a group of musicians, with a quaint mixture of western saxaphones and South Indian drums, took up the strains of invocational, repetitive Karnataki music. Soon it was the half light of the temple interior that enveloped everybody. The crush was greater, the half light punctuated by the photographers' flashes and the TV camera's staccato blinding glares. Once within the inner sanctum, the swamis offered brief pujas to the ru-



ling deity, Sarada. In a few minutes the arati flame was brought out and again it was a mass of surging hands trying to partake a little of the warmth and be blessed. The swamis then went round the inner sanctum in a ritual pradakshin and proceeded to the adjoining inner courtyard where in the centre was another temple. There in a room by its side, the four Shankaracharyas went into a secret conclave, assisted only by their closest junior swamis or incongruous modernisms in the persons of "private secretaries."

The frenzy dies down. People squat in the corridors and courtyards, the musicians recover their breath, the photographers mop their brows and the myriad sanyasis and junior swamis wait anxiously before the closed door for a call from inside to

re-enter. For an hour the swamis sort out their problems. Suddenly, stirrings. A procession of bearers carrying offerings of garlands, flowers and fruits troops in with a tall handsome man at its head, a little nervous. The State Governor sends his pranams through his secretary. He will be there shortly. The door is opened, photographers rush in, the swamis are disturbed, a little annoyed, but deem not to notice. Everyone waits. The Puri Shankaracharya keeps talking. (So it was his voice that was heard the most from the outside!) In a few moments the Dwarka swami gathers his angabastra with an air of finality, says something about a committee and that the time for his medicines has come. The photographers become active, questioning eyes turn to the private



secretaries, the Shankaracharyas are requested to stand in a line please. The Joshimath swami towers over the Puri swami, the goodly Dwarka swami has a glazed look, the Sringeri swami is calm and perceptive.

Photographs over, they come out in procession again, the bhaktas send up their cries, more pujas at the temple in the courtyard, the swamis come out and stand at the edge of the raised temple verandah. It is like a small-town election rally where the candidate and his assistants take the cheers of the crowd. Brief speeches are made by the Dwarka and Sringeri swamis who both speak in Kannada: "We have come from the corners of this country to bless you." The flame comes out on the thali once again, the hundred hands lunge out again, the musicians resume their drones, the procession returns to the portals. The sun has ascended the zenith. The bhaktas disperse, tired but with an overbright gleam in their eyes. Something which has been in preparation for 12 years has come to pass. At last the four have met.

THE life of Shankaracharya, who was born twelve centuries ago, is a bundle of unverifiable legends. But his work is not. First the legend. Shankaracharya was born in a place called Kalti in Kerala. From childhood he was possessed with an urge to seek enlightenment and this made him leave his home, take up sanyas as a disciple of Bhagwan Gobindacharya. At the instructions of his guru, he wrote tracts like the *Brahmasutra* to enhance the knowledge of the people in Vedic matters. He then went on two journeys around India, visiting all the holy places and trying to rediscover their significance. He set up four maths in four corners of the country for the propagation of the Vedic religion. Historians are, however, undecided as to whether all the maths were set up in his lifetime. In a brief lifetime, he is credited with having turned the whole tide of Bhuddhism and set resurgent Hinduism firmly on its tracks.

But by tremendous contrast with the unclear details of his life, Shankaracharya's writings have great clarity and there ought not to be any confusion about the message.

The revivahstic nature of the Adi-Shankaracharya's message and mission lives well in his late twentieth century apostles. Nobody should have gone to Sringeri looking for broad-minded reformism. On the afternoon of May 1, the four Shankaracharyas held a marathon public meeting which lasted over five hours, during-

which the lights went out twice and storm clouds menacingly rumbled once. Right through the meeting the mood was militant. The fundamentalist character of the creed was asserted in the most emphatic terms by the Sringeri swami who said that the Adi-Shankaracharya had no special personal credo to offer, there was no Shankar mantra as such, Shankaracharya merely revived the Vedic mantra.

While the morning's ceremonies were typical of such a religious gathering and full of impressive ritual, the evening's gathering was a concession to modern times. A resolution was passed, a committee was appointed, a joint communique was issued and many speeches were made. In style they were more akin to political speeches rather than religious discourses. But even there ritual added colour and mystery. Before every Jagatguru spoke, a disciple of his would stand up and intone a long ode to the glory and many virtues of his illustrious master. If God's humble servant is also God's proud warrior, and king by his authority of the spiritual realm, then the latter characteristics were the more prominent.

The Shankaracharyas spoke at length on many matters frankly political but weren't veteran politicians enough to be circumspect on matters delicate. Perhaps they will live to regret a little their outspokenness, though never to doubt their convictions. Between them the swamis were a fascinating study in contrast, set forth against a common mould. All tended to command instant respect with their grave, sublimely peaceful manner and a kind of natural authority that lifetime's sadhana gives. But beyond that they were delightfully human and different. Sri Abhinava Tirtha of Dwarka is a goodly old man with a baby face who tends to meander a little. Sri Niranjanadeva Tirtha of Puri is an irascible old 'John the Baptist' who would rather walk up to the gallows than deny his faith, and said as much. Sri Swarupananda Saraswati of Joshimath is easily the most impressive, a towering bearded hermit who speaks the most simple, precise and terse prose. Sri Abhinava Vidyatirtha Mahaswami of Sringeri appears to possess the keenest intellect which reflects clearly in his discerning eyes and a quiet assured manner.

That many current political developments in the country were seriously agitating the Swamis became apparent right from the word go. A printed one-page joint communique



that was issued spelt it out thus: From time immemorial it is the desirable thing to follow one's own religion. Therefore if someone tries to influence or change the religion of a person with the help of inducement, fear, force or harassment then that is a great wrong. May we always be engaged in the pursuit of our own religions'. The same fears and apprehensions that had been working on Mr O. P. Tyagi and caused him to introduce his Freedom of Religion Bill, were apparently visited on the Swamis. The Joshimath swami wanted phoney conversions among Adivasis stopped. The Dwarka swami spoke of his concern in a related field. He had just returned from a tour of North-East India where the balance in the population was being upset by a largescale influx of Muslims from Bangladesh.

But the one great issue that exercised all the swamis the most, other than the all-pervasive decline of religion (by which they of course meant Hinduism) was cow protection. The resolution that was passed made several references to it. They were happy that steps were being taken by the Union Government to ban cow slaughter and urged political Parties not to make it an issue of partisan politics but take it up as a national policy. They urged people to use cow energy, wanted the Government to prevent the sale of cows for slaughter and felt that only the hide of the dead cow should be utilised for leather. The Sringeri swami observed in his speech that the cow had done us so much good that he could not allow anyone to harm it. This drew the audience's applause.

The resolution made a reference to the solemnisation of marriage, which it felt should be done in the Hindu dharmik manner. The ceremonies should also be simple and not extravagant. The Puri swami added poignancy by narrating how thousands were spent on decorations and feasting but the poor brahmin priest was sent off with a five-rupee note.

Always hovering in the background was the question of the caste system. The resolution strongly asserted that the backward classes were on abhinaya ang of our society. The Puri swami later clarified that the term "abhinaya ang" was vital and he had insisted on its use in place of the word "ghatak". He even joined issue with the Karnataka Governor, Mr Govind Narayan's narration of an incident in the Adi-Shankaracharya's life in which he had met enlightenment in an "untouchable". Sri Niranjanadeva disputed this translation and favoured the word agraj, or, he who comes before—an elder brother—to describe the caste Hindu. Speakers repeatedly expressed themselves in favour of the Varnasram dharma or the caste system but asserted that untouchability was not a part of it. As Sri Niranjanadevi would like to have it seen, it was really a matter of relationship between elder and younger brothers. The Joshimath swami felt that Varnashram didn't mean disrespect to anybody.

Right through the meeting certain views, familiar among one section of political opinion in the country, were repeated. Mr Gopal Shastri, an important office bearer of the committee formed to commemorate the Adi-Shankaracharya in various ways bemoaned the fact that Hindu society was not going forward. There were laws in the country only for the majority community. The Dwarka swami lamented that there was no Hindu rashtra in the world except in little Nepal. The Joshimath swami found it galling that while the nation recognised the Buddha Jayanti and Mahavir Jayanti it didn't take notice of Shankara Jayanti. The Puri swami didn't mind the minority community getting special treatment but there should not be discrimination against the majority community as through the Hindu Married Women's Endowment Act. He even raised the slogan, which was lustily taken up by the audience: "Dharm ka jai ho, Adharm ka nash ho..."

The smooth flow of similar viewpoints parading before the audience was interrupted only once when the Karnataka Minister of State for Information, Mr K. H. Srinivas, an invitee, embarked on what he thought was a free exchange of views. It almost became a free for all. Mr Srinivas said that the point to consider about the Freedom of Religion Bill was why people who had been with us for so many years had left us. Was it because we were unable to



look after a large chunk of our society? Also, we had not really abolished in practice casteism and untouchability. At this point the Sringeri swami stopped him short. "Don't create a controversy here. I can answer your criticisms." From the audience there were shouts: "Don't make a political speech here. It is the Government that is sustaining the caste system." The Minister's speech quickly ended thereafter and the faithful went back to listening to what they were used to.

BUT by far the strangest aspect of the whole gathering was that while much was said in loud condemnation of the enemy without, there was the persisting nagging presence of the enemy within. Why had the Sankaracharyas met? To spread the good word, to bless the faithful, put the fear of God in the heart of the wayward? Certainly. But there was also this little matter of territorial claims, a problem of poaching, of pretenders and false prophets, a need to tell the faithful on whom the mantle of the Lord really rested. An inconvenient little problem of having

Photographs by Subhi Roy

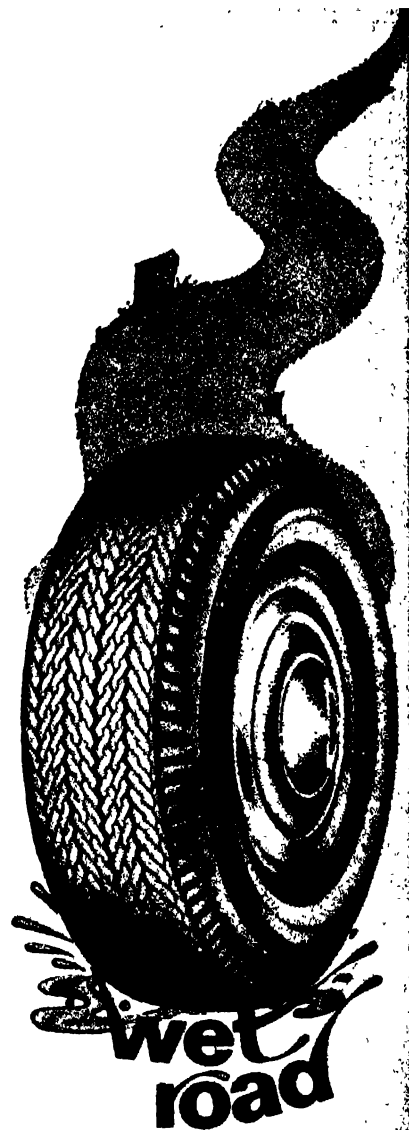
to assert: We four and no more.

The biggest unseen presence at the whole gathering, in fact the man who perhaps made it all possible, was the Shankaracharya of Kanchi, Acharya Chandrashekharendra Bharati. His math is also known as Sureshwara-pith and it is claimed that the first disciple of the Adi-Shankaracharya resided there after he died at that spot. Now the following paragraph comes fairly early in the joint-communication:

It is known that in order to spread the religion and learning that he had acquired through his own efforts, Shankaracharya established four maths in the four corners of India... At the end of all his work he put an end to his physical form and work by leaving his human body in the cold and snowy Kedar-khetra. However, many people in order to enhance their own prestige have spread it about that Shankaracharya belongs to their province. In India there are many legends circulated about him in person. Naturally there are no proofs in these matters. This fact should be known by all. They should know that the swamis of the four maths believe firmly that Shankaracharya died in Kedar-khetra.

This 'fact' was repeated several times by several speakers in various oblique ways. One reason why the problem may have gained immediacy is that the present swami of Kanchipuram is a rather exceptional person who has developed a large following (reportedly among many top Delhi bureaucrats) and has been organising extensive philanthropic work. A more unseemly incident that came up for repeated mention was the throwing into a river of an image of the Adi-Shankaracharya that the Dwarka Swami had put up at Badrikshetra, presumably because some people resented the mention of the name of the Dwarka math at the base of the statue. Consequently the resolution stipulated that the memorial that would be set up to Adi-Shankaracharya at Badrikshetra should not bear the name of any math.

This has in fact been the state of organised Hindu religion in the country since independence. Any large denomination or sect is riven by internecine fighting among its followers. The end of the last century and early part of this century saw several reformist movements trying to rescue the essentials of the Hindu religion from the dead weight of sterile and repressive dogma. But that period is certainly over. The Sringeri swami, although Kannadiga bred and Kannadiga born, told reporters the next morning that there was a need for an Indian link language. The English had come across the seven seas and brainwashed us into losing our cultural identity. Maybe it was the continued use of English and our store of knowledge gleaned from English books that were causing the faithful to fight among themselves. Maybe. ■



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USSR sabotaged Bhaskara

There's no other explanation for the failure

BHASKARA, the space satellite, was launched from a Soviet cosmodrome on June 6, amidst fanfare and jubilation. The excitement was unconcealed, New Delhi was pleased. At that time it looked as if India was well on her way to achieving self-sufficiency in her space programme. Now, the Bhaskara project is almost certainly a 100 per cent failure. It is evident that the information about the failure of its TV cameras, X-ray detectors and other scientific instruments were passed on to the Press in a rather low key.

The major scientific programmes of Bhaskara project consisted of (i) mineral location experiments proposed to have been carried out on the Bihar mica belt, Chitradurga belt and the Deccan trap near Pune (ii) soil survey near and around Hyderabad, Hissar and Indore and (iii) evolving geo-climatic parameters for future planning. About 600 highly skilled and competent Indian scientists and engineers had been working for the last four years to build Bhaskara.

To date, the TV cameras set up haven't been turned on even once. The detectors designed to register the torrents of cosmic rays coming from outer space ended up in the same way. In effect, Bhaskara is numb, powerless—it does not seem to respond to any signal from the ground stations.

Is this another spectacular failure, like so many other failures in our scientific programme or is there something more sinister at work? From the evidence already available



Ex-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the Indian Satellite Project

it looks as though Bhaskara programme was sabotaged by the Russians, right from the beginning. On the day of launching, the satellite was finally handed over to the Russians, who, as the report goes, insisted that beyond a certain point the security rules would not permit any Indian scientist to go. So, on that fateful day, Bhaskara was with the Russians and Russians alone, just before it was stationed on top of the Russian rocket—long enough for the Russians

to pull out all the relevant connections to the power-pack.

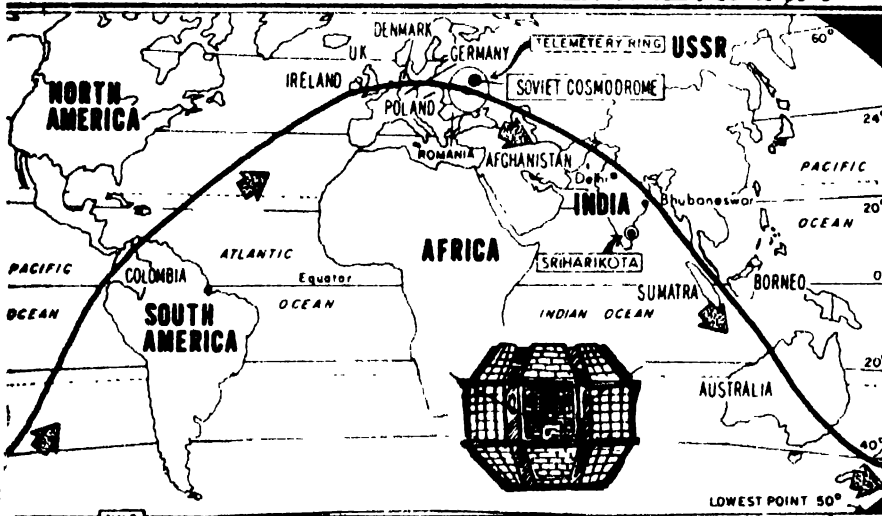
No country in the world likes the idea of being watched by any foreign agent, especially if the agent happens to be a satellite taking pictures from outer space. As Bhaskara spins around the globe, there is no reason, at least theoretically, why a few pictures of Russian missile bases could not be flashed back to Bangalore or Ahmedabad; indeed, there is no reason why a few shots of PINSTECH in Pakistan could not be flashed back either. In simple strategic terms it is not in the Russian interest to have another satellite remote-sensing Russian soil. The response of Bhaskara to any signal being entirely negative leaves us with the only conclusion that the act of sabotage was neatly performed in the high security enclosure of the cosmodrome.

Why? The Russians, after all, helped to launch Bhaskara; so why should they destroy the power-pack? Why should they sabotage a space programme as prestigious as this? Ironically, the Russians have gained all the advantages, political and strategic, and India has lost out. If Bhaskara had been working that would have neither enhanced nor reduced Russian credibility. Soviet participation started and ended with the launching of the satellite. A 100 per cent functioning remote-sensing Bhaskara spinning round the globe would have been a slip in the equations of Russian strategy.

If Bhaskara had been sabotaged by the Russians, Indians have to swallow a grim message. In sensitive scientific activities, be it a space programme or atomic energy for that matter, it is not credible for our scientists to be competent only upto a point. No part of the programme can be left to the mercy of any foreign nation. Tarapur is the most famous example. India's scientific programme in sensitive areas has to be self-sufficient to the last detail. The decision to go all out for total self-sufficiency is, however, a political one and not entirely scientific; the decision for the financial resources, adequate for building up a self-sufficient space programme or atomic energy programme has to come out of the complex decision-making inner circle of the political hierarchy. It would be an illusion to think that any nation could usher in the progress of India in these sensitive areas. Charity is an unknown quantity in the murky equations of international politics.

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ORBITAL PATH OF BHASKARA



Ditchers from Deutschland

Rickshaw-pullers are being taken for a ride

PRETTY, young German girls have invaded Jaipur. Like the love stories of the harems of yore, their affairs are the talk of the town. They came into the limelight for the first time when one of them married a rickshaw-puller. Almost simultaneously another German girl too married an ordinary citizen of Jaipur. The third one is in a Jaipur jail along with the wife of the rickshaw-puller. As many as seven of these girls were reportedly in Jaipur during the same period.

Tall and shapely 22-year-old Erika, who wears a ghagra and choli and chain-smokes bidis, was the first West German girl to hit the headlines by marrying rickshaw-puller, Gopal Singh Chauhan. But she is now in jail. Her husband, who initially was overwhelmed with joy for getting a *gauri mem* (white-skinned lady) as his spouse, is now a broken man. Erika is under judicial custody for trying to forge her passport. Gopal Singh is making a desperate bid to get her out of the four walls of the Jaipur Central Jail. After marrying the German girl, Gopal Singh sold his rickshaw—his only source of livelihood—to get money for celebrating his honeymoon in a befitting manner. The girl had assured him that her parents were rich and they would send enough money to her. "After this there will be no dearth of money with us and we will leave for Germany."

As luck would have it, Gopal Singh's dream of settling in West Germany as the son-in-law of a well-off family appears to have been shattered with Erika being sent to jail. Back in the realm of hard realities, he has again started pulling a rickshaw which he has now hired at Rs 4 a day. Though Gopal Singh has succeeded in getting a court order for his wife's release on bail, the task of producing a surety of Rs 10,000 and a matching personal bond is not an easy one. But the rudest shock to him has come from Erika herself: She has now told the court that Gopal is not her husband, he is out to blackmail her, and any act of his to get her released on bail should not be taken cognizance of. This change of heart seems to have come about after officials of the West German Embassy visited Erika in jail.

What did Erika find in Gopal? He is not her equal either economically or intellectually. Neither is he very obviously handsome. She spent most of her time with Gopal Singh for about 15 days before they got married in the Arya Samaj. In the words of her jail-mate, Miss Brigitte Preis, "Erika likes poor and simple people." But after the arrest Erika appears to have changed her views about India and Indians. She told one interviewer, "I am not an Indian nor



Erika, in police custody, being taken to the court where she denied having married the rickshaw puller. (Inset) Edith Erika and Gopal Singh

do I want to live in India. I like to be called a German and want to go back to my country. In any case I cannot leave my parents." The couple was also sore over the publicity that their marriage had attracted in the Indian Press.

Interestingly, only a few days back she got herself converted to Hinduism to marry Gopal Singh. The Arya Samaj, where the marriage was performed, gave her a Hindu name—Sita Devi. But for the generous help from an office bearer of the Arya Samaj the Erika-Gopal Singh marriage would not have taken place since neither of them had the Rs 110 needed for the various rituals. The Arya Samaj official contributed the money to help perform this *punya karyu* (noble work) of making a foreigner a Hindu.

What connections Erika has got with Brigitte Preis, her German jail-mate, who too is involved in a similar case of passport forgery is still to be found out. Brigitte Preis is reported to have come to India with a boyfriend. When they reached Varanasi, the boyfriend came into contact with a *sadhu* and under his influence got his head cleanshaven. Too much of intoxication had an ad-

verse effect on his mind and hence Brigitte managed to send him back from India. Slim and charming Brigitte (26) is five months pregnant. She was remanded to judicial custody on June 29 this year. Eleven days later she was joined by Edith Erika under orders of the chief judicial magistrate. Erika, however, used to visit Brigitte Preis before she was lodged there on July 9. Both the girls have identical habits and are chain-smokers. But unlike Erika, Brigitte was not penniless when she was taken into custody.

Jail records show that at least Brigitte Preis is not quite unknown in Jaipur. After being in jail a German couple visited her. Two foreign students studying in Rajasthan University also visit her regularly and bring cigarettes and other presents. One of these students is said to be a Kenyan and the other one is from Uganda. One line of speculation, particularly after the new turn the Gopal-Erika matter has taken, is that there is more than love and the waywardness of western youth in this mini-invasion of Jaipur by rootless German girls.

MILAP CHAND DANDIA, Jaipur



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No skeleton in their cupboard

A school's reputation is being ruined

THE skeleton of a student of class IV was found in a school in Ranchi when it reopened after the summer vacation, according to the secretary of the Bihar Pradesh Congress(I), Mr. Harinarayan Singh, said a news agency report sometime in the middle of July. It added that the student had complained of stomach ache to his class teacher on the last day of school before the summer vacation. The teacher had asked him to lie down on one of the empty last benches. At the end of school everyone seemed to have forgotten about the student and apparently he had been locked in for the whole of the vacation. When the school reopened after the holidays the skeleton of the student was said to have been found in the classroom. This news was guaranteed to cause wide-spread gossip. Such "news" is bound to spread fast, particularly in a place like Ranchi, which is not too large as cities go. Detailed investigations revealed that the story had no basis whatsoever, it being an unlikely one in the first place. The Deputy Commissioner, Mr. B. P. Sinha, also felt that there was no basis to the rumour. He had not received any orders from the Home Department in the State capital, Patna, to look into the case.

Finding the school was a problem in itself since no one seemed to have a clear idea of the name of the school. After being misled a number of times I managed to reach the Shri Chandmal Jain Bal Mandir. The principal of the school, Mrs. Leena Verma, acknowledged that the news I had heard indeed referred to her school. "I don't know who is spreading such stories about this school," she said. She offered to show us the attendance registers of all the classes in the school—Kindergarten to Class V. There are 435 students in the school—both boys and girls—and no name had "A" written beside it signifying "Absent", after June 18, 1979. The school's summer vacation had started on May 23 and continued up to June 17.

I asked her about the manner in which the students were sent home every day after school, to find out if any child left behind or locked up in a classroom could be accounted for. She explained that the school closed at 3.30 pm and the teachers stayed behind till every child had left—sometimes as late as 5.30. The cleaning staff of the school made up of five maids start their work around 4.30 pm. They go through each classroom meticulously since many children leave their books and sometimes their satchels behind. The principal also said that there was no reason why the child could not have been discovered during the holidays because the school classrooms were



The Chand Mal Jain Balmandir

cleaned even during the holidays while the school office remained open for two hours every day. The school authorities did not receive visits or complaints from parents or guardians with regard to this case either during or after the holidays. In fact,

Mrs Verma wanted to meet the person who had mentioned the news to the Congress(I) secretary. This rumour, she said, would destroy the reputation which the school had built up over a period of 25 years.

It was obvious that whoever had circulated the news had plans to finish the school. The principal said that hers was the oldest junior school in Ranchi. Just beside the school there is a factory, the Bihar Engineering Works, which is built on land owned by the school. Many years ago, the school authorities gave the land to the factory owner for his use: it was not sold or donated. A few months ago, when the factory owner started claiming that the land was his, the school started a case. Ultimately, the factory owner, Mr. Nemchandji, lost the suit. The secretary of the school committee, Mr. Basudev Kataruka, was of the opinion that the school's reputation was being tarnished by persons who had ulterior motives. In fact, the school is sandwiched between the factory and a Congress(I) office. If a rumour was to travel from the factory to the Congress(I) office, it would have to traverse only a block. Mr. Harinarayan Singh, the Bihar Pradesh Congress(I) secretary owes everyone an explanation.

TIRTHANKAR GHOSH, Ranchi

Uncivil Ministers and civil servants

Ministers 'shoe' the way



Pawan Diwan

GAZETTED officers of Madhya Pradesh under the Janata Government are faced with a new kind of hazard over which they are concerned and agitated. The members of the State Cabinet in a sudden fit of temper, when they lose all sense of reason and propriety, assault and publicly humiliate officials. The latest victim of such Ministerial wrath is Mr. H. P. Siroliya, Block Development Officer of Geedum in the tribal district of Bastar. He was dragged by his hair in public by the Tribal Welfare Minister, Mr. Baliram Kashyap. The Minister had even taken off one of his shoes to beat Mr. Siroliya. This incident has created a wave of anger and frustration in the civil service circles of the State.

The story goes something like this. On June 13, the Minister for Tribal Welfare arrived at Geedum and was furious when he saw a well constructed near the bus stand. He had all along opposed its construction. He rushed immediately to the BDO's office, called the officer out, held him by the hair and asked: "Under whose

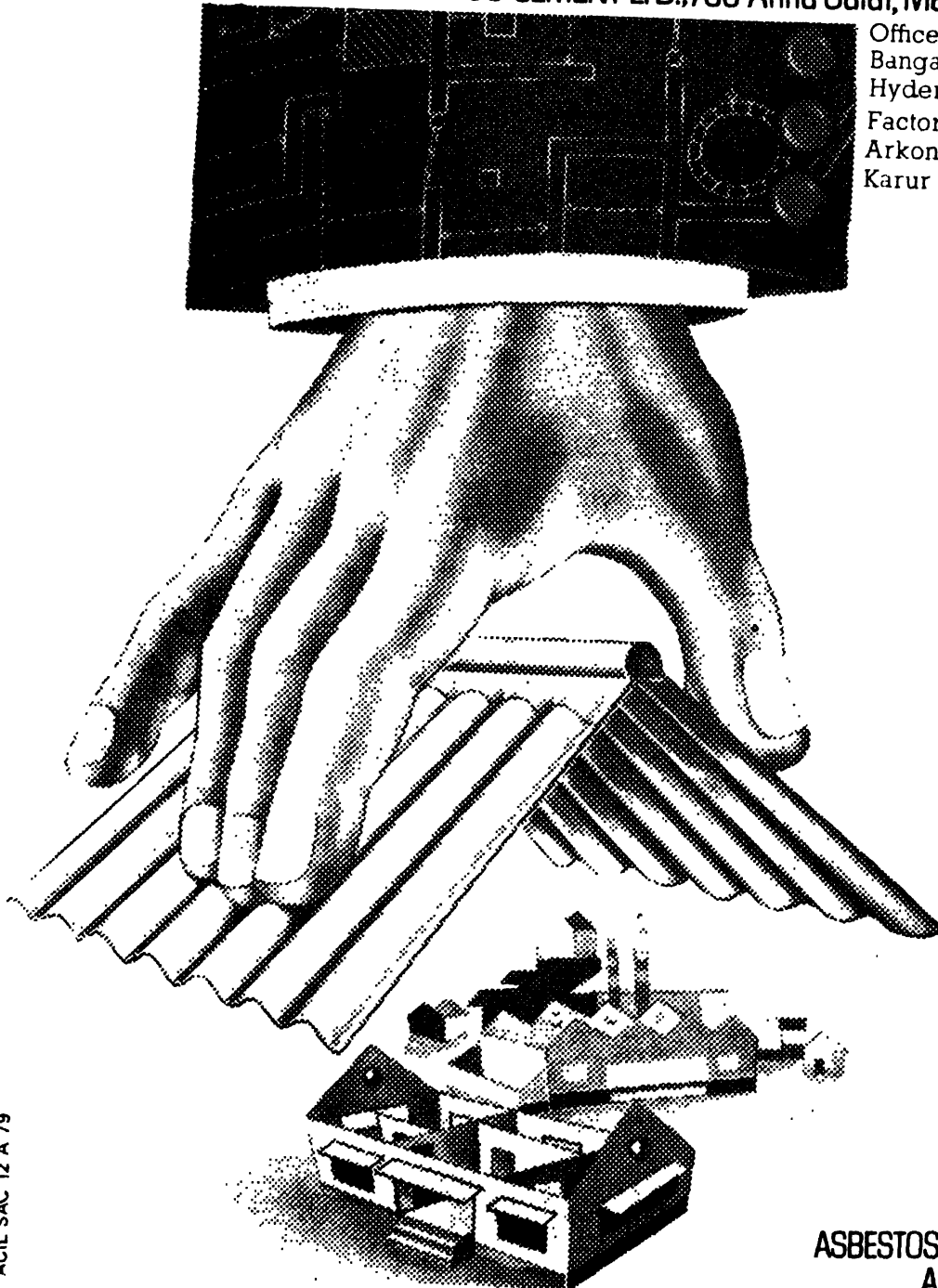
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instructions has the well been constructed?" While the BDO, Mr Siroliya, was explaining that the construction had gone according to a resolution adopted by the Geedum Janpad Panchayat and that he was dutybound to implement the decision, the Minister dragged the officer to his jeep and took him to the bus stand where he showered the choicest abuses on him. He then took out one of his shoes to hit the BDO. Meanwhile the Janpad Panchayat Chairman, Mr Jaya Kishore Sharma, along with about 100 persons reached the spot. They protested against the Minister's behaviour. Infuriated at this intervention the Minister treated the Janpad Chairman in almost the same manner. He roared: "I am a Minister and can act in any way I like. Nobody can intervene". But judging the mood of the crowd, which then wanted to teach the Janata Minister a lesson, he left the place in a hurry.

The Minister motored directly to Jagdalpur, the district headquarters of Bastar where he was to address a Press conference. He stayed with the Pressmen for a few minutes and abruptly left the place for some unknown destination. Neither had he spoken about the Geedum episode nor had the Pressmen been aware of it.

The Janpad Chairman and the BDO, meanwhile, lodged a complaint with Geedum police station the same day i.e. June 13. The Minister then chose to contradict Press reports about the incident on June 17. Mr Baliram Kashyap in his denial said that the BDO and the Janpad Chairman, who incidentally, is a Congress-(I) leader, were involved in a scandal of Rs 52,000 by showing an old well as a new one. To hide this fact they had circulated false reports in the Press.

Before Mr Kashyap reached Bhopal, the Press carried reports of the incident which were flashed all over the State including the State capital. On enquiry, the Chief Minister was informed by the district authorities of Bastar that the incident was true and any denial at the official level would create complications. The district authorities were then asked to get a written statement from the BDO that he did not want any further action on his complaint to the police. The Minister was advised to issue a contradiction on his own at the political level. The Directorate of Information and Publicity were directed by the Government bosses not to issue denials of the incident.

Mr Kashyap is not a loner in his actions. Ramanand Singh, Minister for Local Government (Urban) had shown his temper to the IAS Administrator of Indore Municipal Corporation—since the officer had told him that it was not his duty to see if the bathrooms of the Circuit House, where the Minister was supposed to stay had no soap and towel. Despite Mr Ramanand Singh's best efforts, the officer could not be suspended, though he was summarily transferred.

The sanyasi Minister of Jails Mr Pawan Diwan, is no sanyasi. He has become a terror among the officials. He once directed the students at Mahasamund to give his personal assistant a shoe-beating because the students had complained that the PA had not submitted their demands to him. However the students proved to be more sober; they did not act on the Minister's advice. The sanyasi Minister once got a trader of Mahasamund beaten by people when they complained to him that the trader had charged higher prices. He once suspended an officer because the officer was not present when the Minister went on an inspection.

Filthy abuse is the stock-in-trade of Thakur Darbar Singh Minister of State for Food and Civil Supplies. And he is not miserly about using them on all occasions. He is also known for his loud voice. Sometime back when the returning officer appointed for the Rajnandgaon civic poll, rejected an application of a Janata candidate for a recount on the grounds that it did not have any valid reasons, Mr Darbar Singh Thakur personally joined the people in a

protest demonstration against the officer. Taking his cue from the Minister's behaviour a Janata VI along with his colleagues entered the office of a Chief Municipal Officer of a Municipal council in Raipur district and beat him up with an announcement: "This is the beginning of a big show."

There is another instance where he created a scene. On June 23, he was to travel from Bhopal on the Chhattisgarh Express on which he had his reservation. The conductor of the railway coach could not give him correct information about his reservation. As a result he was delayed and missed the train. Some of his luggage which had been put on the train was carried away and had to be brought back from Itarsi. Mr Thakur Darbar Singh stormed into the room of the Assistant Station Master demanding an explanation for the act of the conductor. This was followed by filthy invective from the Minister on railway employees in general and the station staff of Bhopal in particular.

M. V. KHER, Raipur

WHAT A BLUMER !

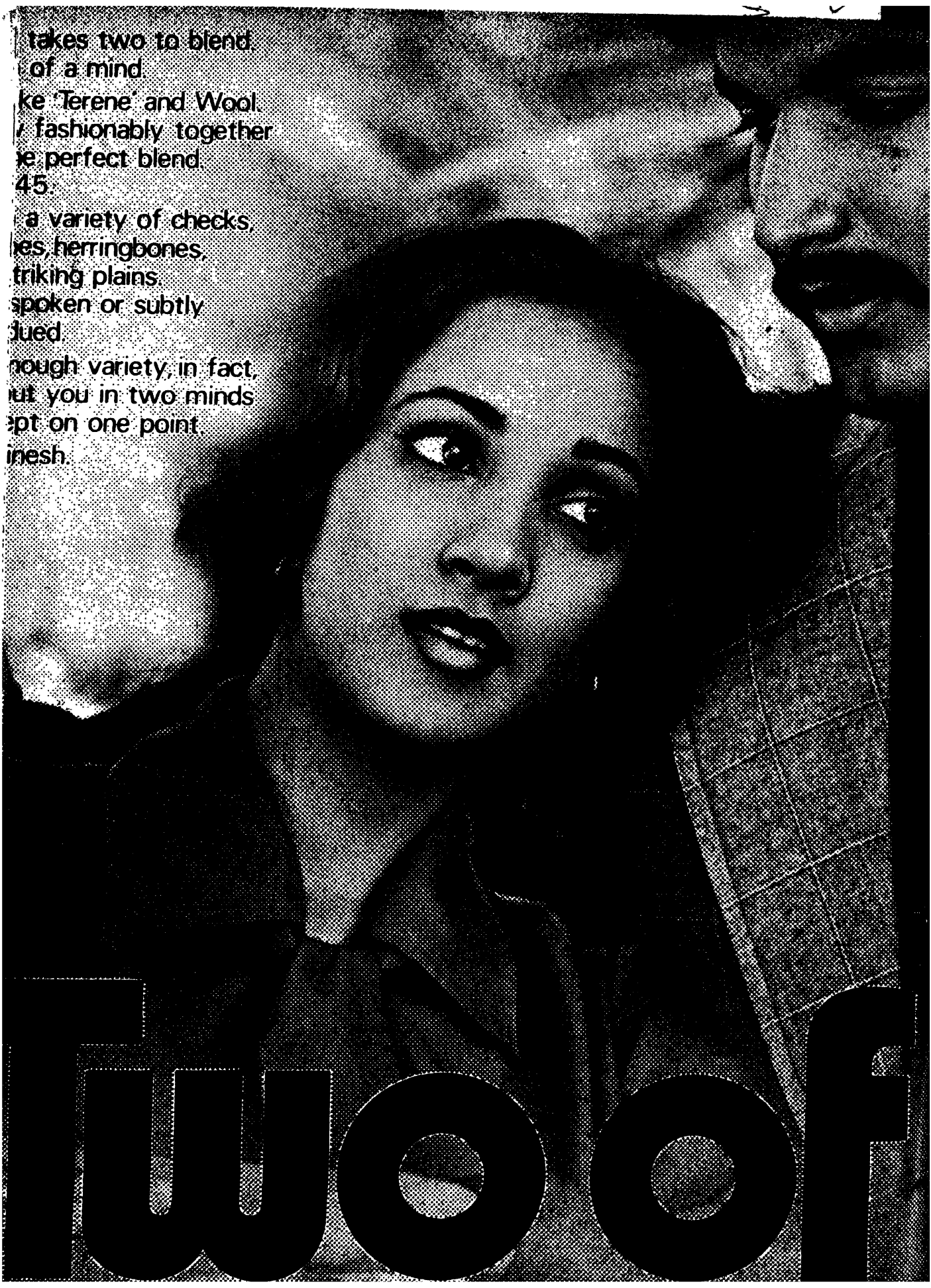


It was a sight indeed! Miss Kristi Blumer of Pennsylvania is all surprised on being congratulated by Miss Jackie Houston from California after she was named Miss Nude World in Cambridge, Ontario, recently. In her unconcealed joy she covers her face and, of course, nothing else.

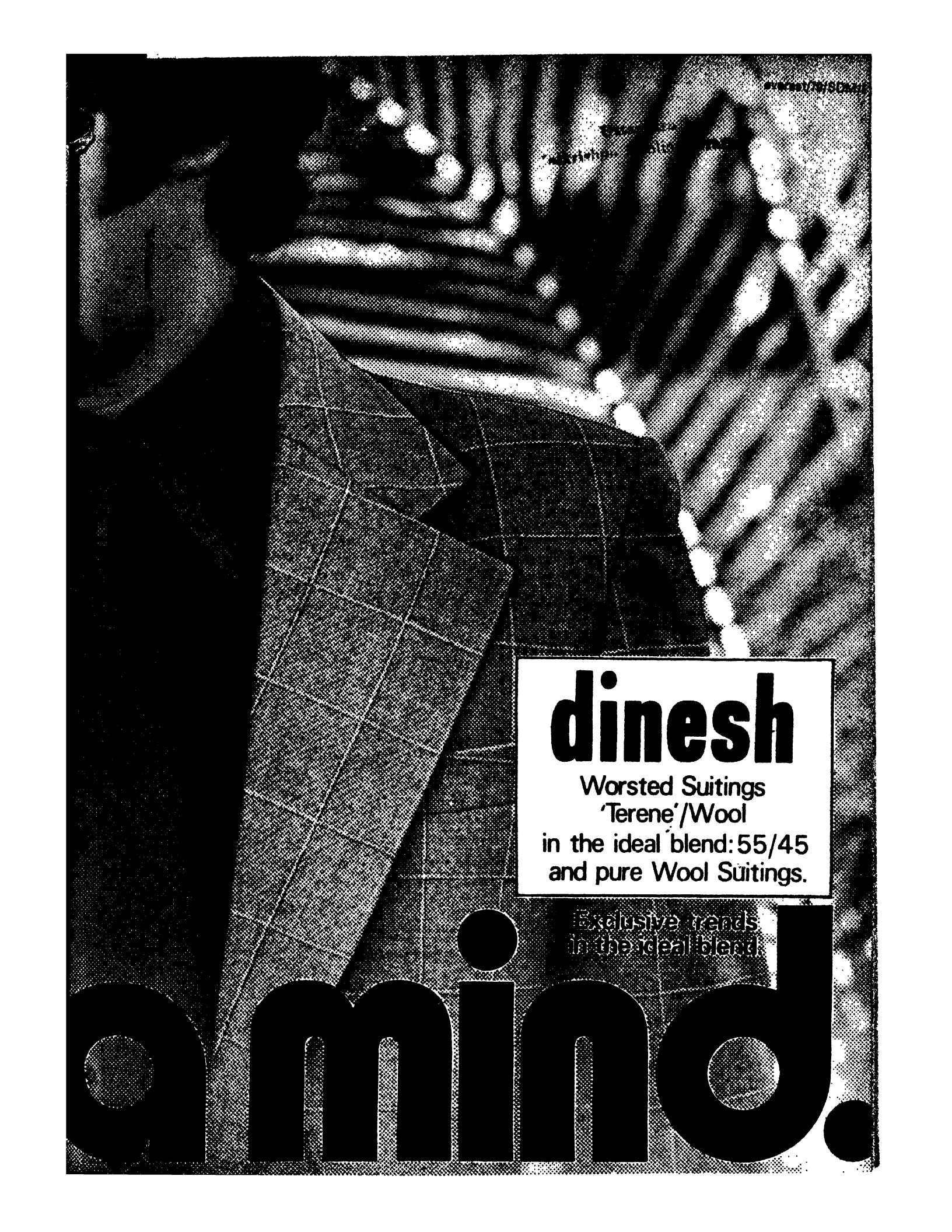
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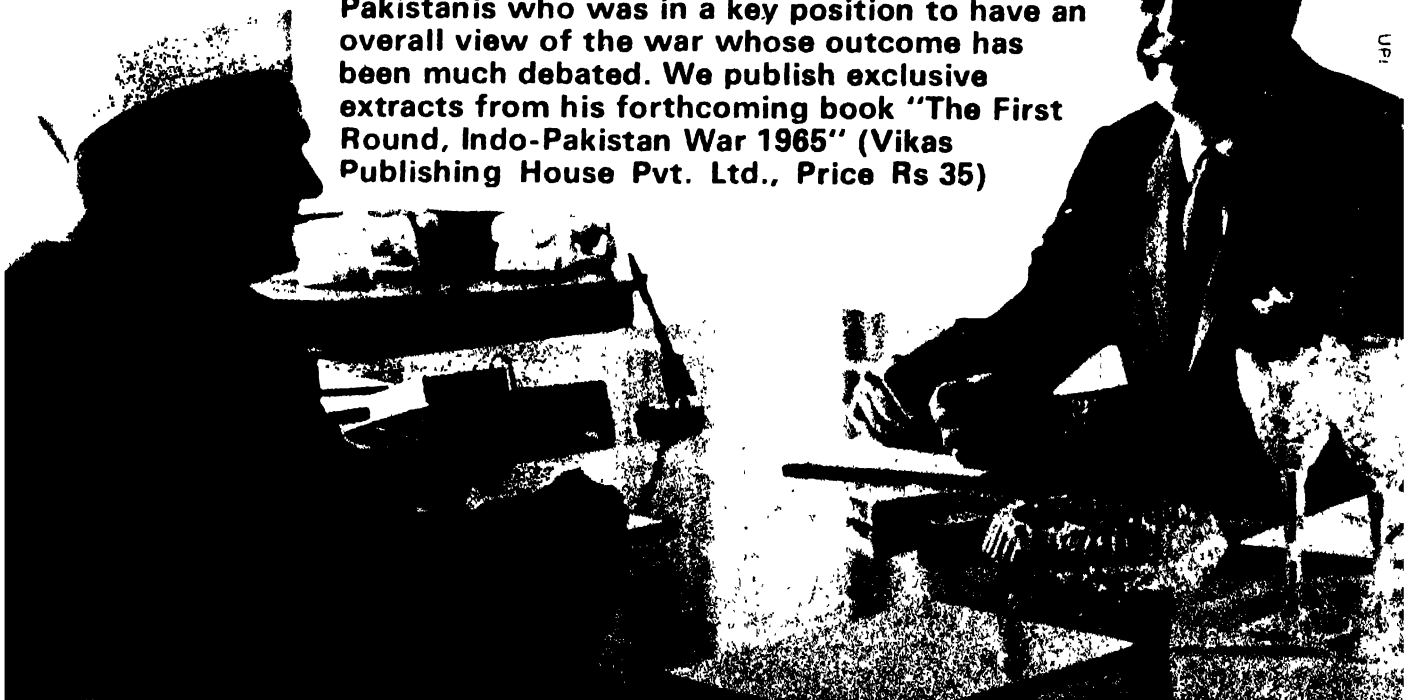
DURING my absence from Pakistan, the Indian Air Force had bombed Peshawar, and although they had done little damage to the airfield, a number of civilians had been killed in the city and in nearby villages. The air traffic control building and a portion of a hangar had been hit. It was lucky that no aircraft were destroyed because our bombers were at the time lined in strength on the airfield loaded with bombs and fuel in preparation for a raid on Indian airfields. Although a few aircraft received splinters, no aircraft was seriously damaged. The Indian raid over, our bombers took off to return the compliment, leaving behind more telling memories of their visit. The Indians also bombed Kohat and repeated the attack on Peshawar. In both these raids no serious damage was done to Air Force property, although civilians again suffered.



HOW AYUB KHAN LOST IN '65

By Air Marshal Asghar Khan of Pakistan

When the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965 began Air Marshal Asghar Khan had just retired. But he was inducted back and came to play a crucial role in the war effort. He was one of the few Pakistanis who was in a key position to have an overall view of the war whose outcome has been much debated. We publish exclusive extracts from his forthcoming book "The First Round, Indo-Pakistan War 1965" (Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Price Rs 35)



Sargodha had also been visited by Indian Canberras at night. This airfield remained the main target for Indian attacks at night throughout the war. Although the Indian Air Force dropped an estimated 500,000 lbs of bombs in the area around Sargodha airfield, it did remarkably little damage. The net damage on the airfield was one fire-crash tender damaged and its driver injured, a twenty-five foot crater near, but not on, the landing strip. One bomb hit a village about six miles away from the airfield killing twenty-one inhabitants.

Apart from these night bombing raids, the Indian Air Force had been relatively inactive and the Pakistan Air Force was in command of the situation. Indian aircraft had given up day-time adventures. Sporadic raids at night were to continue for another few days with little more than nuisance effect. The situation on the ground was less encouraging. Our armour, which had been moved to the Gujranwala-Wazirabad area, was being used to contain the Indian advance towards the Lahore-Rawalpindi railway line. The Indians had made some gains in the Lahore and Sialkot sectors but the momentum of their attack had been lost and the battle was now static.

The Army had been using up its ammunition faster than expected and it was considered desirable to arrange replenishment of these stocks. Our weapons were American supplied and the only countries that had similar weapons and could be expected to help were Iran and Turkey. They were also operating the same aircraft as we were and

I thought it necessary to visit Teheran and Ankara. Armed with Ayub's letters for President Gursel and the Shah of Iran, I left for Karachi on my way to Ankara and Teheran. Karachi was a transformed city. Black-out was effective and complete and trenches had been dug extensively for use as bomb shelters. A few Indian aircraft had flown over the city but no part of Karachi had been bombed or damaged. I understood that All India Radio, in reporting the success of these bombing raids over Karachi had said that Bunder Road lay in ruins and that serious damage had been done to the Lyari Air Force base. Lyari is well known for its fishing colony, for its odours and for a few other unattractive characteristics, but not for its air base. The airfield at Mauripur had been untouched. In Karachi I saw Admiral A. R. Khan at his headquarters and then left for Ankara.

President Gursel received me kindly and, after an exchange of views on the military situation, said that Turkey would do whatever was possible to help us in this emergency. I later called on General Tansel, the Air Commander-in-Chief, and the Prime Minister, Mr Orguplu. It was obvious that the Turks were under some strain and were embarrassed by the situation. All their equipment was American and they were wholly dependent on the United States for their day-to-day military needs. They were members of NATO to which all their military forces and resources were allotted. It was not proper for them to supply any weapons to Pakistan without informing NATO and obtaining their consent. It was

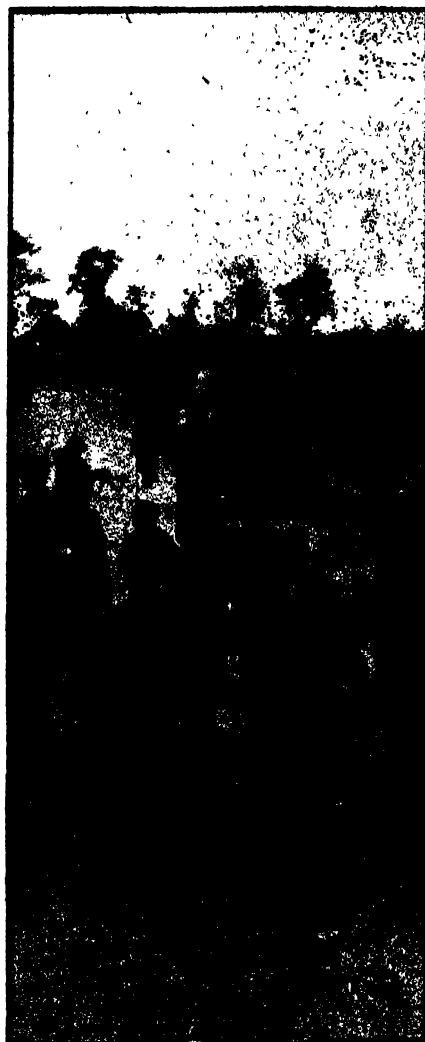
also unlikely that they could send major items of equipment such as aircraft or tanks without their NATO allies getting to know that this had been done. The Prime Minister explained that he was the head of a coalition and, like most coalitions, his Government had no common views on many issues. On the issue of the Indo-Pakistan war, he said, they were unanimous in their support of their Pakistani brethren, but they were divided on the manner in which this assistance could or should be given. One party would like to go all the way in their support of Pakistan; a second party would prefer to adopt a cautious approach, giving us all possible material assistance without in any way jeopardising Turkey's own international relations or military commitments; and the third party, more mindful of U.S. reaction, would like to follow an even more cautious approach. Considering all these difficulties, he said they would supply us whatever they had by way of munitions, arms etc., but he expressed his inability to give us either combat aircraft, aircraft spares, or tanks. I thanked him for his frank expression of views and was a little disappointed, though not surprised, at the Turkish reaction to our predicament. On reflection, I have felt that it would not have been realistic for us to expect more help from Turkey than she gave. She gave generously and kept PIA busy, flying all we could into Pakistan.

Pakistani army men loading a truck with the dead bodies of their jawans at Dogria



AT TEHERAN the Shah received me soon after my arrival. In his letter to the Shah, Ayub Khan had expressed disappoint-

ment at Iran's attitude towards the Indo-Pakistan conflict. A meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Iran and Turkey had taken place a few days earlier, at the conclusion of which a communique had been issued. In this the Foreign Ministers, whilst expressing sympathy with Pakistan, had concluded that both countries should accept the United Nations' proposal for a cessation of hostilities. Many in Pakistan felt that we had a right to expect more vigorous diplomatic support from these two countries than this communique indicated. Our Foreign Office, moreover, had understood from our Ambassador in Turkey that this lukewarm attitude of the Foreign Minister had been conditioned by the Shah of Iran's insistence that Iran and Turkey must not adopt a partisan attitude in this conflict. Iran, like Turkey, was the recipient of military and economic assistance from the United States, and her ability to stand up to American pressure in such a situation was, to say the least, doubtful. The Foreign Office had concluded that Iran had played a leading role in wording the communique in a manner that put us at some disadvantage in adopting a stronger negotiating posture. Thus Ayub Khan in his letter had expressed disappointment at Iran's role in these talks and had said in plain words that Pakistan had a right to expect a more positive response from Iran in this, our hour of tribulation. The Shah read the letter over twice. His face showed that he was hurt that Ayub Khan should have addressed him in such terms and that Iran's role or motives in these talks should have been suspect. He said that it was a pity that he could not say all he knew about this matter. If he could, Ayub Khan would be satisfied that Iran had not been responsible for the effect that the communique had produced. He showed great concern over the situation and congratulated me on the performance of the Pakistan Air Force. I had arrived in the midst of their national holidays and we had experienced some difficulty in getting certain military stores that had already been allotted to Pakistan by Iran. I therefore asked if he would order his people to work throughout the holidays to meet our needs. He issued instructions in my presence that all personnel connected with the programme must work night and day to keep the stores moving and that our entire needs in explosives and ammunition were to be met until their own stocks were reduced to zero. He, like Orguplu, did not see his way to giving us fighter aircraft as these were closely watched by the United States Military Assistance staff, but he agreed that we should let them have a list of our requirements in aircraft and equipment. I had brought this with



Tanks led by an Indian infantry platoon

me and handed it over later to Iranian officials.

Having seen the Shah, I returned to Karachi and then to Rawalpindi. In both Turkey and Iran I had been received with sympathy and warmth. It was obvious that the people of Iran and Turkey were greatly disturbed by the situation. It was not unnatural that, notwithstanding the deep brotherly sentiments that existed in both these countries for Pakistan, the Governments of Iran and Turkey did not find it possible to adopt a more positive attitude in this conflict. Both were too deeply involved with the United States and both had a certain mistrust of the People's Republic of China. They could not, in the face of such conflicting pressures, have been expected to do much more than they did in these troubled times. Since the conflict had been unexpected — at least by our Government — they had not received from us any prior warning of a situation arising which necessitated their active support. Considering the short time that had elapsed since the outbreak of hostilities, their support must be considered speedy and effective. International involvement in such conflict is usual-

ly a gradual process. In this case, when the war lasted only 17 days and peace talks and feelers were initiated within the first ten days of the outbreak of hostilities, it would not have been reasonable to expect any serious commitment on the part of Iran or Turkey.

Whilst in Turkey I had heard of the appointment of Ghulam Faruque as Defence Adviser to the President. On my arrival in Rawalpindi a message was awaiting me that he wanted to see me as soon as possible. Having briefed Ayub Khan, the Foreign Minister, and the Foreign Secretary about my mission, I met Ghulam Faruque the same evening. A man of great energy and drive, he appeared excited about his new job. He explained that as Defence Adviser he was required to deal primarily with the procurement of explosives and stores to keep the armed forces supplied so that the war effort was not interrupted. I had, without being appointed, already begun to perform these functions and had collected an inter-services staff which was by then functioning in the Ministry of Defence. I therefore told Ghulam Faruque that I would be available for advice and assistance, and I briefed him on what had been done so far and what had been planned for the future. The situation was, I felt, satisfactory and although we were running short of stocks in certain types of explosives, I was confident that with the ships that were on the way and the PIA Boeings and Constellations that were bringing equipment and stores, the Army would not run out of essential weapons and explosives. I continued to function in this role of a self-appointed coordinator until the war ended, when I returned to Karachi.

His appointment, Ghulam Faruque told me, had been suggested to the President by the Governor of West Pakistan, Nawab Amir Mohammad Khan of Kalabagh and by Air Marshal Nur Khan. Nur Khan had said that Ayub Khan, like Churchill in the Second World War, needed a 'Beaverbrook' and that Ghulam Faruque would be eminently suited to fill this role. Alas, if we also had a Churchill, Pakistan's destiny might indeed have been different today.



War without a GHQ



IN RAWALPINDI, the control and direction of the war was woefully lacking. At a meeting of the Commanders-in-Chief with the President, some six years earlier, I had suggested that we should give serious thought to higher command and control in war. It was important that we should be clear where the Government would function

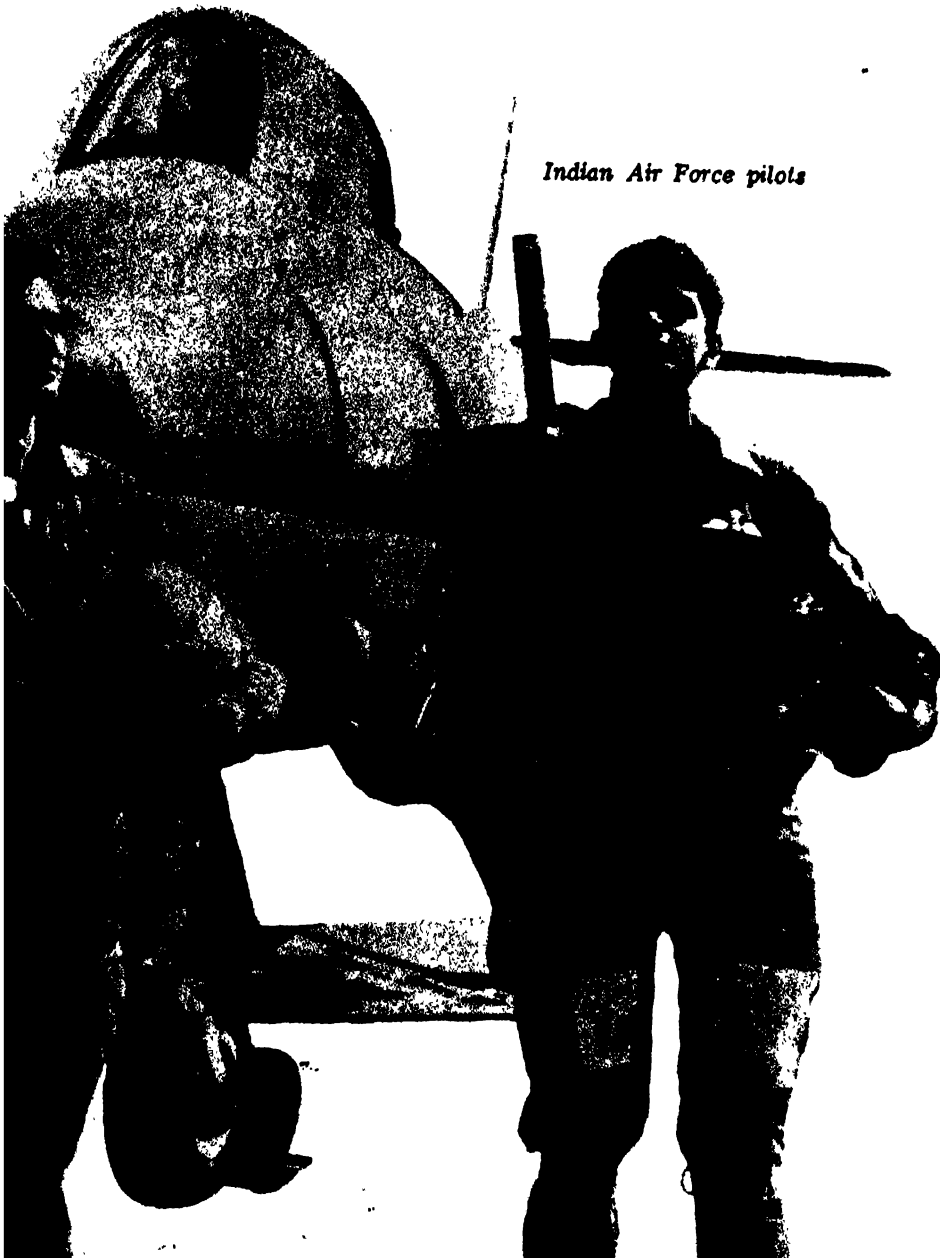
from during war. Who would direct the national war effort and where would the Commander-in-Chief of the Army normally be? This was necessary because the control of modern war is made possible only by a complex communications system. This communications system has to be laid down in peace time and at considerable cost. The staff at a headquarters functions as the extension of a commander's brain, and the brain must have speedy and efficient communication with the limbs or the formations that a commander controls. These communications between the field formations and the headquarters are not single lines but an intricate network of radio and telephone circuits connecting various people dealing with logistical and operational matters at different places. Similarly, the commanders of the three services require communications not only between themselves but also with their staffs. The three Service Commanders have also to be connected with the person

or persons who control and coordinate the overall war effort. All this should be common knowledge for people possessing even an elementary knowhow of modern warfare. I was, therefore, a little surprised when I was asked why it must be decided in advance where the war would be controlled from. When I explained the requirement, Ayub Khan replied that he would be conducting the war personally from the battlefield. Almost as if to clarify the situation, he added that he would certainly not be in Rawalpindi. General Musa (Commander-in-Chief of the Army) always quick to follow Ayub Khan's lead, had added that the only place he was certain not to be in was the General Headquarters (at Rawalpindi) and that he would be in the field, conducting the Corps battle from the Corps Headquarters. These views would have been comic if they had not been expressed by people who were responsible for the security of the country. I argued that I thought it most unlikely that the

President could remain for long in the field, and that the many calls on his duties would inevitably force him to spend most of his time in the Capital. The coordination of the overall war effort, the hour-to-hour assessment of the military situation, the need to mobilize the nation's resources, such as food, rail and road transport, and the need to keep civilian morale at a high pitch were some of the things that would require his presence at the seat of Government. Similarly, I tried to explain that the Commander-in-Chief of the Army was responsible for coordinating and directing land operations from Sindh in the south to Baluchistan in the north and was also responsible for the situation on land in East Pakistan as well as the entire North West Frontier from Chitral to the Baluchistan coast. It was to me inconceivable that he could perform these functions efficiently away from his headquarters. I also did not see the need for him to sit on top of the Corps Commander, unless, of course, the Corps Commander was not fit to perform his functions. I was appalled at the complete lack of understanding of this basic problem of control in war.

Twice again I raised this point at the meetings of the Commanders-in-Chief presided over by Ayub Khan. Although I failed to get my point of view recognised, I proceeded on the assumption that contrary to the direction that I had received the control and direction of war would be from Rawalpindi and that the President would not be in the field. Similarly, I assumed that the Commander-in-Chief of the Army would be based for most of the time at his headquarters at Rawalpindi. The Air Force then proceeded to lay all its communications to fit this situation. Since it had been assumed that the President and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army would be in Rawalpindi, it was important that the Air Force Chief should also be there. In war there are numerous calls on the Air Force. It is, therefore, important that the Air Force Commander should be readily available to advise the Supreme Commander on how the Air Force is being used. If this is not done and this advice is not readily available, the chances are that under the many pressures that are likely to arise, the Air Force will be misused and the air effort wasted. This is more likely to lead to serious consequences when the air effort available is small. It was thus necessary that the operational element of Air Headquarters should function from Rawalpindi. Suitable arrangements were, therefore, made by the Air Force to make this possible and an elaborate communications system was set up for this purpose. When the war broke out, the Air Force, which had its permanent headquarters at Peshawar, was able to function from its operational headquarters at Rawalpindi with ease and efficiency. The communications that had been laid between the operational headquarters of the Pakistan Air Force and its

Indian Air Force pilots



other formations, as well as the other services had been tested and tried and been brought to a high pitch of efficiency. The speed with which the Pakistan Air Force was able to react to a fast changing situation was due in large measure to this preparatory work in the field of communications.

As I had anticipated, Ayub Khan had no move out of Rawalpindi throughout the seventeen days of war and Musa's travels were restricted largely to his sorties between his house, his office and G.M.Q. Operations Room. The occasional visit to the President's House in Ayub Park was, apart from one visit to a Corps Headquarters, perhaps the nearest he got to the battlefield further east. The war on the ground was run by Brigadiers Gul Hassan and Bilgrami. A Lieutenant-Colonel of the Pakistan Artillery helped these two in directing the effort of the Army. Considering the lack of direction from the top, and considering the generally negative nature of this guidance whenever it was forthcoming these officers did admirably well. Whatever guidance the Army was able to get was largely the result of the initiative shown by these officers who worked under great strain and under frustrating circumstances. They were, however, not alone in this predicament, for this feeling prevailed also in the lower echelons of the Army. Ability had not been the yardstick in the selection of commanders and for too long had lip-service and mediocrity been at a premium. This business of selecting the right type of officers for senior appointments is so vital to a nation's ability to wage war, and so crucial to a nation's security, that I may be permitted a slight digression from the main course of events.



Changing horses in midstream

I FOUND it difficult to believe that the President, who had always been cautious in his approach to international relations, particularly as they affected our contacts with India, should have agreed to a policy that had the germs of a conflict on major scale. In the first week of August we read in the newspapers of the incursion of Azad Kashmir volunteers across the cease-fire line into Indian held Kashmir. As these incursions began to increase in intensity it became obvious that a major shift had occurred in our policy towards Kashmir. Until a few months earlier, Ayub Khan had recoiled whenever a suggestion had been made that we should encourage just such a development and accept the risk that such a move entailed. What had happened to cause this

change in his thinking?

Ayub Khan, like most other Pakistanis, had felt exasperated by India's attitude on Kashmir but he, more than the rest of his countrymen, had believed in seeking a peaceful solution to the issue. When his overtures towards India, culminating in his meeting with Pandit Nehru in 1960, produced no results, his sense of frustration increased. During this period of disappointment certain international events had a gradual but nevertheless significant effect on his thinking. The heroic struggle of the Algerian people and the eventual withdrawal of French power from North Africa, the conflict in Vietnam and Indonesia's confrontation against Malaysia influenced his thinking. The failure of a big power like the United States to win a military victory in Vietnam, and Indonesia's success in keeping British forces in South-East Asia fully stretched showed the inherent strength of well led national movements against outside forces.

The sharp and successful encounter of the Pakistan Army with Indian Forces in the Rann of Kutch area further reinforced Ayub Khan's rising faith in our inherent strength. The Rann of Kutch operation also did much to bolster Musa's morale and his assessment of the Army's strength rose in proportion to Ayub Khan's increased faith in the military superiority of our forces. The unlimited capacity of some people for flattery found full play in the wake of successes in the Rann of Kutch operation. Other well-meaning and honest observers were genuinely proud of our Army's performance and they expressed these feelings whenever the opportunity arose. The Press also played its part in creating an atmosphere of triumph and invincibility. This would have affected lesser mortals than Musa, who now began to show greater confidence in his own ability and that of the Army to deal with India. Finding the President more receptive to a bolder course in relationship with India, the Foreign Office began to take a tougher line. Senior civil servants supported this line of thought and G.H.Q. was persuaded to produce a plan of action. The task was entrusted to Major-General Akhtar Hussain Malik, the General Officer Commanding No. 12 Division, who was responsible for the defence of Azad Kashmir. A bold and imaginative officer, the plan reflected his outlook and character. Thus was operation 'Gibraltar' born. The President's approval of the plan was acclaimed by top civilian advisers and Musa, seeing which way the President was inclined, lent it his full support against his basic instincts and military judgment.

This decision was based on three important premises. It was assumed that widespread support existed within occupied Kashmir to make such a guerilla campaign a success. It was also considered unlikely that, as a consequence of this action, India would be inclined to attempt a large-

scale military offensive against Azad Kashmir territory. Lastly, the possibility of India crossing the international frontier either in East or West Pakistan was ruled out.

Whereas it was true that widespread goodwill for Pakistan existed in occupied Kashmir, it was unrealistic to expect that this feeling of resentment against India could be mobilised within a very short time and thereby make the execution of large scale operations behind Indian lines possible. The selection of personnel, many of whom knew neither the area nor the language, made the operation in occupied territory a difficult task. The operation was launched as hurriedly as it had been conceived, and it was surprising that with all these drawbacks it was such a success. The stepping up of the tempo, however, was not gradual enough to give it the character of an internal uprising, nor was it controlled sufficiently to keep it within the bounds of Indian political and military acceptability. When the Indians were faced with a rapidly escalating situation, which endangered their position in Kashmir, they were persuaded by the Army to retaliate. This they decided to do in an area in Azad Kashmir which would be strategically important enough to recapture some of the lost prestige that India had suffered and the loss of which would place Pakistan militarily at a disadvantage. The Haji Pir salient, which provided Pakistan with a link between the northern and southern sectors of Azad Kashmir, was a natural region which fitted this pattern. On 24th August the Indians launched a strong attack on Azad Kashmir positions in this area, which were relatively lightly held, and by the 28th they were in control of sufficient territory to cut the shortest line of communication between Muzaffargarh, the capital of Azad Kashmir, and Kotli, a major communication centre in the southern half of Azad Kashmir. The attack on Haji Pir Pass was the first major violation of the cease-fire line by organized military formations in eighteen years and gave a fresh dimension to the conflict. Pakistan was left with little alternative but to retaliate in an area in which the Indians were vulnerable and where a relatively small effort could produce decisive results. The Chamb-Akhaur area, which permitted the use of armour and which would provide a base that could threaten the vital Jammu-Srinagar road communications to the valley, was selected for the purpose. No 7 Infantry Division, located south of Lahore, was ordered to move to the Chamb area. The attack was, however, to be carried out initially by a brigade placed under No. 12 Division, commanded by Major-General Akhtar Hussain Malik. The move of No. 7 Division from its concentration area south of Lahore had far reaching consequences and was a decision of great significance. This division, along with No. 1 Armoured Division formed our main counterattack force

and thus the main punch of our Army. Its move away from the area of concentration could only mean that the use of this force against India was not considered likely, at least until after No. 7 Division could return to its concentration area.

As formations of No. 12 Division moved swiftly towards Akhnur, India was faced with a difficult military situation. Just as we had not expected an attack on the Haji Pir Pass, the Indians did not expect an attack in such strength in the Chamb-Akhnur Sector. The use of tanks and heavy artillery was, moreover, unprecedented in the Azad Kashmir conflict, and Pakistan's initial successes created considerable panic in Jammu and throughout occupied Kashmir, and shock and surprise in India. The capture of Akhnur by Pakistan would seriously threaten the lines of communication between India and the Kashmir Valley and it could result in the loss of a large portion of the Indian Army in northern and central Kashmir. Its effect on the morale of the Indian Army could have been catastrophic and the effect on the nation's will to face Pakistan would certainly have suffered a serious blow. The Indians were left with little choice but to remove this threat to the security of their vital strategic areas and rather than confine the contest to Azad Kashmir, decided to extend the area of conflict to West Pakistan.

Of all the places in West Pakistan, Lahore was the natural choice. An important communications centre and the political and cultural capital of West Pakistan, it has a special place in the hearts and minds of all Pakistanis. A threat to its security could not fail to draw forces to its defence, and this could well remove the threat to Jammu and Akhnur.

It is possible that the Indians started their offensive with this limited objective. They had not, I believe, reckoned on the all-out retaliation that this attack caused. Only thus can their decision not to use their Air Force on 6th September—except to attack a railway train near Wazirabad—be explained. When the attack on Lahore triggered off a full-scale war, their armour, which had already been moved to the Jammu Sialkot area, was launched in what turned out to be their main offensive against Pakistan.

NO. 7 Division's move to the Chamb area was completed on the morning of the 2nd, about thirty-six hours after the offensive launched by No. 12 Division. On the same day, Major-General Yahya Khan, the General Officer Commanding No. 7 Division, was given command of this sector and Major-General Akhtar Malik was ordered to return to his earlier location further north. This had a profound effect on the course of operations in this area and on that of the war with India. Akhtar Malik had conceived the general strategy of operations in

his area of responsibility, which included the Chamb-Akhnur sector. He had been instrumental in persuading the President to embark on a course of action which had led to this situation and he felt a personal stake in the outcome of this contest. By temperament and outlook, moreover, he was suited to lead an operation that required boldness and vigour. Above all, he was on the move and was making satisfactory progress. Yahya Khan, with part of a force located about two hundred miles away, had been preparing for months now for a completely different role. His move to the Chamb area involved a major administrative and logistical switch which was completed with speed and with the inevitable problems that attend such unplanned moves of large military formations.

No. 7 Division arrived after two to three days of continuous preparation and movement and made contact with Indian troops on 3rd September. As it joined battle, the General Officer Commanding No. 12 Division was withdrawn to return to his headquarters farther up country in Azad Kashmir. Just as Akhtar Malik resented being removed from the scene of battle at a critical time, Yahya Khan was not enthusiastic about the thought of implementing a plan with which he had not been associated.

The decision to change commanders in the midst of the Chamb battle was as ill-conceived as the decision to withdraw No. 7 Division from the main force farther south in the Punjab. It was clearly based on the assumption that the Indian retaliation to an attack on Akhnur would come in the Azad Kashmir area in the north and not against Pakistan territory in the south. Whatever the political appreciation, to have weakened the main offensive force of the Pakistan Army at a time when, to say the least, our relations with India were strained, was a blunder of the first magnitude and to have replaced a successful commander in the midst of battle was also indicative of an unrealistic approach to military problems that has seldom been preceded.

As Pakistan changed horses in mid-stream, India began to make a last desperate bid to stiffen her crumbling defences in the Akhnur area. The change of formations slowed down our advance sufficiently to allow the Indians time to consolidate their positions, and as they crossed our borders in the Punjab on 6th September, the morale of the Indians in the Chamb-Akhnur sector began to recover.

The *Mujahid* operation inside Kashmir had in the mean time gained momentum. Pakistan's support of the liberation movement rekindled fresh hope amongst the people of occupied Kashmir, and open war with India appeared at last to provide the opportunity for which many had waited for these long years. Seldom have a valiant people been betrayed in this manner by a nation in whom they had complete trust. This was perhaps the darkest chapter in

Pakistan's history and one which patriotic Pakistanis will long remember with a feeling of shame and guilt.



Superiority of numbers

BY ABOUT 17th September, the situation on land had stabilised. Apart from some operations in Azad Kashmir, in the Ferozepur area and the Sind-Jodhpur border the main Indian thrust had been in the Narowal-Sialkot sector. By launching their main offensive in that area the Indians hoped to cut our main lines of communication between Lahore and Rawalpindi, outflank the defences of Lahore, and also provide protection to their vulnerable supply lines between Pathankot and Jammu. Opposite Lahore the Indian advance had been contained about seven to eight miles from the outskirts of the city but we were not able to regain much of our lost ground. Nor did the Indians have the strength to push further forward. The batt' in the Narowal-Sialkot sector developed into a struggle for control of the Narowal-Wazirabad railway line. Partly because of lack of imagination at the top, we had been forced into a defensive posture with the initiative largely with the Indians. In the Sialkot-Narowal area they had one armoured division and three infantry divisions as against the equivalent of one armoured division and one infantry division of ours. They were also numerically superior on other fronts. In war, whether it is in the air, at sea or on land, the only way a numerically inferior force wrears the initiative from a numerically superior enemy is by bold offensive action.

It was inevitable that the personality of the commander should have a profound effect on the course of land operations, and our response reflected his outlook. Because of our lack of resources and numbers, it was tempting to be cautious rather than bold, to be on the defensive rather than take the initiative. This for a weaker force is the road to disaster. That we managed to avoid disaster was a tribute to the fighting qualities of our men and the leadership of our younger officers who showed great heroism in difficult circumstances.

The restraint and timidity that was forced on our Army ran counter to the natural inclination of our men and the judgment of our commanders in the field. In most cases they were forbidden to take the offensive even if their assessment showed that they could do so with advantage. It is not necessary in war that a commander should have to ask his superiors before he can attack on his own front. Yet this is what was

frequently happening. Commanders in the Lahore and Sialkot areas had been told to obtain approval of G.H.Q. before taking offensive action. Such a request would, therefore, emanate from a Company or Battalion Commander, and by the time it travelled to Brigade, Division and Corps Headquarters, valuable time would be lost. If all these commanders thought that it was a sound idea, it would reach G.H.Q. The usual answer from G.H.Q. would be to wait, or not to attack at all.

The decision to attack is taken by a commander as the result of his assessment of the factors as he sees them. Some of those can be measured, others are based on certain intangibles that only he can judge, such as the behaviour of the enemy, the lay-out of their positions, the terrain, the morale of his men and their mood. These things are difficult to convey to higher Headquarters. In any case, if you are fighting a war, you do not have to ask before you fight. This attitude caused a general paralysis in the field, making the timid commanders more timid and the bold more cautious. I am amazed how, in these circumstances, our Army was able to do so well.

Partly because of shortage of infantry but largely because of unimaginative and timid leadership, we were forced to use our armour in an anti-tank role. The battle in the Sialkot-Chawinda area became a sloggish match between tank formations. Tank casualties were heavy on both sides and it soon became evident that a stalemate had been reached which only superior generalship could remove. This appeared to be lacking on both sides. The Indians, though greater in number, were unable to do more than make small and cautious moves to by-pass our defences. In the main, their effort was directed against our primary defensive positions. Their strategy and their determination were not equal to the task, and they were unable to make much headway. The war of mobility appeared to have ended, a period of consolidation had begun.

The launching of our armour in the Khem Karan area was the high spot in Ayub Khan's career. He had expected great things from this move. So unrealistic had been the appreciation, so faulty the timing, and so inadequate the preparation that success in the venture would have been, so say the least, most unlikely. With the failure of this armoured attack his spirits began to flag and as the battle in the Sialkot-Narowal area reached a stalemate, his morale began to suffer. It was obvious that he had begun to reproach himself for having got into such a situation and was harbouring doubts about the chances of a military success. In situations such as this, when the nation watches and waits on every move, action and word of their leader, his attitude was infectious.

Defiance and faith sustain a country's will to continue the struggle, while defeatism seriously

weakens the will to resist. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Foreign Minister Nazir Ahmed, the Defence Secretary and I made it a point to visit the President every evening when he usually sat on the lawn of his 'black-out' house. We tried to paint an encouraging picture of the battle situation and of India's difficulties, while Nazir Ahmed often talked of what Napoleon and Churchill had said and done in similar circumstances. Thus was Ayub Khan's morale sustained for a few days longer than it would otherwise have been. It was clear that it could not go on much longer. After Bhutto's departure for the United Nations, Nazir Ahmed and I kept up this talk and attempted, as best as we could, to sustain the President's morale and his will to continue the struggle. Since I had taken upon myself the responsibility for the movement and supply of stores, explosives and weapons from abroad, I assured him that the position was generally satisfactory and that the flow would be maintained. The Army would have enough for its needs.

On about 18th September, the President addressed a Press Conference in which he made a very poor showing. His shaky performance gave a clear impression to those who were present—amongst them many foreign correspondents—that he was weakening. The British High Commissioner, Morrice James, had been making frequent appeals to the two countries to agree to a ceasefire. The President had begun to see him alone, which was rather unusual and indicative of his desire to express views that he did not wish his own advisers to hear. This, and his general attitude and mood, clearly indicated that he was seeking a settlement. Morrice James, an experienced diplomat, had been quick to assess the President's mood and had used the opportunity presented by these solitary interviews to warn him that Pakistan would suffer serious consequences if the war was not stopped immediately. In this testing hour the Service Commanders were of no help. Musa had for years acted as the faithful deputy. His cardinal principle had been to assess the mood and view of his boss and agree with these even before he had fully understood what they were. Realising that the situation was difficult and knowing Ayub Khan's feelings in the matter, he painted the picture Ayub Khan already had before his eyes—a small Army fighting against great odds, short of ammunition, outnumbered and without adequate resources. He malign-ed the civilian advisers who, he said, had led the President into this situation and he suggested an end to this madness.

Nur Khan was not timid like his Army colleague, but with him other considerations weighed more heavily. The Air Force had done remarkably well and its reputation was at its zenith. A prolongation of the war would inevitably result in attrition

and unless losses were replaced a stage would be reached when the Air Force would perforce be grounded. The Indian Air Force could, he felt, outlast the Pakistan Air Force, by sheer weight of numbers. This would be a sorry postscript to a spectacular performance, and one he naturally did not relish. There was also the very weighty advice of Nur Khan's uncle—Nawab Amir Muhammad Khan of Kalabagh, the Governor of West Pakistan—to whose charm both he and Ayub Khan were susceptible.

NAWAB Amir Muhammad Khan was a typical nineteenth century landlord. Feudal in outlook and conservative by temperament, he exercised great influence over Ayub Khan who regarded him as a practical and down-to-earth person in whose judgment and advice he had implicit faith.

The Nawab saw things from Lahore and to that extent was nearer the battlefield. But he, no more than Ayub Khan, reflected the mood of the people. He saw in the continuation of the struggle the possibility of the crumbling of the social structure of which he was so staunch a pillar. There is no question that his advice was an important factor in deciding the course of events.

At about this time Afghanistan announced mobilisation and recalled military personnel from leave. This was done ostensibly to prepare for any disturbance that might occur during their national elections, but more probably it was a gesture to India to offset, to some extent, the effect of Chinese moves on her northern borders. Afghanistan's relations with India had always been cordial, and her claims on certain portions of our territory were well known. This move by Afghanistan was, therefore, not a surprise. Though coming as it did when the President appeared to be looking for just such an excuse to step up negotiations to end the conflict, it had a significant effect on the situation.

I have often wondered what Afghanistan would have done if the struggle had continued much longer. I believed then, and I still hold the view, that Afghanistan's active intervention was not likely until a complete collapse had occurred in Pakistan and until India had made spectacular advances in the Punjab. It is true that our north-western borders were very lightly held. In that difficult country, however, even lightly equipped forces could have offered effective resistance. Moreover, the Pakistan Air Force could operate even more effectively against Afghanistan than it had against India. But even more relevant than these military considerations was the general political philosophy of the Afghans and their ethnic and religious ties with Pakistan. It would be difficult for any Afghan government to arouse enough enthusiasm for a war against Pakistan when we were engaged in a war for survival against India. The reaction of the Afghans

to the war in Kashmir in 1947, when large numbers of Afghan volunteers came to fight along with Pakistanis in what many considered a holy war against injustice and tyranny, would certainly have been remembered in Kabul. There was also the unknown factor of the Chinese attitude and the very real threat that she posed along frontiers where, barely three years earlier, she had inflicted a military defeat on India, which had shaken the very fabric of Indian society and had almost toppled its Government. Lastly, the attitude of the Muslim world, which almost without exception was now giving full and effective diplomatic support to Pakistan, could not be easily ignored. This attitude would have certainly influenced the Afghan people, if not their Government. There must also have been the lurking thought in the Afghan mind—so well trained in international diplomacy—that militant Hinduism was now on the march. If allowed to overrun Pakistan it could not be contained for long on the banks of the Indus. It would be only a matter of time before Afghanistan would also be threatened. Although Yusuf (Lt General Mohammed Yusuf), our Ambassador in Kabul, had been assured by the King and the Prime Minister that this mobilisation was not directed against Pakistan and that the Afghans could never stab their Pakistan brethren in the back, Ayub Khan was not convinced of Afghan intentions. Such was the background when I saw Ayub Khan early on the morning of 21st September.



First steps towards a ceasefire

ALTHOUGH I entertained little hope of being able to swing him round to my way of thinking, I did want to try. The situation on land and the increasing tempo of peace talks required early and effective treatment. I started by saying that I was concerned with the situation as it was developing. The performance on the ground had not been satisfactory, and I attributed this to poor generalship and, in particular, to the lack of direction the Army had received. Ayub Khan asked me to explain what I meant and I went on to say that I was surprised that certain officers had been appointed advisers to corps and certain divisional commanders to guide them in the discharge of their functions. This indicated that the commanders could not be relied upon to conduct the battle. I suggested that if this were so, it was essential that these commanders be replaced by people—the advisers if necessary—who could run the show. I also said that he must

no doubt know that the Army could not do much unless it was led by persons who had the requisite professional qualities. Ayub Khan felt that I did not appreciate the difficulties the Army had to face. They had been fighting against heavy odds and had done remarkably well. I tried to explain that I did not in any way underestimate the heroic manner in which the Army had fought, but I did feel that given better leadership, they would have done and could still do greater things. Ayub Khan was not convinced and I then switched to the other matter which weighed heavily with me.

I had reason to believe that Ayub Khan was contemplating reaching a settlement on a cease-fire with India and I felt that it would be a mistake if this were done at this stage. I explained that there were three things in our favour which we might never have again. National morale was extremely high and the will to fight so great that the country was prepared to suffer any amount of hardship. The state of national fervour had to be seen to be believed. Its intensity exceeded our expectations and constituted an asset of inestimable value. The Air Force had already won the air battle and had complete mastery of the skies, and the Indian Navy was confined to its harbours. This situation, when the enemy had both qualitative and quantitative superiority in equipment, had been achieved by training and preparation for almost a decade. I was not certain that this situation would be repeated a second time. Lastly, China had moved her forces to India's borders. I knew of what had transpired before this had become a reality, and the decision of the Chinese could have a profound effect on the course of our struggle. I said that China might not repeat this gesture a second time.

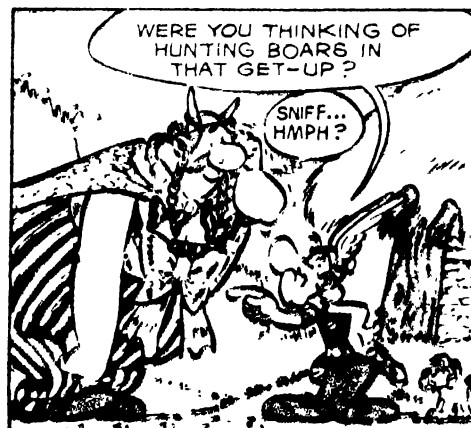
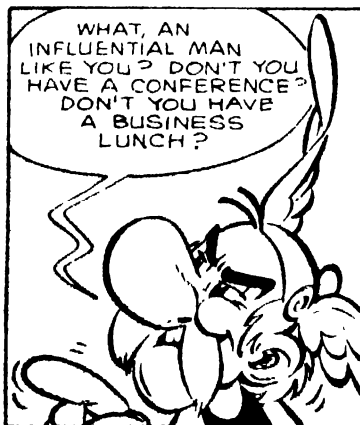
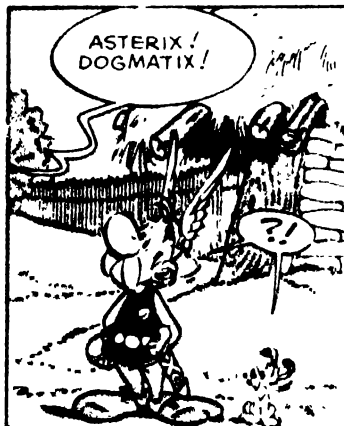
I urged the President that if he believed, as I did, that Indian expansionism must sooner or later only lead to conflict, then this was as good a time to fight as any. I also reminded him of a military truism, that in war the side that shows greater stamina is usually the victor. War is a matter of nerve, and the side that shows greater determination and endurance will usually achieve decisive results. When things do not go well, it is easy to magnify one's own weaknesses because those one knows well. In such circumstances it is well to remember that the enemy has his difficulties too, and that these could be more serious than one's own. I expressed the view that history might well show that in this war, at this point in time, the Indians were in an even more unsatisfactory situation than we were, and that a prolongation of the struggle might have serious consequences for their over-stretched resources in logistics and communications. I also pointed out that their morale was not as good as ours and that they, rather than we, would benefit militarily from a cease-fire.

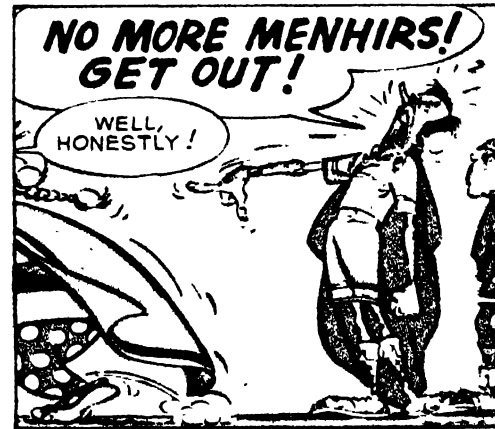
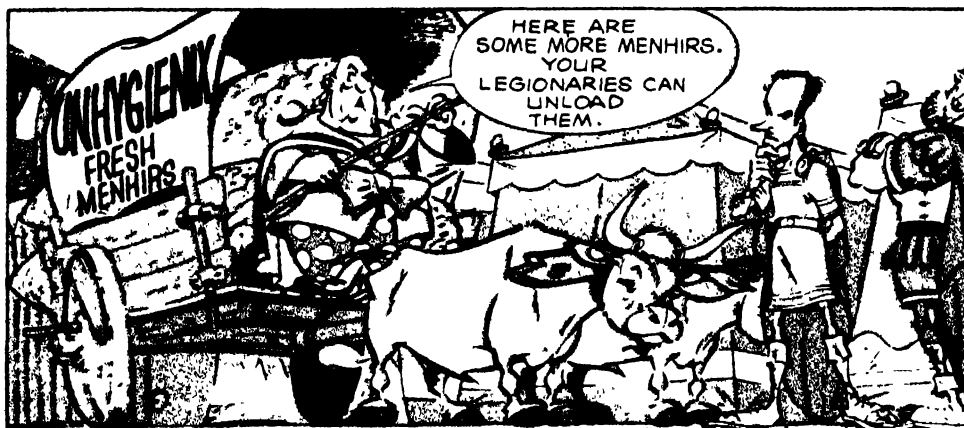
Probably because these views were

so different from what he had heard from his advisers during the last few days, he appeared to welcome the discussion. He listened to me with patience, but it was clear that his mind was made up. 'We are under pressure', he said repeatedly. Pressure is something that is difficult to define. It is a state of mind. If a person believes that he is under pressure, it is difficult to convince him that he is not. I saw the futility of continuing the discussion and left his office, disappointed but not surprised at the results of my efforts. As it to put a seal on Ayub Khan's rejection of my views, Morris James was waiting to see him and was ushered in as I left the room.

As the tempo of negotiations increased, the President began to feel the pressure even more. The Army, which had been under considerable restraint, was placed under even greater control and what little initiative the commanders had enjoyed was withdrawn. The Air Force also became a little less active. There appeared to be little purpose in wasting men and material if a cease-fire was just round the corner. There was widespread disappointment in official circles in Rawalpindi and, as the United Nations met to discuss the matter in New York, those of us who knew the trend of events waited for the announcement that was made by the President on 23rd September. Shortly after Bhutto had announced the acceptance of the terms of the cease-fire in the United Nations, Ayub Khan addressed the nation. Millions of people heard him with surprise and anger. Many in the armed forces, who felt that they could have seen this thing through to a successful end, wept as Ayub Khan spoke. They were baffled to know why, when the Indian advance had been arrested, and before we really had an opportunity to retaliate effectively, a cease-fire had been ordered. Why, when the Air Force had gained such decisive success, was the situation not exploited to its logical conclusion?

Ayub Khan gave the answer in his broadcast as best as he could, but it was not convincing. In fairness to him, however, it must be said that in acting as he did, he had nothing but the security of Pakistan in mind and that he saw in the prolongation of the conflict danger to the safety of the country and the well-being of its people. Whether he was right or wrong, time will show. The answer will, I feel, hinge on India's ability to live in peace and harmony with her neighbours. Should India succeed in showing a change of heart, Ayub Khan's decision will have been vindicated. If, however, a more militant India, increasingly industrialised and better equipped, should embark again on a military adventure against Pakistan, when our economic and military resources are in comparison even less favourable than they were in 1965, my fears will have been justified. The war of September 1965 would then have been only the first round.





Why I am a Christian

PAUL JOHNSON explains how the faith continues to defy critics and sceptics.

NEAR the city of Luxor, the Egyptian police recently found the bones of a 35-year-old Canadian lady, who had disappeared two years before. She had stumbled into a deep labyrinth of archaeological diggings, 16 feet below the surface; and, unable to escape, had died of thirst and hunger. Before she did so, however, she described on a postcard what had happened to her, and added that she was preparing herself for death. This pitiful tale, lit up as it is by the calm resolution with which the woman faced lonely and terrible extinction, underlines the awesome continuity of human attitudes. For it was near Luxor, more than 2,000 years before Christ, that the theologians of Thebes first clarified the concept of individual death and judgment.

Preparation for death is a commentary on the notion that life is a mere prelude, and death itself no more than a judicial gate through which we must pass. This notion is perhaps the most powerful and indestructible idea ever conceived by man. What implemented it in the first place is not immediately obvious, for immortality does not flow from any process of reasoning from the facts of nature—on the contrary. But once grasped, the idea has enormous strength and leads mankind to impose upon itself dolorous disciplinary systems. As Albert Camus puts it, in *The Myth of Sisyphus*: "The certainty of God giving meaning to life far surpasses in attractiveness the freedom to behave badly with impunity."

The strength of Christianity, derived in part, but only in part, from its Judaic origins, lies in its chrysaline eschatology: its notions of death, judgment, hell and heaven were proclaimed with absolute clarity, and superb self-confidence, from the start. St Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, relates the speech of one of King Edwin's earls, when Paulinus first proposed Christianity to the Northumbrian court. The earl compared life to the flight of a sparrow, in winter, through the king's hall, from icy darkness into light, and then into darkness again; "This life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before and what is to follow, we know nothing. If, therefore, this new teaching gives us certitudes, we should follow it."

BUT God is always dying. Atheism is not an unrepeatable event but a recurring phenomenon. God dies but somehow never gets buried. In the second half of the 19th century the rapid progress of natural science produced an acute attack of deicide. There was an event known as the "secularisation of the European mind", a process which Dr Owen Chadwick, in an entertaining course of lectures, has shown was neither so straightforward nor so conclusive as we had supposed. The "crisis of religion", if that is the right expression, is more than a century old. We think of ourselves as tossed in a sea of doubt; but the supposedly placid mid-Victorians felt no less giddy and insecure. "My belief," wrote Cardinal Manning to Gladstone in 1871, "is that faith is gone.....morals are going.....The end of this must be anarchy or despotism." "Our own," wrote John Morley in 1874, "is characteristically and cardinally an epoch of transition in the very foundations of belief and conduct." Frederick Harrison described his loss of faith as "but

one case of the dreadful anarchy in which we live" (1863); and six years later: "There is abroad a strange consciousness of doubt, instability and incoherence." People, said Morley, had the "hurried, uneasy mien" of those who live "amid earthquakes...all is doubt, hesitation and shivering expectancy".

Yet it is an illusion that "progress" and "secularisation" inevitably go hand in hand. Such was the fear of Pio Nono; and, at the other end of the spectrum, the hope of Holyoake and Bradlaugh. But progress has always been a two-edged sword. In the 16th century printing led to the expansion of faith, as well as its contraction. While the scientists of the 1850s and 1860s were forcing theologians to reconsider Genesis, the new railways were reviving the mass-pilgrimages of the Middle Ages and so re-establishing the Ultramontain papacy—just as, today, cheap jet-flights have universalised the journey to Mecca and rekindled the fervour of Islam.

Looking back from the vantage point of 1979, we find it is the slogans of the anti-Christians that have worn badly. "Theological religion", wrote Voltaire in 1764, "is the enemy of mankind." I doubt if anyone thinks that today. In *The Martyrdom of Man* Winwood Reade insisted that "the destruction of Christianity is essential to the interests of civilisation." Who would now agree with him? Renan laid down that history could prove "beyond possibility of contradiction" that Christianity was not "a supernatural fact". We still await such evidence. The more positive statements of the Victorian atheists stand up no better. Thus, Karl Vogt: "Thoughts come out of the brain as gall from the liver or urine from the kidneys." Jakob Moleshoet: "No thought without phosphorus." Huxley said that the thoughts he was uttering were "the expression of molecular changes in my body". Tyndall believed that all of life was "once latent in a fiery cloud". Taine said "Man is a spiritual automaton...Vice and virtue are products like sugar and vitriol." Littré, in his dictionary (1858) defined "soul" as "anatomically, the sum of functions of the neck and spinal column" and "physiologically, the sum of functions of the power of perception in the brain". Haeckel, by contrast, asserted "We now know that...the soul (is) a sum of plasma-movements in the ganglion-cells." All these men were highly respected intellectuals in their time.

THE trouble with these science-based systems of belief was that they inevitably tied themselves to a transient view of nature; their god got out of date and died too. The 'advanced thinkers' of the 19th century both overestimated and underestimated the potentialities of science. Comte offered as an example of unattainable knowledge the chemical composition of the stars; the conventional scientific wisdom was that atoms were immutable and to suppose wisdom was alchemy; but it also assumed that natural science advanced by a series of steadily improving approaches to the truth. Few grasped that the new knowledge would progressively raise as many problems as it solved. Thus the new "alternative religions" were founded on illusion, and their pathology underlined Newman's claim in *The Idea of a University*: "True religion is slow in growth and, when once planted, is difficult of dislodgement; but its intellectual counterfeit has no root in itself; it springs up suddenly, it suddenly withers." Comte ended up reading *The Imitation of Christ*, while his followers splintered under the impact of odium theologicum; Wells, a great peddler of science-based systems in his day, spent the last year of his life painting a mural depicting evolution on the wall behind his house in Hanover Terrace: the final panel showed horned devils, and beneath Man he wrote: "Time to go".

The only one of these alternative religions to survive (so far) is Marxism, thanks to its adoption as a state faith. It was close to Positivism in that it analysed history according to laws of evolutionary determinism—the notion of social laws similar to scientific ones was common to all these intellectual systems. Like his master, Feuerbach, Marx thought religion a social phenomenon: "Religion has no content of its own and does not live from heaven but from earth, and falls automatically with the dissolution of the inverted reality whose theory it is" (1842). It is "the sigh of the oppress-

ed creature, the heart of a heartless world, the soul of a soulless environment. It is the opium of the people" (1843). It enables us to bear what would otherwise be unbearable; and because it makes the sickness of society bearable it removes the motives for curing and the will to cure. Marx saw Judaism in terms of opium (a fashionable analogy in the 1840s because of the Opium War), but he hated Christianity more because it encouraged the vice he detested most, servility: "The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submission, dejection, all the qualities of the canaille."

The stigmatisation of religion as a form of social control was not new. Throughout the 18th century, there had been constant talk, among rebels against the Ancien Regime, of strangling the last king with the entrails of the last priest; and it was a cynical commonplace among well-to-do rationalists not to discuss atheism in front of the servants lest they steal the spoons. Voltaire called religion "the salutary yoke". Some Christians, like Kingsley, conceded the point. Marx's analysis at one end of the political spectrum was echoed by Archdeacon Wordsworth at the other: "What, Gentlemen, is Conservatism? It is the application of Christianity to civil government...I say it with reverence: the most Conservative book in the world is the Bible" (1865). But equally, others had pointed out the demonstrable fact that the system of social control (if that was what religion was) plainly did not work. Such was Milton's view: he saw among the Mob (1673) nothing but "Pride, Luxury, Drunkenness, Whoredom, Cursing, Swearing, bold and open atheism everywhere abounding." And Swift said he was "not of the least of opinion with those who hold



Dev. Prasad S. Raha

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religion to have been the invention of politicians, to keep the lower part of the world in awe, for fear of invisible powers...For I look upon the many or the body of our people here in England, to be as freethinkers, that is to say staunch unbelievers, as any of the highest rank". In Marx's own day, social workers reported that the proletariat scoffed Hell. Among those most in need of the opium, religion had little impact: regular churchgoing was a sign, rather, of upward social progress, and Hellfire sermons were particularly popular. Hell worked best with children, which tended to confirm Comte's "law" rather than Marx's.

NEEDLESS to say, the Marxist assumption that religion would disappear with capitalism has proved false. I find it hard to accept that Marx himself actually believed in such an outcome, though one has to remind oneself that in his day a great many intellectuals agreed that theism in any form could not long survive the hammer blows of science. Marx was descended from rabbis on both sides and was saturated in Biblical determinism; in his case, naturally, it was disembodied from Revelation and so took the form of a rationalised superstition. If Comte rewrote the Sermon on the Mount, Marx produced a weirdly radicalised Deuteronomy. I am inclined to agree with Renan when he said that one should never believe a German who claims he is an atheist. And, as Bacon argues, superstition is much worse than atheism as a public theory; "Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be guides to outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men." Bacon noted that a superstition degenerates faster than a new religion: it "bringeth in a new primum mobile, that ravisheth all the spheres of government...and in all superstition, wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practise, in a reversed order." That is more or less what has happened to the Marxist faith.

The opium theory of Marx and others was, of course, an early example of reductionism applied to religion: a set of beliefs was explained in terms of something quite different, and so explained away. All forms of reductionism rest on the assumption that there is an essential difference between the proclaimed content of a set of religious beliefs, and its real but hidden content; and that the reality can be discovered by psychoanalysis, psychology, anthropology, sociology and so forth. Now one of the difficulties about these various forms of reductionism is that they are not complementary, but mutually exclusive. Freud thought that religion, like war, was the product of infantile neurosis. This, and other psychological explanations of religion are false, according to the sociologists, because they are based upon the notion that individuals form society, whereas in fact society forms individuals. Thus Durkheim laid down the axiom that a psychological explanation of a social fact is always wrong because a social fact is the creation of many minds. But the best Durkheim himself had to offer was that religion was a form of worship of society: beliefs reflect (and cement) social bonds: "The moral efficacy of the rite, which is real, leads to belief in its physical efficacy, which is imaginary." The fallacy in Durkheim's argument is that it applies equally well to moral and political beliefs, which he claims are real. And the sociological explanation, in turn, is contradicted by the anthropological form of reductionism, which sees primitive religion as a type of knowledge based upon ignorance of natural causes: I doubt if many now find this line of argument, which derives from Frazer, very plausible; it was effectively demolished by Wittgenstein. As Noel Annan put it, the Golden Bough, designed as 'an ironical epitaph on Christianity', is nowadays 'one of the most beautiful ruins in the history of thought'.

These various and contradictory forms of reductionism have in common the notion that the important question to ask about religion is not "Is that belief true?" but "Why does anyone have that belief?" Or, more politely, "What makes you believe that?" But true religious belief is irreducible: it does not say anything except itself, and it is not explicable in terms of any academic discipline. This fairly obvious truth has been obscured by the emergence of Christian reductionists, who seek



to make religious belief intellectually respectable by demythologising it. This form of theological enquiry is essentially fugative, since its viewpoint is anthropocentric—it discusses God purely in terms of the way man sees him—and human fashions date quickly. The Honest to God line has already been elbowed aside by the Myth of Christ Incarnate, and that in turn is a rapidly fading memory. But Christian reductionism is more than academic fashion: it harbours the real danger of turning religion into something autonomous, or rather man-controlled into a purely human form of cultural self-expression. Once religion is cut off from its external source it becomes capable of monstrous crimes, as are secular superstitions like Marxism. "Religionless Christianity", to use Bonhoeffer's term, produces an egregious form of sin, in which religion becomes an internal dialogue in our minds, self-centred, self-regarding and self-justifying. Thus demythologising rapidly breeds (say) "Liberation Theology" and in turn murder in the name of Christ. This was the error of the Zealots, and the Crusaders.

An alternative manner in which Christians seek to modernise theology is to reverse the process of scientific explanation and restore theology to its old position as Queen of the Sciences. This is a more profitable venture than it might seem at first glance. In one sense, theology (or metaphysics) is always necessary to supply gaps in our knowledge and our ability to explain things—gaps which are seen to be bigger, not smaller, than they appeared in Victorian times. Theology only seems to be unnecessary when, as in the 19th and early 20th century, the intellectual elite is under the illusion that it possesses a sufficient nontheological explanation of the universe. God returns when theory fails, just as, at an emotional level, religion comes to the rescue when we are miserable or frightened: God can serve as an intellectual as well as a physical opium. In some ways, for example, Einstein accepted theology as a science. What he called "the mystery of the world's comprehensibility" inspired in him "profound faith". Science, he wrote, was "blind" without religion. He defined scientific knowledge as a series of "primary concepts" or "fundamental relations" which are directly and intuitively connected with experience; all other scientific notions are connected to this basis by theorems. Our knowledge of God cannot be abstracted and expressed in theorems: it is direct and intuitive.

SO Far so good. Where the argument, so it seems to me, becomes risky is when the "scientific" approach to God is linked to particular developments in knowledge. Thus, Professor Torrance, in *God and Rationality* (Oxford 1971), argues that theology has been 'harassed' by the 'imperialism of mechanistic concepts, emanating from a dogmatic empiricism, end-products of the Newtonian era of science'. It is a mistake, he says, to see "a rigidly mechanistic concept of physics" as "the model of all true science". On the contrary, "the hard concept of determinism and idealisation of mechanical explanation, after

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the emergence of quantum mechanics and the breakdown of the old principle of causality, is a strange anachronism." He thinks that "a more adequate understanding of science ...will help to deliver theologians from their fear of it", and he suggests that Field Theory can be a fruitful analogy for the way in which the existence and workings of God can be demonstrated.

No doubt it can, but as analogy only; and analogies like pictures of God, get out of date. In the 18th century, progressive bishops saw the universe as a clock, and God as the primal clockwinder. Hume destroyed the notion, simply by changing the metaphor, in a single sentence: "The whole presents nothing but the idea of a blind nature, impregnated by a great vivifying principle, and pouring forth from her lap, without discernment or parental care, her maimed and abortive children." Nor do I think theologians should rejoice that physics has been obliged to break free from an immutable logico-causal relation; after all, theology is not primarily an exercise in physics: it is an exercise in history. Cosmology is relevant to religion only in so far as it provides a satisfactory cosmogony. We need to know how it all happened in the first place. For, to use a deductive principle of Lord Peter Wimsey's "Once you know how, you know who."

OF course in each age theology has to be restated in terms which contemporaries respect. But a theology which involves itself with Field Theory or any other scientific theory is bound to prove ephemeral. The notion that religion must somehow keep pace with science seems to me a 19th century fallacy. As Darwin observed: "Science has nothing to do with Christ, except in so far as the habit of scientific research makes a man cautious in admitting evidence." It is tempting, nonetheless, to pounce upon a cosmological explanation as confirming the theistic notion of a "first event".

Listening not long ago to a radio talk on the first few minutes in the history of the universe, I was startled by the familiarity: not so very different from the first chapter of Genesis. It is argued that the discovery of microwave background radiation provides virtually incontrovertible proof that there was a big bang in which the universe formed; it is also argued that it may have appeared out of a vacuum, and expanded from a zero-radius point. But we cannot yet prove that the universe is a unique happening, as theology would seem to demand. It may be, as Dr Edward Tryon puts it (Nature, 1973, 393) that "Our universe is simply one of thousands that happen from time to time." Cosmology, as an exact science, is in its infancy; and, as Professor J. D. North points out in his history of modern cosmology, we have not yet succeeded in defining the notion of "universe" scientifically, since any description ties it to current scientific belief and makes it an impermanent entity.

Objective knowledge is some kind of compound of observation and logic. But our observation of the universe is provisional only, and we are beginning to realise that logic, too, is unstable. In Kant's day, all seemed firm: "There are but few sciences that can come into a permanent state, which admits of no further alteration. To these belong logic and metaphysics.... We do not require any new discoveries in logic since it contains merely the form of thought." As recently as 1940, a leading logician wrote: "Dictators may be powerful today, but they cannot alter the laws of logic, nor indeed can God do so."

But this was to tempt providence. There are now many deviant logics: many-valued logics, intuitionist logic, minimum logic, quantum logic, tense logic, deontic logic and so on. On changing logics (for example, the "law of the excluded middle") Professor Quine writes: "What difference is there in principle between such a shift and the shift whereby Kepler succeeded Ptolemy, or Einstein Newton, or Darwin Aristotle?" It may well be that some of the "necessary truths" of classical logic may turn out to be wrong for empirical reasons; and perhaps we should regard classical logic as a mere theory (though of a general kind) on a par with other scientific theories. New notational or modal logics seem to breed like reactors. In his examination of the Lewis-Modal systems, Professor Zeman writes: "One gets the un-

easy feeling as one discerns and studies more of the systems belonging to this family, that it is literally a family, and has the power of reproducing and multiplying, proliferating new systems without limit".

Such discoveries need not make us uneasy; the cautionary tale of the Medieval schoolmen, and their all-embracing systems, has long ago revealed that logic is a delusory instrument. But empirical knowledge, as we are now learning, is also capable of a baseless triumphalism. The road to belief, once found, can be lit up by logic and science, but the discovery must be our own. It is an individual act, and even when we are aware it has taken place, we may not be able to describe it, I am impressed by the number of gifted writers, from Augustine to Newman, who completely fail to conjure up for us the actual moment of acceptance; there is always a missing page in such confessional autobiographies. The loss of faith is equally vaguely described: What might be called the Dover Beach Syndrome occurs only sometime after the stricken event. My explanation, a variant of the theory of grace, is that the connection (or disconnection) between God and man is always an interior one; it can be recognised but not described. Belief in God is intuitive; and such intuition is the consequence of grace — grace made real, almost manifest, in the mind of man. The road to grace is through prayer. If, therefore, anyone asks me: "Does it make sense to pray to a God in which I do not believe?", I answer: "Yes, it does." Francis Thompson makes the point more eloquently:

Not where the wheeling systems darken, And our
benumbed conceiving soars/ The drift of pinions, would
we hearken./ Beats at our own clay-shuttered doors./
The angels keep their ancient places;/ Turn but a stone,
and start a wing!/ 'Tis ye, 'tis your estranged faces,/ That miss the many splendoured thing.

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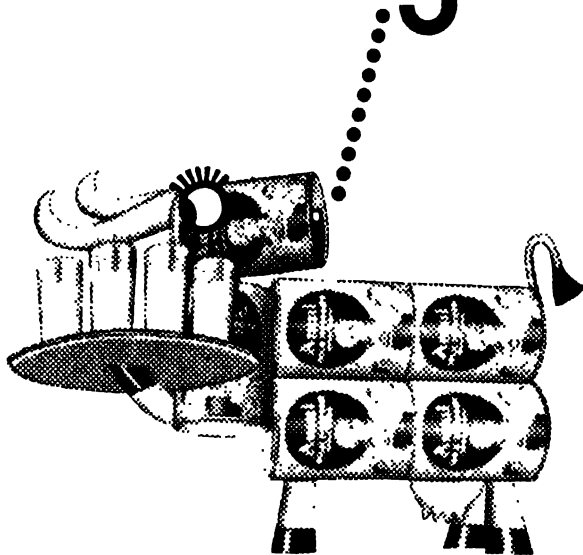
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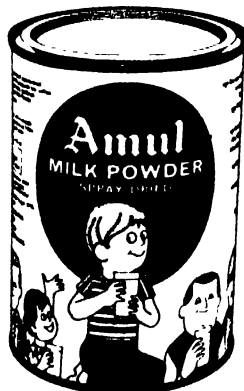
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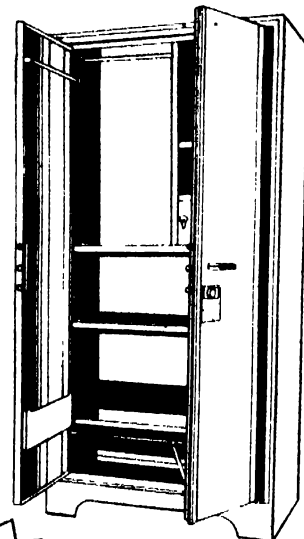
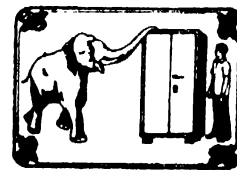
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The revolving door

WHEN the Congress Government collapsed in March, 1977, Mrs Gandhi at once became a non-person for the Fourth Estate, her existence to be ignored except for the passing snide remark. But several days after Chaudhury Charan Singh had assumed office, Akashvani, Doordarshan and our newspapers were still regaling us with approving dollops of Mr Morarji Desai's lofty strictures against the machinations of a Government of defectors in a display of loyalty to the fallen that was truly touching.

Mr Purushottam Kaushik, the new Information and Broadcasting Minister, may be tempted to point to this difference as revealing the change from his predecessor. "You will have a real free Press now" was, after all, among the new Prime Minister's earliest promises. It seems legitimate, therefore, to claim that released from the illiberal Janata regime's control, our free and fearless media is not afraid of voicing its misgivings about the ethics of the Chaudhury's achievement.

But this would be an oversimplification. A more accurate explanation for the deference with which newspapers continue to publicise Mr Desai's pronouncements is to be found in the close nexus between Press owners and the Janata leaders which was reflected also in the partisan manner in which the crisis was reported. The transgressions of radio and television were, not unnaturally, the subject of political complaints. But while the two official media were presumably operating under Mr L. K. Advani's instructions, newspapers gave vent to their own proprietorial attitude towards the disintegrating Janata Party and its never-say-die leader. Having created the Janata Government out of its opposition to Mrs Gandhi, our Press magnates were not prepared to let their handiwork perish without a struggle.

Hence the editorial anguish over the immorality of defections as if the phenomenon were new in India, introduced by Mr Charan Singh, and quite unknown to that personification of purity, Mr Morarji Desai. The bias of the Press was made known in those subtle ways that are part of the sub-editor's trade. What emerged was boundless sympathy for Mr Desai not inhibited too much by rational

assessment of news value. That Mr Chavan had been asked to form a government merited only a modest double column headline in the Calcutta edition of *The Statesman*, while the paper's New Delhi issue buried it below the fold, giving far more prominence to a speculative story called "What next if Chavan fails" which must have baffled readers who had to scour the page to discover what he might fail at. It's hardly surprising that the Delhi *Statesman* lags behind all other papers published from the capital. Even *Patriot* displayed more realistic news sense with a lead story on the invitation.

No less biased was the Delhi edition of the *Indian Express* which on July 16 thought the Janata(S)'s claim to form a government merited a single column against the six columns showered on a similar claim by Mr Desai. When the President asked Messrs



Purushottam Lal Kaushik

Desai and Charan Singh to prove their majority, that too was given a one-column heading (July 24) though optimistic speculation about Mr Desai's chances boldly led the next day's paper.

The *Express* also gave wary readers a few interesting lessons in the use of quotation marks and attributive names. The straight heading "Janata to cut link with RSS", without quotation marks or a source, suggested clearly a statement of fact; there was nothing to indicate only an announcement by Mr Chandrashekhar without any mandatory force. But at that stage of desperation with Janata trying frantically to persuade defectors to re-defect, the *Express* undoubtedly felt obliged to help out its hard-pressed protégé in 1 Safdarjung Road. If the delinking could be presented as an accomplished fact, some of those who had rallied round Mr Charan Singh's secular standard might

even have returned to Mr Desai's fold.

There were other stories with which the *Express* clearly did not wish to be identified. "Reddy's duty to call Charan to form Govt." was one such: a heading that appeared within inverted commas plainly to indicate that it was only the opinion of Mr S. N. Mishra, unshared by anyone on the paper. No such fine distinctions impinged on the *Express* conscience when it reflected Mr Jagjivan Ram's views in headings on two days running—"Govt. will not last long" (July 29) and "Just a caretaker Govt." (July 30) appeared without quotation marks though admittedly with attribution.

It was reminiscent of the wry observation by General Booth, the Salvation Army founder, that he knew he had finally arrived when *The Times*, (now alas! still hibernating) like our own *Times of India*, first printed his military rank without inverted commas.

But while the *Express*, the *Hindustan Times* and the *Statesman* continued to wring their hands in despair over the unprincipled manoeuvres on the New Delhi stage—without much mention of the Janata Party's own unsuccessful counter-manoevres—Abu's cartoons in the *Express* displayed none of the political squeamishness from which the paper's subs, reporters and leaders obviously suffered. They continued, impartially and delightfully, to take swipes at all the leading contenders.

Another honourable mention for Janardhan Thakur of the *Business Standard* who was probably (I am open to correction) the only reporter to discuss the buying and selling of M.P.s. Perhaps it is appropriate that this news should break in what is primarily a commercial publication: the *Standard* could usefully follow up its advantage with a more exhaustive survey of the finances of such operations. There cannot have been one on a grander scale and everyone is anxious to know the price of an MP.

Meanwhile, Mr Kaushik is proving his emancipation by demanding explanations of AIR. Mr Raj Narain, Mr Biju Patnaik and Mr Chavan all have complaints; all implicitly claim the right to pick up the telephone and give a dressing down to the radio executive unfortunate enough to answer the call. It may be the turn of the Press next. For nothing ever really changes in India. The revolving door just revolves. ■

THERE is a well-known actress—call her a comedienne if you like—whose attitude and manners are worth being emulated, especially by her colleagues. Her off-screen joviality, for instance. Her name is Shammi. Recently, after her break-up with hubby producer Sultan Ahmed, the whole of filmland was up in arms against the man, all to her defence. Yet she maintained her innate goodness in the face of a lot of unfairness. Then when Sultan was down with a heart attack, Shammi would quietly go up to the hospital and inquire from the authorities about his progress. When she learnt that Sultan's new wife had been asked to keep away from him, with talk of a break-up between them in the air too, she began visiting him in his room and lunching with him daily, till he was well enough to go home. Folks thought it was a reconciliation, but no; Shammi was being plain foolish. When she found he didn't need her any more, she kept away too. She is happy with whatever roles come to her. Her only problem is producers, and fans aren't sure of whether she is in films or out. For those interested, she is very much back.

ASHA SACHDEV has a few kinky ideas about beauty and hair-care. But she is very possessive about them, it is said. Each time she tries out something new, she tells a person or two about her latest health-tip, and then gets bugged if anyone else has found out about it. If she is smart enough to devise cure-alls she should let the world know about them and feel proud about it—not pout in that mean way of hers.

BEATS me how that devil-may-care, tough little minx that Ranjeeta is, or rather was at the start of her career, feels about her name still being linked with Akbar Khan for whom, one can be sure, she still carries a torch, in the core of her heart—especially because of thickening rumours about her growing attachment to Mithun Chakravarty. Unless she is merely trying to turn Akbar on (like, make him feel

Matlal Mondal



Zaheera: a new role

Rishi: hair-raising difference



jealous) or pull off a publicity gimmick, and is really getting involved with Mithun, Ranjeeta seems the type who would go in for a fling if she wasn't convinced she was doing the right thing.

A FAMILIAR face we won't be seeing any more in films is that of Zaheera, who, honest to herself at least, decided that the time she had spent on Hindi films and made good use of—eleven years—was enough. When she found she could not get beyond average roles, she decided to quit. Now she's back in London, her hometown, and has plans for some constructive work, like starting a magazine for the Pakistani and Indian youth settled there. Should be lucky this time.

IT'S a real pity Neelam Mehra's (remember the likeness of Simi who was annoyed if she was compared with her?) career did not go beyond a film or two. And then when you heard she was settling down to marry producer-actor Shiv Kumar, you thought she might, just as well. Her attempt at career-building did not succeed anyway. Now she is back to square one—with a broken marriage and a baby, and has already begun trying to get into films all over again. Knowing filmworld, it's going to be tough for Neelam, unless she compromises with the roles they are going to offer her—with the flood of aspirants we have. She's only kidding herself about there being a dearth of good heroines, and the need for new faces. Her's is not new—but here's wishing her loads of luck.

WHAT'S this new hairstyle Rishi is sporting? His hair is done up with a longish, sleek look that makes him resemble Jeetendra, his bosom pal. What a comedown! I mean, both Jeetu and Chintu are Kapoors, all right, but there is a wide difference of class that sets one clan of Kapoors apart from the other. Why, oh, why did Chintu have to try looking like Jeetu, unless he was advised he would look a trifle taller with this new long hairdo (which he does look now, actually)?

IT wasn't just Surekha's bosom which prompted him to sign her for his Malayalam venture *Thakara* says director Bharatan. She is a good actress too, he emphasises. But is that true? All that one saw in *Thakara* was Surekha's uninhibited anatomical gyration and generous display of her cleavage.

Surekha started working for *Thakara* even before she finished her schooling at Madras' Holy Angels Convent. She plays a frustrated young woman who learns the facts of life not by observing bees and birds, but by watching her father's stud-bull being used to cover the village cows! She casts her amorous glance in all directions but unfortunately, the village carpenter, who she dislikes, takes interest in her; but the person who gets her in the end is the village moron. *Thakara*, a rolling stone, who people think will never look at a woman.

As *Thakara*, Pratap Pothen has come up with a convincing performance: a graduate from the Madras Christian College, Pothen made his debut in Bharatan's *Aaravam* and currently he's acting in six films. "In the first film, I played a loser. My wife ran away with the bus-conductor," Pratap recalls. "And in *Thakara* I go to sleep with the woman but I lose her in the end..." Well, it's good to know Pratap has six films on hand, but if he goes around accepting films in which the accent is on the heroine's thighs and breasts, people may not really notice him.

THE next time Padmini Kapilla disappears from Bombay, gossip columnists needn't think that she's on one of her trips to the Middle East. She's appearing in a Malayalam film, *Chithalukal* being directed by Bharatan. She plays the mistress of a businessman who compels her to sleep with men who'd help his business to flourish.

Bharatan is yet another Malayalam director who has imported a Bombay actress. But getting Kapilla to act in the Malayalam film shouldn't have posed any problem at all: she certainly doesn't have many films on hand. Would he be making her strip for the film like he



Surekha and Pratap Pothen in "*Thakara*".

did with Surekha in *Thakara*? I asked Bharatan. This one is going to be a sober film, he assured me. But you never know, he may change his mind; and Padmini, who refused to show her panties in a Mohan Segal film, could have become bolder now.

THE panel which selected South Indian films to be sent to international film festivals consisted of 15 members drawn from all the four southern States. But as it happened, only six members turned up, and it was dominated by Telugu speaking people; P. Pullaiah, the veteran film maker who was its chairman, actresses Jamuna and Sowcar Janaki and writer Arudra, an enlightened soul. But "Daddy" Pullaiah conducted the proceedings like a school headmaster and was primarily responsible for the selection of jejune, sick Telugu films like *Pranam Kareedu* and *Chali Cheemelu*. There were some interesting Malayalam films: *Ashwathamma* and *Yaro Oral*, slow moving existentialist stuff but "Daddy" Pullaiah didn't even think of sending them upto Delhi where the central committee could see them. "Well, I may be in the mud, but I have been asked to

judge these films" he remarked candidly. Next time, the festival directorate should insist that at least 10 panel members should attend the screening.

VANI GANAPATHY is amused that some people should believe the story that she doesn't want husband Kamalahasan to act in Hindi films just because she couldn't make any progress in Bombay! Well, for one thing, Kamalahasan just cannot give up his film assignments down South: conservative estimate has it that he has 30 films on hand. And as a matter of fact, Bombay producers haven't shown much interest in him. There was talk that Messrs N. C. Sippy and Hrishikesh Mukherjee would remake the Kannada hit *Kokila* and cast Kamalahasan. But nothing has materialised as yet. Balu Mahendra, the director, too has been thinking of remaking it in Hindi with Kamalahasan and Shoba but it has been in the planning stage for over a year. Incidentally, *Meethi Meethi Baaten*, the dubbed version of Kamalahasan's Tamil hit, *Manmatha Leelai* did reasonably well all over North India: yet Bombay producers are not taking interest in him.

FOR his *Kanchana Seetha* (Malayalam), film-maker Arvindan used Andhra tribals to act in the film. Interestingly the result wasn't disappointing at all. Arvindan has the genius to spot real talent: in his newest Malayalam film, *Kumatty*, an enjoyable fairy-tale he has picked up dancer Ramunni and extracted a delightful performance from him.

Kumatty is a popular fantasy figure of many folk songs in Kerala and often grandmothers frighten children by invoking *Kumatty's* name. And one day there emerges on the scene, across the expansive prairie lands down the hills, along the winding footpath, shrouded by shrubbery, the dark, bearded, dancing *Kumatty* with the 'totem pole', held horizontally across his shoulder. And in direct contrast to the *Kumatty* of lore, this real-life *Kumatty* is a fun-loving, free man who teaches the children how to come alive. *Kumatty* has already been released in pockets of Kerala and has received modest box-office success: Like good wine, it ought to travel well beyond the borders of Kerala.

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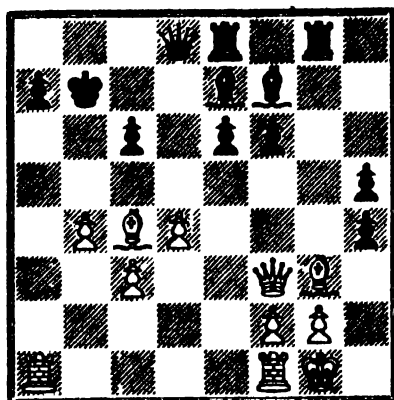
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chess

Rogoff (Black)



Larsen (White) to play
Position after Black's 22nd move

Lone Pine time

This week marks the beginning of the annual Louis D. Statham tournament in Lone Pine, California. A nine-round tournament played under the Swiss system does not sound like anything very special even if it is played at a rate of one round per day. However, if you want to play you need a US rating of over 2,400 (that's equivalent to a British rating of 225!). The fact is that Lone Pine is the strongest chess tournament in the world. Last year's entry totalled 68, of whom nearly 30 were grandmasters, including such names as Petrosian, Polugaevsky, Portisch, Timman, Larsen. . . not to mention nearly all the top names in American chess. Many countries sent small 'teams' of players, including England, who were represented by Miles, Stean, Mestel, Speelman and Taubert.

What attracts so many leading players to Lone Pine? Ask any competitor and he will tell you about the Californian sunshine and the fresh mountain air (Lone Pine is some 5,000 feet above sea level and only a few miles from Mount Whitney, the highest peak in North America). He might incidentally mention the prize fund. Last year first place was worth \$12,000 and this year it is going up to \$15,000 (the positive side of inflation?). Such rewards may be approaching respectability for tennis players or golfers, but for chessplayers they are astronomical.

Eventual winner last year was Larsen, who after losing to Speelman in the first round nonchalantly collected 7½ points in the remaining eight rounds to take first place. He will be trying to repeat his success this year, but the opposition is expected to be stronger than ever. There is a good possibility that even Korchnoi may be playing.

Here is Larsen's last round game, which won him the massive first prize. Not a hint of nerves from the Danish grandmaster who polished off his opponent inside two hours.

White: B. Larsen. Black: K. Rogoff

Caro-Kann Defence

1. P-K4, P-QB3; 2. P-Q4, P-Q4; 3. N-QB3, P x P; 4. N x P, N-Q2; 5. N-KB3, KN-B3; 6. N x N+, N x N; 7. N-K5, N-Q2. Passive, but the theoretical continuation 7... B-B4; 8. P-QB3, P-K3; 9. P-KN4 is very strong for White.

8. B-KB4, N x N; 9. B x N, Q-N3; 10. B-Q3! P-B3. 10... Q x NP; 11. O-O would leave Black dangerously behind in development.

11. B-N3, B-K3; 12. Q-K2, B-B2; 13. O-O, P-K3. Here 13... Q x OP; 14. QR-Q1, followed by B-B5 is murderous.

14. P-B3, O-O-O; 15. B-QB4, R-K1; 16. P-QN4, P-KR4; 17. P-KR4, R-N1; 18. Q-B3, B-K2; 19. P-R4, P-N4, 20. P-R5, Q-Q1; 21. P-R6. Decisive. Black's queenside defences are destroyed.

21... P x KRP; 22. P x P+, K x P [diagram] 23. R x P+!, resigns. After 23... K x R, 24. Q x QBP, there is no defence to the threats of Q-R6 mate and R-R1+

Castle while you can

Played in Poland, 1974.

White: Kostró. Black: Adamski.

Sicilian Defence.

1. P-K4, P-QB4; 2. N-KB3, P-Q3; 3. P-Q4, P x P; 4. N x P, N-KB3; 5. N-QB3, P-QR3; 6. B-K2, P-K3; 7. B-K3, Q-B2; 8. P-B4, P-QN4; 9. P-QR3, B-N2; 10. B-B3, ON-Q2; 11. O-K2, R-B1; 12. P-KN4, P-K4; 13. N-B5, P-N3; 14. N-N3, P x P; 15. B x P, N-K4; 16. P-N5, KN-Q2; 17. B-N2, B-N2; 18. N-B1? (O-O), N-B5; 19. N-Q5, B x N; 20. P x B die ch, K-B1; 21. P-B3, N x NP; 22. K-B2, N-B4; White resigns

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

THE semi-final of the Spingold, America's main team event, had a dramatic finish. With two boards to go in one of the matches, Brachman, the more fancied team, was 18 points down to Martel. This was board 8:

Dealer, South. N-S vulnerable

♠ O 5
♥ A J 8 6 2
♦ A K J 6
♣ A

♠ K 7
♥ Q 10 8 7 5
♦ Q 8 6 3 2
♣ 7

N E
W S

♠ 9 8 3 2
♥ 3
♦ 7
♣ Q 10 9 5 4 3 2

♠ A J 10 6 4
♥ K 4
♦ 10 5 4
♣ K 8 6

At the first table the Martel team bid with too much exuberance

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
Frelener	Passell	Lebensold	Kantar
No	No	1♥	4♣
dbie	No	5♣ (1)	No
6♣ (2)	No	7♣ (3)	No
7♥	No	No	No

(1) These sequences are not too well chartered, and no doubt he was afraid that Four Diamonds might not be treated as forcing

(2) He had a difficult bid now, because his partner had invited a slam and there wasn't much room in which to select the best contract. Perhaps 5NT would have been a good natural bid, but it might have been interpreted as a grand slam try in hearts.

(3) Here, too, there was much to be said for 6NT

Seven Hearts was two down. This, at the state of the match, would not have been a disaster but for a sad misjudgment at the other table

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
Goldman	Stansby	Soloway	Martel
No	No	1♥	4♣
dbie	No	6♦ (1)	No
No	dbie (2)	6NT	No
No	dbie	No	No
Nc			

(1) This seems precipitous and inferior to Five Clubs or 4NT

(2) The sort of mistake whose recollection

you carry with you to the grave; if opponents are going to fail in Six Diamonds you don't need 200 in place of 100, especially when you have entered the last quarter 26 points ahead.

Six Notrumps was easy to make. The Martel team lost 18 points on the board, and a further 6 on the last board.

The main lesson to be drawn from the bidding is that, after an opponent's pre-empt, 4NT and 5NT should be natural, not conventional. A notrump contract is so often desirable, because suits tend to break badly.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



ALTHOUGH Britain has never done so, many countries have issued special stamps intended for use only on airmail correspondence. Some of those issued in small quantities for specific flights, such as the overprinted stamps provided by Newfoundland between 1919 and 1933 for several of the early west-to-east transatlantic crossings, are now very rare. Among the more recent rarities are two Dutch stamps issued in 1951 for general airmail use. With face values of 15 and 25 guilders (then about £4), they were neglected by collectors. A lightly mounted mint pair in a Phillips auction recently realised £280.

C.W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. What was the Abdication Crisis?
2. When and where was the term 'concentration camp' first applied?
3. What was the Duma?
4. What is graphomania?
5. Who wrote the national song of England, "Rule Britannia"?

6. James Thomson (1700-1748).
7. Indicative of some mental disorder.
8. An obsessive urge to write, after the 1905 revolution.
9. The name of the Russian Parliament created by Nicholas II.
10. The name of the Russian Parliament created by Nicholas II.
11. The name of the Russian Parliament created by Nicholas II.
12. In the Boer War, to the commoner, Mrs Wallace Simpson.
13. King Edward VIII to marry a commoner, Mrs Wallace Simpson.
14. The crisis that arose in December, 1936, from the desire of King Edward VIII to marry a commoner, Mrs Wallace Simpson.

ANSWERS

Beginning August 12

This week Jupiter, Sun, Mercury and Venus are in Cancer. Saturn and Rahu are in Leo, Uranus is in Libra, Neptune is in Scorpio, Kethu is in Aquarius and Mars is in Gemini. The Moon will be moving through Taurus and Gemini from Aries.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) This is a good week for artistic and intellectual pursuits. It would be however wise to keep an eye on expenditure. A secret association will bring happiness and if you are careful, your health too will make remarkable progress. Letters from both far and near will bring good news. This week is also good for love and romance. Refrain from playing with the law. Act discreetly. **Good dates:** 13, 14 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 5. **Favourable direction:** South.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) You will make new friends and also pick up new hobbies to pass your leisure time. The health of your family members will improve. The domestic scene will be a source of joy and happiness. You may change your profession in the near future. Artistic and intellectual pursuits will progress this week. You may undertake a journey. Some unexpected gains are also indicated. **Good dates:** 14, 16 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 9. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) Forge ahead on all fronts; stellar influences make this a very lucky period for you. You can even take a few risks. This is a time to make changes. Make new acquaintances and contacts with an eye on the future. You must however guard against impulsive actions. Avoid speculation. Your financial front improves radically. **Good dates:** 14, 15 and 16. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 8. **Favourable direction:** West.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) This will be a week of mixed fortunes. Stellar influences indicate both losses and gains. You may be separated from the person you love and adore and health too may pose a problem. You will long for change and variety in your life. You must meet the challenge bravely. **Good dates:** 16, 17 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) The investments that you made in the past will prove beneficial now. You will earn the praise of your friends and relatives. Lawsuits and debts, if any, should not worry you. The domestic scene remains pleasant. New friends and hobbies will keep you occupied. **Good dates:** 12, 13, 14 and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 4. **Favourable direction:** North-east.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) Do not be careless in dealing with professional matters. Eschew doubtful relationships. Though luck may favour you, do not gamble. Women will be of great help to you this week. Your financial situation will definitely improve. You may have to do a good bit of travelling this week. Letters will bring good news. **Good dates:** 12, 13, 16 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 7. **Favourable direction:** West.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) Your financial position will improve rapidly. You may even be promoted in the near future. A secret association will progress rapidly and prove beneficial for you. Businessmen should adopt original methods to reap maximum profit. All documents and letters should be read carefully and replies promptly sent. Love and romance are indicated. **Good dates:** 13, 14, and 15. **Lucky numbers:** 10 and 7. **Favourable directions:** North and East.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) The early part of this week brings about financial expansion. Employers and those in authority will prove cooperative and very helpful in the latter part of the week. You may be separated from a beloved one. You may also have to face the wrath of your close relatives. Letter will bring bad news from distant places. However do not lose heart; the next week will be better. **Good dates:** 11, 14, 15 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 4 and 7. **Favourable direction:** South-west.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) This is a good week for love and romance. Letters may bring matrimonial offers. Luck will favour you at every step. Friendships made during this week will prove helpful in the future. Some people will shift residences. Your domestic problems are approaching a solution. You must maintain your status wisely; hasty steps may ruin everything at this juncture. **Good dates:** 12, 14, 16 and 18. **Lucky numbers:** 5 and 3. **Favourable direction:** North.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) Your problems are not likely to be solved; they will drag on for some time more. For businessmen and politicians, this is an unlucky phase. Be very careful in your dealings with superiors and those in authority. You may have to postpone a journey due to unavoidable circumstances. Health will remain unsatisfactory and medical expenses will be incurred. **Good dates:** 14, 16 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 3. **Favourable direction:** South.



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) A good week for matrimonial negotiations. The domestic scene remains peaceful; you are advised to spend more time at home with your family. New undertakings have bright prospects. For professionals and businessmen, letters will bring good news. **Good dates:** 12, 14, 16 and 17. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 4. **Favourable direction:** East.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) You will be attracted by new ventures. This may involve meeting business magnates. Exercise your wit and discretion in all business dealings. The financial front is bound to show rapid improvement. A new friendship will prove helpful. A good week for love and romance. **Good dates:** 12, 13, 14 and 19. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** South-east.

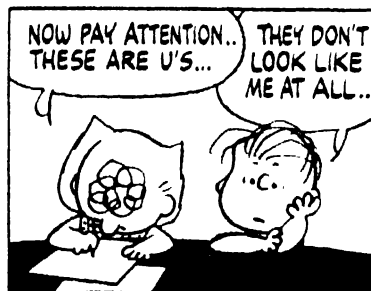
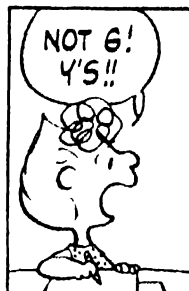
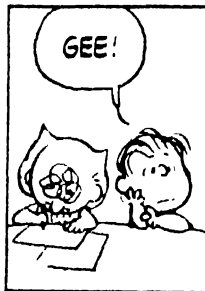
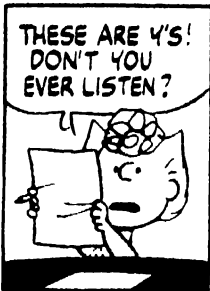
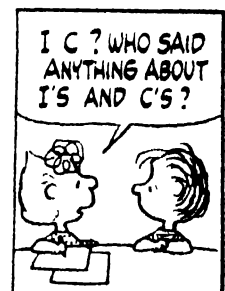
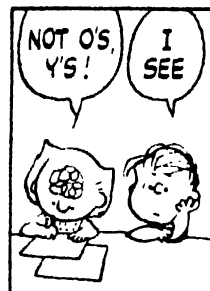
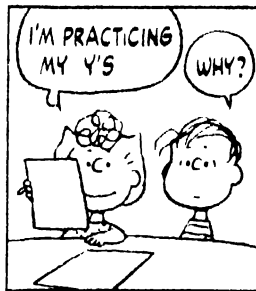
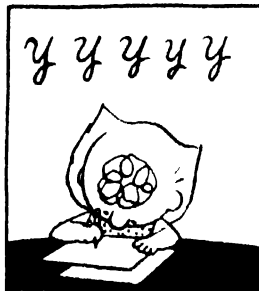
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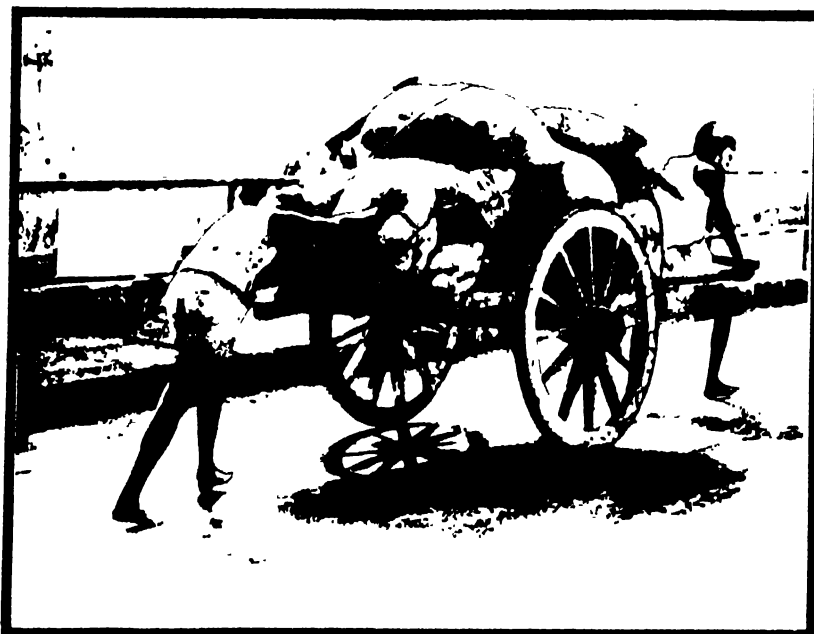
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THANJAVUR : Mr C. Raghavan, Special Judicial Second Class Magistrate, handed over an Advocate, Selva Durai Pandian, to the police for alleged disorderly behaviour. Police said that according to the complaint the Advocate began to offer comments and shout in the Magistrate's court. Though the Magistrate warned him he was alleged to have continued to behave in a disorderly manner. The Magistrate asked the police to arrest him. The Advocate was alleged to have been in a drunken condition after examination by a doctor. The police arrested him and filed a case. Some Advocates represented to the Magistrate seeking his release. He told them that poor people were arrested for alleged drunkenness and in the eyes of the law everyone was equal and no lenience could be shown—*The Hindu* (S Balakrishnan, Trichy)

ROHTAK : The crisis at the Centre seems to have affected the common man. On Saturday, July 21, three farmers from a nearby village, after getting drunk, started discussions on the national political scene in a shopping centre. Two of them were of the view that Mr Charan Singh should become Prime Minister while one thought Mr Jagjivan Ram was a better candidate. The discussion soon turned into a fight and the Charan Singh supporters gave a good beating to the third one. A

big crowd gathered and the police were informed. When two policemen arrived, the two farmers attacked the policemen as well. They were severely beaten. Later, more policemen came and arrested the farmers.—*Indian Express* (P. Jain, Srujansarh)
GONDA : The eunuchs of this town have urged the President Mr N. Sanjiva Reddy to invite anyone of the leading members of their community to form Government at the Centre in order to resolve the present impasse. In a letter to the President they said as neutralists they would serve the nation without indulging in rivalry which had led the country to the brink of disaster. Moreover, the letter said since their cabinet would be comprised of eunuchs there would be no problems of corruption by sons and sons-in-laws of the Minister which is currently plaguing the political scene. The letter regretted the political opportunism which was cutting at the root of democracy in the country.—*Deccan Chronicle* (B. Madhu, Andhra Pradesh)

KANPUR : A pesticide distributed by the Government to villagers came handy for a young couple to escape the pangs of hunger. 24-year-old Hori Lal, a casual farm labourer of Jalapur village had been ill for the last two months and without any food. On Monday, July 22, they took the fatal dose. The villagers discovered the bodies entwined together in their dilapidated hut today — *Indian Express* (Mrs Sarasa Raman, Bangalore)

NIZAMABAD : A father of three children chopped off the head of the six year daughter ostensibly to propitiate his family deity at Malapati village of Yellareddy Taluk. Chitti was sleeping in a room with her mother and the other children when Narasimha Reddy, her father, quietly picked her up at midnight. The next morning the girl's body along with the bloodstained clothes of the father were found lying nearby—*Deccan Herald* (S. Krishna Murthy, Bangalore)

HE (Morarji Desai) has got no future. He will die in another few years. He wanted to die as Prime Minister so that his son could tell everyone that his father died as PM.—Raj Narain

HOW CAN you do without politicians? How can the Government be run without politicians—Morarji Desai's reply to a question that people had lost all faith in the politicians

I HAD lived a life of judicial seclusion wherein the fluctuating fortunes of political Parties could have only an academic interest—H. R. Khanna on his resignation as Union Law Minister

FIFTEEN years ago you could discuss corruption and make that an issue. Today, it is accepted as a way of life—George Fernandes

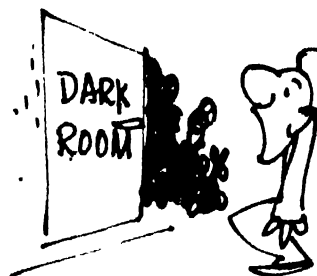
DEVARAJ Urs is an absolute non entity—C. M. Stephen

WE WILL arrest Kanti Desai...He (Morarji Desai) does not have a mind—how can he have a mental state—Raj Narain

I HAVE a dream of a world order where all people live together in peace. Now, I would like to be Prime Minister of that World Government—Charan Singh

WE ARE here to win everything —India's cricket captain Venkatraghavan's first public statement of the English tour

humour in real life



INSCRIBED on the door of a photographer's darkroom: "Please keep darkroom door closed. If it is left open all the dark leaks out"—Sudhakar, Rourkela.

A YOUNG engineer was filling in forms for himself and his wife to claim medical benefits from his company Against 'Occupation', for his wife he was told to put down 'Housewife'. So when it came to the same item in the form for himself, he put down 'Husband'—Mandira Das Gupta, Calcutta.

india abroad

POT OF SPAIN : Dr Bhawaalal Bhootra, an Indian physician has been sacked from his post at the Trinidad and Tobago General Hospital and given one month's time to leave. Dr Bhootra came to Trinidad just over three years ago from Engand to take up appointment as a pathologist at the hospital but was shortly after assigned the job of a forensic pathologist. Dr Bhootra ran into trouble following a murder case in which he gave evidence resulting in the acquittal of four per-

sons charged with gunshot slaying. In the beginning of July, the Government appointed a commission of enquiry into the conduct and evidence given by Dr Bhootra and an Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr Malcolm Bobb. The commission cleared Mr Bobb but sharply criticised Dr Bhootra and suggested that he be given further training in forensics. The commission also recommended that Dr Bhootra's evidence should not be accepted —*The Hindu*

THE REAL THING

IT will hardly be unfair to Mr Samarendra Kundu, the last Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, to rename him "Mr Genuine Kundu". His fondness for the word "genuine" seems to be very genuine. He still argues that the Indian Government must retain the term "genuine nonalignment" instead of simply referring to "nonalignment". He has already written to the new Prime Minister, Charan Singh, expressing his shock over the fact that the Chaudhury dropped the word "genuine" when describing the country's foreign policy as nonaligned. Well, it was Mr Kundu really who started to use "genuine nonalignment", and he still thinks that the change that he effected was a positive shift. Perhaps if Mr Kundu has participated in the recent "genuine realignment" "genuine nonalignment" might still have been an article of faith with the present Government.

ACCEPTABLE TO NONE

DINESH SINGH has been an unknown commodity in the sharply divided Janata Party. The former member of Mrs Gandhi's kitchen cabinet in her heyday has been more than willing to take up the cook's job in the kitchen cabinets of the four Janata stalwarts: Mr Desai, Mr Ram, Mr Singh and Mr Chandrashekhar. But his application has been rejected by all four of them. During the recent Janata turmoil Mr Dinesh Singh was a frequent visitor at the residences of Mr Ram, Mr Desai and Mr Chandrashekhar. The story goes that what he learnt at the house of one he told the other two and what he learnt at the house of the other two he told the former. An endless circle of gossip and interested, motivated talk that kept the three apart from each other was in no small measure kept going by Dinesh Singh, looking for a steady patron who could bless him with a ministership.

STAR STRUCK

APART from the politicians and their hangers-on another tribe that had a field day during the recent



Charm Vir Javner

political upheaval at the Centre was that of soothsayers, tantriks, astrologers and what have you in the realm of the mystical.

Mr Raj Narain and Mr Charan Singh depended solely on two: Mr Chandra Swamy and a certain Kapoor of Lucknow. There was not a move in the intense political power struggle that was not timed by the two in accordance with the wishes of the astrologers. Finally when Mr Singh got the invitation to form the Government the swearing-in time of 1.30 pm was determined by Messrs. Chandra Swamy and Kapoor. No Prime Minister of the country had chosen the afternoon for swearing-in; it was always in the morning or sometime in the evening but Mr Singh insisted on 1.30 pm for it was declared "auspicious" by his soothsayers.

Meanwhile, President Sanjeeva Reddy, whose lunch and siesta routine was upset by Mr Singh's odd timings, in a way foiled the plans of the Prime Minister designate's astrologers. Mr Reddy administered the oath only at about 1.34 pm. Now, of course, the astrologers are finding out the auspicious day on which Mr Singh should summon the Lok Sabha to win the crucial confidence vote which can be, like the Prime Ministership, a touch-and-go affair.

SELF-CENSORSHIP

THE champions of free speech know exactly which side their bread is buttered. Two senior journalist *chamchas* of Babuji have now started visiting the residences of the Chaudhury and his followers. In another case, a journalist had written two articles scathingly critical of the Chaudhury and Raj Narain, but these pieces were not used after the new PM was sworn in. However, the wiser journalists are keeping

both sides happy: Who knows who will be in power tomorrow? But the most interesting case was the coverage of Janata President Chandrashekhar's Press conference in Lucknow. With the exception of the *Patriot*, no other paper carried the most revealing answers. Mr Chandrashekhar had said that "the Janata Party has sought Congress(I) support in Bihar to save its Ministry against the onslaught of Janata(S) and other Opposition Parties ... There was nothing wrong in it. The main task facing my Party is to save its Governments in States from the onslaught of Janata(S) and if Indira Congress offers to help in such cases, we will certainly take their help". Mr Chandrashekhar also revealed that recently some Janata leaders had met the Indira Congress leaders, and he said that he saw "no reason why his Party should not accept Mrs Gandhi's help. Later, when faced with criticism, Mr Chandrashekhar modified his remarks, but in any case, an indulgent Press had saved him some embarrassment.

But a young journalist, Om Prakash of Samachar Bharati, gave a better account of himself. He took up the cause of a young photographer, who suffered some indignity at the hands of Mr Suresh Ram at Mr Jagjivan Ram's house on July 18, 1979. Having been manhandled in the discharge of his normal duties, one would have expected the photographer to take up the incident at the professional level — News Photographers' Association. But no. He even requested Mr Om Prakash not to put out a news item on the event through his agency if the former had not done so, though one or two newspapers had carried the item on their own. One would have also expected the magazine employing the photographer to take up the cause. This too did not happen. The incident speaks volumes about the nation's fourth estate, of which photographers are very much a part.

THEY'RE AT FAULT, NOT ME

MR MORARJI DESAI feels very strongly that the revolt in the police and in the Central Industrial Security Force was directly due to some of the statements made by the Police Commission. At least that is what he has been telling friends.

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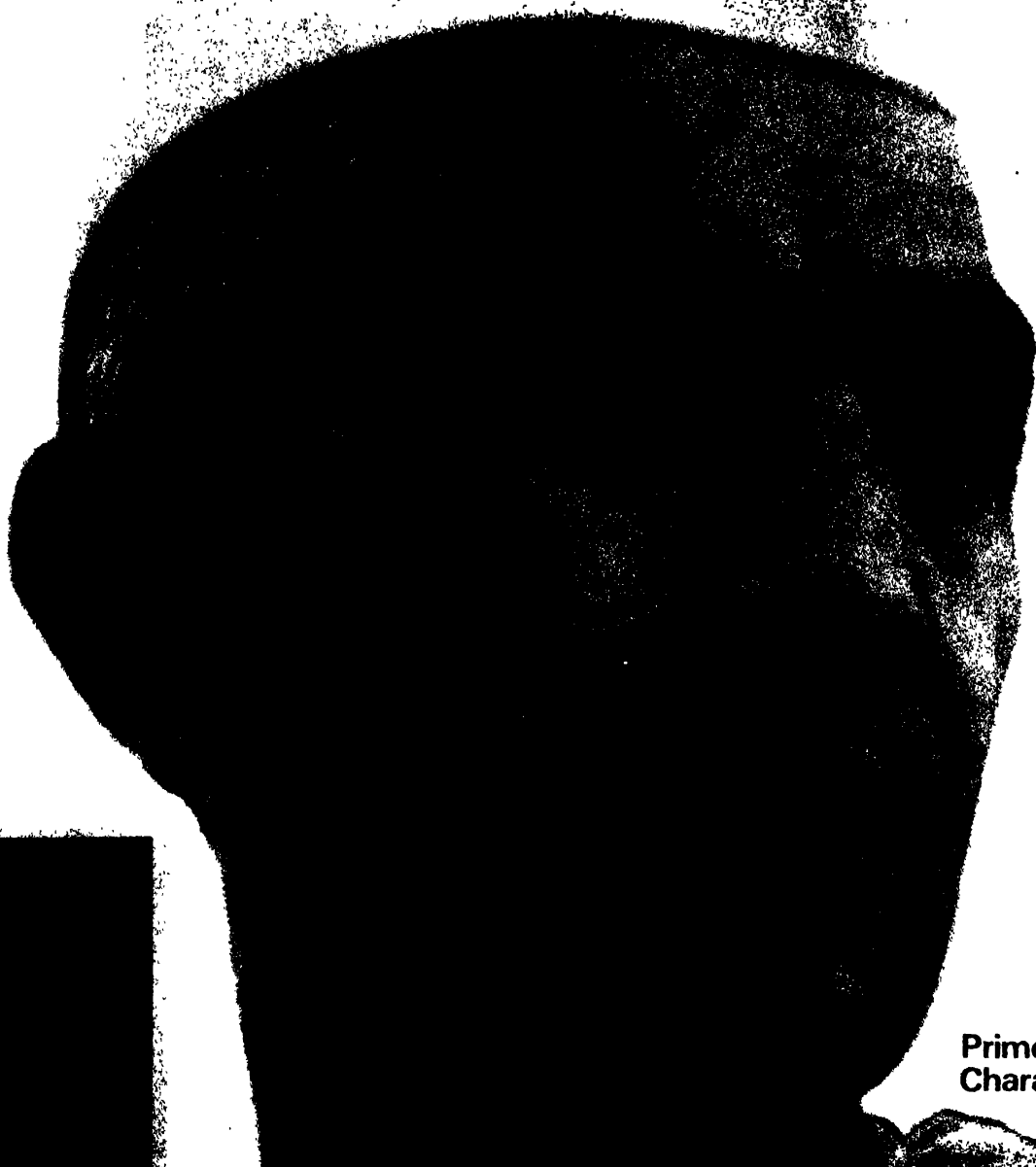
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Living on borrowed time



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Important as the August 20 vote of confidence is to the Charan Singh Government, nobody would, in any case, give it a very long life. It will have served its historical purpose once the secular forces regain supremacy. Meanwhile, the strength and weakness of the Government are revealed in views expressed by a cross-section of politicians to the query: Will the Chaudhury last?

Professor J. K. Galbraith of Harvard, one-time US Ambassador to India during the Presidency of John Kennedy, is ambassador extraordinary to the whole world in the cause of the better understanding of the forbidding subject of economics. Here he answers all the layman's questions on the baffling international economic scene.



The first of a two-part serialisation of the blood-curdling story of American bombing of Cambodia, said to be the worst spell of air-inflicted destruction in the history of an air force, under the secret direction of the former American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Written on the basis of information provided in "Sideshow", a book on America's Vietnam war by a British journalist William Shawcross, the serial details the US air assault on Cambodian civilian and military concentrations, arranged as a series of brutal "meals".

COMMENT

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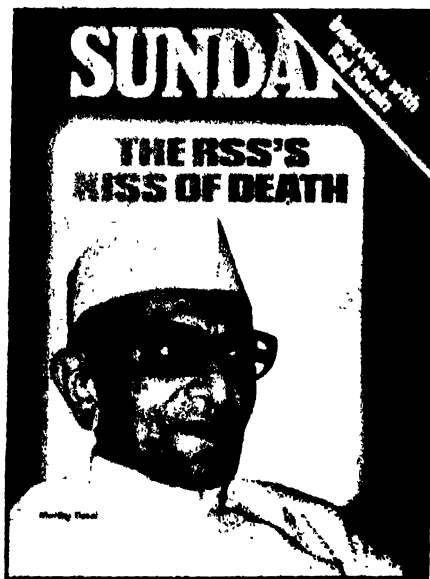
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Assistant Editor Subir Roy Editorial Staff Nirmal Mitra,
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Art Director Bipul Guha Asst Art Director Amiya Bhattacharya

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The hero, no joke

YOUR assessment of the political upheaval at the Centre ("The RSS's kiss of death" July 22, by M. J. Akbar) was most admirable. The entire credit for the development goes to Mr Raj Narain, who succeeded where Mr Charan Singh had failed 28 months earlier—in ousting Mr Morarji Desai from the Prime Ministership—with the simple intention of seeing the Chaudhury as the next PM of India. Mr Raj Narain effectively proved to be the hero and not the "Count Jester" Mr Akbar had made him out to be on an earlier occasion (SUNDAY, July 24, 1977).

Dasharatha Senapati, Rourkela

NEARLY 15 months ago (SUNDAY, May 14, 1978) Mr Akbar had written in an article that Mr Morarji Desai would one fine day pick up the "lota" he came with, and walk away, leaving the disorganised Janata forces to face the wrath of Mrs Gandhi's battalions. That prediction has today come true.

A. Abdul Rahim, Chinna Salem

ACCORDING to M. J. Akbar, it is the kiss of the RSS which put the Janata Party to death. I should say it is Mr Morarji Desai's kiss which has put both the Janata Party and the RSS to death.

R. C. Goel, Solan

THE couplet you quote in the beginning presents a true picture of the *gulistan* (garden). But by quoting the couplet you unwittingly include yourself in the category of owls. After all, SUNDAY too is a branch of this *gulistan*, and according to the couplet, there are owls on every branch. Let us hope SUNDAY is an

exception, otherwise no one shall take seriously an article written by an owl about other owls.

A. Kumar, Delhi

THE present political crisis is entirely due to the greed of politicians for power. Everyone involved in it deserves nothing but contempt.

J. K. Subramanian, Jorhat

IT IS wrong to hold communalism as the principal cause for the Janata's fall. Which other Party is not communal? Is the Congress (I) immune from communal elements? Can Mr Akbar deny that all political Parties are in the habit of whipping up communal passions when they know they can benefit from them? The only difference during the Emergency was that communal passions lay dormant then. Again, can Mr Akbar deny that the Desai Government had given more concessions to Bangladesh and fostered better relations with Muslim nations than Mrs Gandhi? I believe it was the clash of egos that was the sole reason for the schism in the Janata.

D. pankur Pattanayak, Calcutta

IT IS wrong of you to attack the RSS and make it the scapegoat for the recent political rumpus. Perhaps India is the only country in the world where a ruling Party obliged the Opposition by voting itself out of power! I find it hard to believe that those who defected from the Janata are deeply committed to secularism. Politicians, as we all know, are opportunists. The Janata Party was not a garden as JP saw it, but a house of cards which collapsed in the gust of Raj Narain's foul breath.

Jaya Chohan, Secunderabad

YOU denounce the Jana Sangh and RSS as communal Parties. Which Party in India is not communal? The Congress(I) joined hands with the Muslim League and Jamaat-e-Islami to form Ministries in Kerala. Both these Parties were founded to crush Hindu chauvinism, with the Partition of India in mind. If communalism is veiled behind nationalism and ideology by these Parties, it is better to choose the RSS or Jana Sangh.

A. K. Roy, Calcutta

I AM sorry you have unnecessarily blown up the RSS issue and underplayed Mr Charan Singh's politics of defection. No doubt Morarji failed to achieve anything in his 28-month rule, but surely Mr Charan Singh, as part and parcel of his Government, has a share in its failure. It was Mr Singh who bungled Indira Gandhi's arrest, and it was he who presented his own budget as Finance Minister, which showed its disastrous effects.

V. P. Joshi, Mandi

Prime-mover

RAJ NARAIN surely deserves the title "Netaji" ("I will bring down the next Government too if it is corrupt", July 22) at least for some time now, if not permanently. He has been able, within a span of a month, to form his own Party, the Janata(S), by defecting from the Janata, cause a spate of defections, reduce the strength of the Janata in Parliament, discredit the Jana Sangh and RSS, pull down the Government of Morarji Desai and make his political boss, Mr Charan Singh, the Prime Minister.

K. Govind, Kuttippuram

LET Mr Narain bring down any Government. Only let him not claim himself to be "Netaji", because the people of India still believe there is only one "Netaji"—Subhash Chandra Bose.

A. Roy, Tura

WHEN asked if Babu Jagjivan Ram would have made a better PM, Mr Narain replied that Mr Ram was the introducer of the notorious Emergency Bill in Parliament, and this was why he wasn't accepted. But eventually Mr Narain was in such a hurry to form a Government that he sought the help of Mrs Indira Gandhi herself, who had enforced the Emergency.

Raghu Nath Joshi, Bombay

MR NARAIN says: "If there is a midterm poll, not a single person from the Jana Sangh will win." In 1977 Mrs Gandhi had said the same about the Janata Party, only to be proved wrong. Mr Narain also affirms: "Atal Behari Vajpayee cannot win from his constituency." Another eccentric leader Mr Sanjay Gandhi had said in 1977: "Raj Narain cannot win from his constituency."

Piyush, Muzaffarpur

MR NARAIN says in the interview: "Forget that statement...Gandhiji has written that one statement by an individual cannot be taken as the real view of the person." Now consider this in the context of what Ajoy Bose writes: "Netaji", for his merciless criticism of Morarji, delved deep into Morarji's dubious secular record and found a circular dated April 10, 1930 he had issued almost 50 years ago as a petty official in colonial India. Would this one statement make Morarji communally-minded? Besides, in spite of this, Mr Narain had offered Mr Desai the Prime Ministership two years ago. Are we to conclude that Mr Gandhi's Emergency excesses outweighed Mr Desai's circular? Would Mr Charan Singh then start a Nuremberg-type trial of Mr Desai?

E. V. Mani, Calcutta

God's gift, man's problem

WHAT did J. M. Menezes hope to achieve by his article "Disorder in the order" (July 1)? Surely none of your readers will believe that his panel of embittered ex-nuns and unfrocked priests can give a complete and impartial picture of what is happening in the Catholic Church? He himself sounds like a bitter, disappointed man. Is he an ex-priest too, I wonder? He is certainly no historian. To find two examples of unworthy Popes, he looks over a thousand years of history only to pick the wrong men. Leo III, who crowned Charlemagne in 800 A.D., is venerated as a saint. Alexander VIII was a man of irreproachable life. Perhaps he meant Alexander VI — a different cup of tea.

Mr Menezes isn't much of a theologian either. No informed Catholic believes celibacy is divinely ordained. Throughout his article he speaks of celibacy as an arbitrary imposition, grudgingly accepted. Most of us believe it is a gift freely and gratefully received, which liberates us to devote our lives more completely to the service of God and our fellow-men. Countless Catholic schools, hospitals and other charitable works all over the world bear witness that God's gift has not been in vain.

The former priests and nuns quoted in the article claim that they are having trouble finding acceptance in the Church. The Church, alas, has its human side. I would suggest that the real problem is that they are having trouble accepting the Church.

J. W. Whelan, S. J., Darjeeling.

J. M. Menezes replies. The precise reason for writing the article was to make the Catholic community realise that all priests and nuns who have quit their religious vocation are not irresponsible libertines. Many of them realise that they can lead a full Christian life outside the confines of an authoritarian Church. And they need not be looked upon as reincarnates of Satan. And one does not have to be an ex-priest to write such an article. I am happily unmarried. And I don't have any fancy ideas (like many priests and nuns would have) that I'll have a special place in heaven just because I am a celibate!

If priests and nuns really believe that celibacy is a gift voluntarily received, why are so many quitting the Church? The churches in America are so short of priests and nuns, they have even advertised in Playboy trying to convince people what great (!!) service they can render unto Christ by taking up a religious vocation.

I am sorry I goofed regarding Alexander VIII: I had Alexander VI in mind, but I stand by what I

wrote of Leo III. You cannot become a saint just because you crowned Charlemagne. Several Popes were the personal friends of the greatest dictators on earth, including Franco of Spain and the Latin American juntas. Can Father Whelan deny that because of the Catholic Church's condoning attitude, Mussolini and Hitler could send millions to their deaths? Much more than any other institution, the Catholic Church's hands are stained with human blood and Thomas Paine rightly said that the Church has excommunicated itself from Jesus Christ.

THE statement by Mr Menezes that in Europe and the USA more than 60 per cent of priests have forsaken celibacy and community living is fantastic. What is the source of his information? The Bombay Catholic



Aloke Mitra

paper Examiner (dated May 19) quoting the Vatican daily L'Osservatore Romano shows that from 1971 to 1978, less than one per cent of Catholic priests have left the ministry. In 1971 there were 0.88 per cent departures (mark the decimal point). The situation remained roughly the same till 1974, when the number of those leaving started dropping. In 1977 it was only 0.59 per cent, including those who left without receiving laicization. Mr Menezes probably meant 0.6 per cent, and wrote 60 per cent. Religious life in Catholic terminology means a special state of life marked particularly by vows of celibacy, poverty and obedience. To think of religious life without celibacy is absurd. Mr Menezes does not seem to understand the difference between this state of life and priestly life.

Paul Vadakumpadan, Shillong

J. M. Menezes replies: The Catholic Church was never known for courage to face the truth and several Catholics have asked me why, of all people, a Catholic should wash the "dirty linen" in public. To put the record straight, I am not a practising

Catholic but I do know very well what's happening in the Church. That priests and nuns have quit the Order in thousands is a fact well-known to the Catholic hierarchy, and as mentioned by me elsewhere, the Church has even advertised in Playboy seeking new recruits, offering them a purposeful and committed life. There is an article on this in one of the recent issues of Catholic Digest published from St Paul, USA.

L'Osservatore Romano, according to Paul Vadakumpadan, mentions that only one per cent Catholic priests left their ministry in 1971: How about the great exodus a couple of years before 1971? Surely, the Catholic Press does not mention the numbers of priests and nuns who quit the religious Order without waiting to get permission from the Church?

To think of religious life without celibacy is absurd, according to Mr Vadakumpadan. Surely, the Catholic Church hasn't forgotten Martin Luther, the 16th century Catholic monk who rebelled against the sexual hypocrisy in the Church and revolted against the Pope's autocracy. And since then Anglican and Lutheran clergy is allowed to marry; do the Catholics believe that the Anglicans, and other married clergy, lead a less sincere life? Catholics have had a great talent for arrogance: till the other day.

THE caption "Nuns and priests are leaving the Church" for the article by Mr Menezes is incorrect; nuns and priests are not leaving the Church, but their vocation. I wonder if the article isn't a cloud of personal problems indicating a few people who are victims of sexuality. It does not give the true idea of priesthood of the Holy Catholic Church and the sacrificial life of nuns.

C. Chellaswamy, Barrackpore.

IT IS an acknowledged fact that religious celibacy is a sign of purity for it represents defiance of the ordinary desires of the world and manifests an orientation to a deeper level of holiness.

A. D. Fernando, Nagercoil.

IN KERALA, Christians are divided into four main categories, the Roman Catholics, Jacobites, Mar Thoma and the Church of South India. While members of the last three groups have the right to matrimony, why must the Catholic priests be deprived? If a survey is made, it would be seen that most Catholic priests have clandestine sexual affairs, especially in the rural areas where it is easier to escape censure. Being a former member of the brotherhood, I fail to understand why the sacred right to marry should not be extended to Catholic priests as well.

Joy Joseph, Bombay.



Living on borrowed time

By KEWAL VARMA

“THE Prime Minister shall hold office during the pleasure of the President,” says our Constitution. This, however, needs to be amended temporarily to read: “Chaudhury Charan Singh shall hold office during the pleasure of Indira Gandhi.” If Jagjivan Ram replaces Charan Singh, his fate will be no better. In fact, following the split in the Janata Party, no Prime Minister can last in this Lok Sabha without Mrs Gandhi's tacit or open support. The Charan Singh Government, for instance, can win the con-



Alamdar Puri

fidence motion only if the 72-member Congress(I) group either abstains or votes for the Government. Will Mrs Gandhi cease to be pleased? Her options are not unlimited. At this moment she will have to choose between the Chaudhury and Babuji. If she helps Babuji, she will only be building up a formidable rival to make a claim on harijan votes. In return she is not sure of securing the support of the backward castes. A bird in hand being decidedly worth two in the bush, she should not upset the Jat raja. Mrs Gandhi is quite capable of being irrational, to the extent of hurting her own interests. What she has done in the past few months shows that she is her own enemy. Had she not split the Party or even allowed the Congress unity to take place by now either she or her nominee would have been the Prime Minister. But today her "control" over Charan Singh is limited.

When her "pleasure" will cease depends on her calculations. She has to ensure two things. First, the split between the Janata(S) and the Janata must become irreversible. This will be possible only if some more time is given for an acrimonious battle of words between the Janata twins, both on personalities and policies, particularly regarding the Jana Sangh-RSS. Second, she must give some time to the new Government in the hope that it will thoroughly discredit with the intensification of mutual bickerings and distrust within the Charan Singh Cabinet. This will inevitably lead to a worsening of the overall situation of the country, in both the spheres of economics and law and order. That will be the right moment for her to precipitate a crisis leading to a mid-term poll. By that time MPs will have tied themselves up in so many knots over personality and policy conflicts that they will have to accept the inevitable dissolution of the Lok Sabha, much against their wishes. In that eventuality Mrs Gandhi's battle cry at the hustings will be: "Vote for those who can govern. Don't waste your votes on those who cannot govern." Mrs Gandhi, however, cannot give the new Government too much time either to stabilise itself or allow some other alternative to emerge. In other words, her next decisive move should neither come too soon nor too late. In this time frame whether February-March 1980 or October-November 1980 will be most suitable for her for a mid-term poll will depend on events in the coming months.

But can events take a turn where-by Mrs Gandhi proposes but Charan Singh disposes? It appears highly improbable as far as the decision on a mid-term poll is concerned. It must be said that the real threat to Mr Charan Singh comes not from Mr Jagjivan Ram but from Mrs Gandhi. If Jagjivan Ram has failed to become the Prime Minister, it is not only because the sense of timing of this shrewd politician failed him, perhaps, for the first time. The past

decade, particularly the last 29 months, have shown Charan Singh to be a bigger political leader than Jagjivan Ram despite the former's style and personal attributes. First Charan Singh articulated a social force, namely the peasantry, though he used the short-cut of casteism. The peasant-proprietors class, in the Hindi heartland particularly, is today much more articulate than it has been since Independence. Charan Singh used every minute since he was catapulted to the national scene in March 1977 to achieve this objective. Babuji, on the other hand, used this time to clear official files in a most efficient manner. He threw away the opportunity to articulate the rival social force of harijans behind him. He has been so immersed in the files of the South Block and Cabinet committees that he did not have the time to shed tears of sympathy with harijans when they were being burnt alive. Second, Charan Singh saw the political potentialities of a stance against the Jana Sangh-RSS. He encouraged his lieutenants to go ahead with a most bitter campaign which resulted in making the Jana Sangh-RSS a big political issue, whatever be its merits. There was a possibility of making atrocities on harijans a big political issue. But the chance was missed. Why? Because while Charan Singh's Hanuman, Raj Narain, was going from town to town, campaigning against the Jana Sangh-RSS, Babuji's 'chela', Ram Dhan, was wasting his time obliging

his favourite correspondents with endless gossip in the Central Hall of Parliament.

IN FACT, between the Janata(S) and the Janata, the latter is more of a house divided against itself. There is a clash of personalities on both sides. The personalities of Charan Singh and H. N. Bahuguna are incompatible. Till last year they were trading the choicest abuses against each other, both personal and political. And Raj Narain in his heart of hearts continues to nurse a grudge against Charan Singh since he publicly admonished him. The most sorry spectacle is of the Janata(S)'s coalition partner, the Congress(S). The Congressmen are fighting like cats over the distribution of the loaves and fishes of office. The Swaran-Chavan leadership proved to be extremely shabby Party managers. But in this regard the Janata's record is only a shade better than that of the ruling combine. Morarji Desai, in his durbars with politicians and journalists, uninhibitedly abused Jagjivan Ram for his corruption and political amorality. In his reply to JP, Morarji is reported to have said that history will not forgive him if he stood down in favour of Jagjivan Ram. When he had to step down from the leadership of the Janata Parliamentary Party, Morarji refused to propose the name of Jagjivan Ram. There are about 40 Janata Lok Sabha

Babu Jagjivan Ram



MPs who continue to owe allegiance to Morarji. They will embarrass Babuji at the slightest provocation. Then there is the Babuji-Chandrashekhar rivalry. Chandrashekhar had publicly declared his desire to step into the shoes of Morarji. But events moved so fast that Chandrashekhar was sidestepped. Now he is waiting in the wings for his turn. Circles around him have already started a whispering campaign against Babuji's close connections with his business.

However, Parties break up only when personality conflicts are combined with policy conflicts. In the sphere of policy conflicts, the crisis in the Janata is more serious than that in the Janata(S) at the present moment. The real political success of the Janata(S) is that even the truncated Janata is divided on the RSS issue. Chandrashekhar interprets the proposed amendment to the Janata's constitution to mean that the RSS people cannot be members of the Janata Party. But Jagjivan Ram is quiet about it. Jana Sangh members, by and large, believe that the proposed amendment does not apply to the RSS since it believes in Hindu rashtra and not in a Hindu state. The proposed amendment debars only those who believe in a Hindu state. About 30 to 40 Janata Lok Sabha members are hardcore RSS men. They are up in arms even against Atal Behari Vajpayee. Why? Because Vajpayee publicly asks the RSS to amend its ideology if it has to meddle in politics, which it has been doing despite its protestations to the contrary, or become a totally apolitical organisation which aims to reform Hindu society. But Atalji is a weak-kneed person. Whenever the crunch comes, he will fall back and line up with the RSS. The reason is simple. He may not be in tune with its ideology, but the RSS provides readymade volunteers to him who are essential for his remaining in politics. There are very remote chances of Vajpayee's efforts to reform the RSS succeeding. In fact pressure is building up in the RSS to back out of the commitment given by its leaders to Chandrashekhar that it would amend its constitution to debar MPs, MLAs and Ministers from taking part in its day-to-day activities. The proposal is to be formally approved in March next when the "Pritinidhi Sabha" of the RSS meets. By then much water will have flowed down the Yamuna.

The revolt of the die-hard RSS men in the Janata is being organised by a young adventurer, Subramaniam Swamy: "The RSS rank and file are saying that they got the worst of both the worlds. The commitment given by their leaders amounts to admission that the RSS is something bad with which Janata MPs, MLAs and Ministers cannot associate. Even after that the Janata Government could not be saved. Nor did further anti-RSS pressures cease within the Janata. The RSS men recall the proverbial story of a village thief who, as his punishment, was asked to eat either 100 onions or get 100 lashes but



Madhu Dandavate

ended up in taking both. Their plight is the same" It will, therefore be erroneous to think the Janata has resolved the RSS question. Even such a mild-mannered person as Madhu Dandavate said that the RSS issue "is not unreal and has to be settled once and for all." He said that the concept of a Hindu nation to which the RSS is still sticking "won't be acceptable to those who are opposed to a theocratic state and are wedded to secular nationalism." For many in the Janata who feel upset about the series of communal riots and massacres in Aligarh, Jamshedpur, Nadia, etc., this had already become unacceptable. Those who are still waiting for a 'kayaplat' by the RSS will find their patience exhausted one day. A further split in the truncated Janata on the RSS question cannot, therefore, be ruled out.

BUT the misfortunes of its rival are a poor consolation for the Charan Singh Government. The experience of the Janata has displayed that power is always a cementing force. The Government is not a social club. It is an instrument to promote certain interests, more often than not, at the cost of others. Therein lie the seeds of conflicts, particularly when incompatible interests are represented in the Government. For some time it may be possible to paper over the inner contradictions of the new coalition since every other issue can be overshadowed by its fight against the Jana Sangh. The struggle is not yet fully complete at the Centre. It is yet to be carried out in the States. This may go on for the next two or three months. When the RSS issue is finally settled then the inner contradictions within the new Government will begin to assert themselves. Our country is ridden with many contradictions, and quite a few of them are ripe, necessitating a solution. There are contradictions between communalism and secularism, between authoritarianism and anti-authoritarianism, between casteists and non-casteists, between kulaks and the landless, mainly harijans, between employers and employees,

between producer-traders and consumers, between industrial capitalism and rural capitalism, between cities and villages, between forces of modernisation and obscurantism, between dynamic federalism and separatism and regionalism, between the North and the South and between the pro-Hindi and anti-Hindi.

The Janata Party did not break so long as the conflict was confined to personalities alone. It broke only when one of the abovementioned contradictions, namely communalism versus secularism, was articulated by Raj Narain and it was resolved for the time-being by the assertion of secular forces. The installation of the Charan Singh Government will certainly accentuate some other contradictions. It is obvious that by virtue of both the number and the fact that he holds the Prime Ministership, Charan Singh is a dominant partner of the coalition. From among the known top leaders, Charan Singh is most loyal to his constituency, i.e., intermediate caste-peasant proprietors. He is essentially a class leader. The peasantry because of its atomised nature of production is a most difficult segment to organise. Charan Singh has articulated them. But a leader with a peasant psychology is hardly capable of broadening his base. The maximum that he could achieve in broadening it is to include the minorities among his supporters. In sheer numbers, a peasant proprietors-minorities alignment is very weighty. But Charan Singh will find it very difficult to resist the temptation to use this opportunity to establish "kulak raj" in the country.

This is bound to alienate all other sections. It will result in social and economic stagnation and put back the clock of modernisation and industrialisation of the country. This will accentuate many other contradictions in society. The most likely deterioration in the economic situation, particularly inflation, will hasten and sharpen these contradictions. Charan Singh is most capable of pushing the entire urban people, rural landless and rural upper castes on the war-path against himself. This in turn is bound to increase the inner contradictions within the new ruling alliances. How these contradictions will manifest themselves, and which of these contradictions will be articulated and who will articulate them — these are questions which are difficult to answer precisely at this point of time. The Charan Singh Government will, thus, continue to feel threatened by twin dangers—the inner contradiction of the new alliance and the Damocles' sword of Indira Gandhi. It is to be seen which of the two will mark the end of the Charan Singh Government. The Congress Government continued for 28 years, the Desai Government for 28 months and the Charan Singh Government would be lucky if it continues for 28 weeks. Historically, the Charan Singh Government will have outlived its social and political utility after it completes the establishment of supremacy of secular forces over communal forces.

Can Chaudhury last?

UDAYAN SHARMA posed this query to
a cross-section of political opinion

RAJINDER PURI, general
secretary, Janata (S)

THE question itself is faulty. The perspective which I would like to take is that whether Mr Charan Singh lasts or not, is not important. Mr Charan Singh is an individual but today he is representing a certain political thrust. And my answer to your question is that whether Charan Singh individually and personally lasts or not, the thrust of history which he represents cannot be stopped despite all the hysteria and illogical opposition that has been expressed by the Establishment, by Mr Chandrashekhar, by the middle class, by the Press. All that, really speaking, signifies the fear of the ruling class of this country when a cultural revolution is taking place. One may

not call it a cultural revolution, because it is not consciously directed. But nevertheless it is a form of cultural revolution, a cultural evolution. The change is taking place and people who so far had not been articulate, who had no share in the ministry-making, they have become assertive. The voice has been heard and Charan Singh and Raj Narain represent the voice of these millions.

Briefly, let us recapitulate the events that led to Mr Charan Singh's resignation (from the Desai Ministry). I want to do this in order to remove the confusion deliberately created by the Press. For more than a year, Charan Singh and Raj Narain have raised certain issues within the Janata Party. Issues of principle and policies. The question of the relation of the RSS with the Janata Party had been raised. Now after an affidavit by RSS leaders that they are akin to a political

organisation, had been presented in the court, it is unimaginable how any self-respecting Party could ignore this situation. The leaders of the Janata Party kept on ignoring this and aggravating the situation. There was a partisan approach on the part of the Prime Minister and Mr Chandrashekhar in their dealings with certain State Governments and in the distribution of posts and offices within the Janata Party. The Governors were, for example, disproportionately from the Congress (O). Despite this the opponents of Mr Charan Singh within the Party kept up a campaign — calling him a kulak, casteist, representative of the rich landlords, trying to display a very phoney sympathy for harijans which only came to the mind to stop the thrust of rural India into the politics of this country. Mr Charan Singh was so driven to despair that he even made the proposal that the Janata go back to its original constituents and start functioning as a coalition. All this represented the anguish of the BLD group which was in the forefront of the movement to form the Janata Party.

Now Morarji Desai, Jagjivan Ram, Chandrashekhar, Atal Behari Vajpayee, Nanaji Deshmukh and most leaders of the Janata Party went on record to say that if Charan Singh and Raj Narain left the Janata Party,

Chandrajit Yadav



Rajinder Puri



Vijendra Tyagi



Chandrashekhar

then it would become stronger. Nobody would follow them out of the Party. So Mr Raj Narain took the lead. He came out alone — on principle, after he had been provoked by the disciplinary committee which expelled him from the national executive. Despite everything when he quit the Party he went into the wilderness with no certainty about his political future. The Janata Party crumbled, the Government collapsed and Mr Charan Singh became the Prime Minister of India. This was a revolt which was based on issues that were discussed and debated within the Party for over a year.

The very same people who welcomed Raja Dinesh Singh into the Janata Party despite his previous support of Mrs Gandhi; the very same people who welcomed Mr J. C. Negi as president of the Himachal Janata Party although he has twice fought against the Janata in the Assembly and Lok Sabha elections — they made him president of the Himachal Janata over the heads of the workers who were put in jail during Mrs Gandhi's regime; despite the fact that more than 150 defectors in Andhra, with the blessings of Chandrashekhar and Surendra Mohan, were given Janata tickets for the Assembly elections; despite the fact that Sharad Pawar who left with 30 defectors was welcome to form a coalition — the same Sharad Pawar who was Maharashtra's Home Minister during the Emergency and was a great sycophant of Sanjay Gandhi; all this was not defection. I did not hear any complaint from Mr Chagla, Mr Ram Jethmalani or the *Statesman* editorial writers or anywhere in the Establishment.

Today the Establishment is whining because Charan Singh and Raj Narain, representing the peasants and the significant culture and politics enunciated by Rammanohar

Lohia, have come to power. That is the real root of the disapproval that you are hearing from the Establishment today.

Now the question: Will Charan Singh last? My answer is simple. What Charan Singh represents cannot be stopped. Our democracy is becoming more participatory. It is in this perspective that things are to be seen. Today the more enlightened sections of rural India are wanting to have a say in the politics of the country. It is conceivable that in the years ahead perhaps the even more deprived section of rural India, be they of the tribes or scheduled castes, will become assertive and then you will have a further phase of the cultural revolution.

CHANDRASHEKHAR, MP, president, Janata Party

THE question is very simple, but the answer is very complicated. The answer is complicated because you'd have to clarify what you mean by survival. Charan Singh as the Prime Minister can continue for some time, but Charan Singh as a Prime Minister with certain principles and programmes cannot, because he hasn't yet started. Charan Singh is a phenomenon which is unique in the history of any parliamentary democracy, and in India. By all calculations Charan Singh will lose. But if he lasts for some time, I think parliamentary democracy will lose all its dignity, decency and strength for all time to come.

Charan Singh may last only on one condition — that the support in the Congress (S) for him is total, and he also has the support of Mrs

Gandhi. Mrs Gandhi's support for him cannot be unconditional. Time and again it has been asserted by quarters close to Mr Charan Singh that there was no request from them (the Janata-S) for such support. This has been contradicted openly by Mr Stephen and in an oblique way by Mrs Gandhi also. Subsequent statements by many functionaries of the Janata (S) and Mrs Gandhi's allies have also indicated that some conditions were imposed (for Mrs Gandhi's support). The other aspect is that if in public life, especially in a parliamentary democracy, such assertions made in the face of all facts (that point to the contrary) I don't know whether such a Government can last for long. And if it does, whether it has any validity for the people of this country. Because people want an element of respectability among the political leaders. The minimum that is required of the political leadership is a degree of credibility. If this Government lasts, then (its) credibility will be lost forever in this country.

About the Congress Party of which Mr Chavan is the leader, I would like to remind many of my friends in the Janata Party who have left it now, that Shriman Y. B. Chavan was the person who, with his team of Cabinet Ministers, had supported Mrs Gandhi during the Emergency. They have never repented about what happened in the Emergency till the Party was defeated. When it was defeated, there was a revolt against Mrs Gandhi.....as soon as she was defeated, they deserted her. I don't know what they are going to do with Chaudhury Saheb. That is one factor. The other is that all these friends after delinking themselves from Mrs Gandhi had declared that they would have nothing to do with Mrs Gandhi either directly or indirectly. But when it came to joining the powers-that-be, they forgot all these promises and assertions they made after the Congress split. The same old team which occupied seats in Mrs Gandhi's regime occupy positions in Chaudhury's regime. So I would like to ask this question to my friends, especially those who were with me in the Janata Party and who suffered during the Emergency: Do they want me to rely upon such dubious company?

I see that the only hope of this Government would have been the younger elements of the Congress coming forward and being joined by the younger elements in the Janata (S). But from both these groups, those who were of doubtful leanings during the Emergency, got positions of power in this Government. So neither does this Government enjoy the support of those who were trying to rebuild the new India after the Emergency, nor the traditional support of those who were in positions of power for quite some time. So on that account also, the stability of this Government is doubtful. The other groups from whom this Government expects support will have to review their position, be-

cause many of these groups were sufferers during the Emergency and they understand the mood of the people, whatever be the failings of the Janata Party. There was an expression of anger in the Janata Party before this no-confidence motion, there is no denying that fact. And it is not as if I am saying it now — long before the no-confidence motion was tabled. I had foreseen it. But it is a surprising and healthy phenomenon that the people are now ready to forget the lapses of the Janata Party and have directed their whole wrath at those who left the Party. I will not use the word "defectors" for my friends who tried to ditch the Party at a time when it was facing a challenge from outside. I have asked myself whether it was justifiable on any account to desert the Party at this juncture.

Another point which to my mind is very valid — and perhaps this question will have to be answered by those who were instrumental in winning the administration, who were with Mr Morarji Desai in the morning, and in the evening turned out to be revolutionaries working for a new social order — is the identities of those who left the Party: the Finance Minister, Industries Minister, Steel Minister, Petroleum Minister and Health Minister of the outgoing Government. Three of these portfolios, leaving aside the Health Ministry, are economic ministries. And if you consider the Akali Dal that includes the Agriculture Ministry. These Ministers were saying all of a sudden that there was a total failure on the economic front, which is ridiculous. I never knew there was any difference of opinion in the Cabinet on economic issues. Some vague suggestions were made by my friends Biju Patnaik and George Fernandes, but they never pursued the matter at the forum of the Party. All of a sudden now, an economic content is being sought to be given to this split. Whereas the earlier contention was that the whole affair arose because of opposition to the RSS and Jana Sangh.

I don't say the RSS or Jana Sangh are pious people nor do I hold a brief for them or consider it my duty to defend them. But before joining the Janata Party we knew of their past. But one point should be remembered — that they suffered with us during the Emergency to a certain degree; most of them were in jail. During the last 27 months they have tried to change their minds, or maybe they have not. There has been a slow change of mind, but in the desired directions — the statements by Atal Behari Vajpayee are an indication of that. Today, my dear friend George Fernandes has come out with an article in the *Indian Express*, and the instances he has given are unheard of. Is there any economic issue on which there were differences with the RSS or Jana Sangh? The issues were regarding character assassination. It was personal prejudice. It was personal considera-

tions which motivated my friends to split the Party. They split the Party because of personal prejudices. And if the unchanging and unbending mind of the RSS is said to be responsible for the split, the personal prejudices and self-righteousness of certain individuals is no small contributory factor too.

CHANDRAJIT YADAV,
Congress (S)

MY answer is definitely yes because those who gave their support to Chaudhury Charan Singh before he formed the Government, their number was 282. When this Government faces the

vote of confidence about 40 Lok Sabha members may remain neutral. This means that out of a house of 538, with 40 MPs remaining neutral, the Charan Singh Government will need about 250 or 251 to survive the motion. One important factor that has gone in favour of Chaudhury Sahab is that the AIADMK, which had decided to remain neutral earlier, has now taken a decision. They will not only support the Government, they will also join it. They are finalising their programme. As soon as they finalise their programme they will remove the difficulty. It will considerably strengthen his position if the 18-member Anna DMK joins the Chaudhury. It will create a favourable situation for him. Besides that it is my assumption that ultimately the Akali Dal will not vote against the Chau-

Only God knows

"GOD alone knows". This about sums up the views of most leaders who were asked what they expected would happen on August 20 when the Charan Singh Government took a vote of confidence.

The impossibility of having an insight into Mrs. Indira Gandhi's mind, the wavering attitude of the legislators and the angry mood of the younger MPs in the Lok Sabha—all contribute to this uncertain state of affairs. A precise answer, nobody would give. Everything would depend on "Madam" with her 71 members in the Lok Sabha. Will she, or will she not support Mr Charan Singh after she helped him achieve his life's ambition of occupying the coveted Prime Minister's chair?

There is a strong belief that it would not be in Mrs. Gandhi's interest to unseat Mr. Charan Singh at the "moment". "I don't see any serious danger to the Government, right now," a younger MP said, declining to be identified. He emphasised "right now" to indicate that it was too early to make a forecast. There were two weeks more to go. On the fast-changing capital scene, "anything could happen". Those who believe that the Charan Government would survive feel Mrs. Gandhi would not underwrite Mr. Charan Singh's influence among the backward classes. After all the much-dreaded mid-term poll is only six months away (Feb. 1980), according to them. The "fateful day" can hardly be put off indefinitely. It is agreed that the Government will not last the remaining period of the present Lok Sabha—till March 1982.

Mr Jagjivan Ram, leader of the Janata Party in the Lok Sabha, is cautious. "Let him (Mr. Charan Singh) complete the formation of his Ministry..." Mr Ram tells

his daily Press briefings. He does not yet seem to have acquired the "trump card" to reveal at the last moment. If he has, he does not show it. He still gives the impression that he has something up his sleeve. "Some Congress friends (MPs) call on me daily... They have expressed a desire to join the Janata Party... I have discouraged defection," Mr Ram says repeatedly. "This is only grapes are sour" comment of servers. He denounced reports that he had any dealings with Mrs. Indira Gandhi—husband or otherwise. His capacity to strike a deal is known. "If you do it, I can do it better," he seems to tell the world. "Wait for the day," he will show, you will know. This sums up Mr Ram's attitude. "Let him (Mr. Charan Singh) leave the Lok Sabha tomorrow," he had said. Yet as he himself has observed, there are "many" options available to the disgruntled or disenchanted Congress or wavering socialist or neutral Akali or hesitant AIADMK members.

It is clear the vote of confidence will be taken on August 20 (Mon). By then Mr Charan Singh would be in the South Block for 25 days. It would then be 57 days of non-Government at the Centre, Mr Raj. Puri announced his resignation on June 23 which set the ball rolling for the most unexpected and dramatic changes.

"I am sitting with fingers crossed," said an MP who is heavily interested in who is in Government. He does not expect a Cabinet yet. The opinion is sharply divided according to political affiliations—pro- or anti-Charan Singh. You pick your side and analyse the scene suitably.

A. N. PRABHU

dhury's Government. At the worst they may be neutral. Otherwise their support will be an additional factor in Charan Singh's favour. The rumours that are being spread, that a good number of Congress members will defect, I feel that this rumour has no basis. No doubt there is discontent among Congress members. They feel that the Party leadership acted in haste in Ministry-forming and did not consult the Lok Sabha members and Party members and without finalising the programme they joined the Government. The first list created a lot of resentment. That resentment is there but that does not mean that Congressmen will leave the Party, join hands with the Janata and vote against the Charan Singh Government. Those six members who had earlier openly said that they had reservations in supporting the Government, have now again openly said that they will not leave the Party. At the most they may become neutral but I believe they will abide by Party discipline.

But the most important is, of course, Indira Gandhi's Party. Indira's Party gave Charan Singh its support when the President called him to form a Government. But it will be very immoral on the part of any Party to give support to a Government and then without giving it an opportunity to do some work or without judging the Government on the basis of its performance to withdraw its support. And it will create a very bad opinion about the Congress (I) if it does that. In Bihar, she took a very strange view. She gave support to Charan Singh and others on the logic that they were anti-RSS and fighting against the communal forces. But in Bihar she thought otherwise. She supported the Janata Party where the Jana Sangh-RSS is the most important constituent of the Party. That again shows that she has no scruples in politics. Patna has given her a very bad image and her opportunism has been exposed. I do not think that after seeing the reaction in her own Party she will try to repeat it at the Centre. Because at the Centre she has already made the announcement that she will support the Party that is against communalism. If she changes her mind she will be helping the Janata, or say the RSS, to come back to power. Because Jagjivan Ram has said that if the present Government falls then the President will have to invite him to explore the possibilities to form a Government. Will she support that Government where the RSS will become a more dominant factor? If Jagjivan Ram becomes the Prime Minister — he is a person known for his political shrewdness — the biggest sufferer will be Mrs Gandhi's Party. The entire harijan support which is today with her will switch over to Jagjivan Ram. If Babuji comes to power then it will provide the RSS with a bigger opportunity to spread itself and the real victim will be secularism and Mrs Gandhi will be responsible. ■

PM was adamant

The day Chaudhury Charan Singh started forming his Ministry, one of the first people he summoned was Justice H. R. Khanna, the retired Supreme Court judge who became famous for his dissenting judgment in the Habeas Corpus case. But the same evening after Justice Khanna was administered the President's oath making him Union Minister of Law, Justice and Company Affairs, he changed his mind and resigned, "feeling uneasy". AJOY BOSE asked him why.



Q COULD you tell me what exactly first led you to accept the Law Minister's post, and then resign only after a few days?

A: Let me tell you chronologically. On the 29th July, I was at a marriage reception at the Ashoka Hotel when I got a message that I should contact the Prime Minister's house. When I got back home that evening, I rang up Chaudhury Charan Singh's residence and I was told that the Prime Minister wanted to see me as soon as was convenient to me. So next day at 10 a.m., I went to see him. He told me, "Khanna Saab, I am going to make a request to you. Please don't turn it down. You should join our Cabinet as Law Minister. I and my colleagues have decided that you would be the best man".

I was very reluctant and firmly told the Prime Minister that I would not be suitable for the post since I was not a Member of Parliament. The Prime Minister, however, was adamant and said there were a number of precedents of non-MPs becoming Ministers in the past. He then said a number of kind and flattering words to me. It is embarrassing for me to repeat them. But still I showed reluctance. Then the Prime Minister said, "Khanna Saab, it is a matter of national duty, you should not shirk it". When he raised the point of national duty, I relented but all the same, I had a very uneasy feeling inside me. I said I wanted some time. But the Prime Minister said that the letter had been already typed and I had to be sent to the President immediately. The swearing-in ceremony was at 1.30 p.m. on the same day and there was no time at all to lose. Although I still felt uneasy, I had no choice but to accept (the offer).

When the time for the swearing-in ceremony came, I was so uneasy that it was showing on my face. So much so that the Prime Minister told me, "You look like as if you are being taken to the slaughter house." Anyway I took the oath, but the more I thought of my decision, the more uneasy I became. On

the same night, I drafted my resignation letter. I showed this letter to two legal luminaries the views of whom I do not want to mention and both of them approved of the letter. Meanwhile there was already a controversy over my taking the oath as Law Minister and whatever misgivings I had earlier about joining the Cabinet now grew to a firm conviction that I should resign which I did on the 2nd August.

Q: Did you meet the Prime Minister again?

A: Yes. A few days after I sent in my resignation I met the Prime Minister and he said, "Khanna Saab you are too good."

Q: What were the exact reasons for your resignation so soon after becoming Minister?

A: It's difficult to express (them). I felt uneasy. I thought that it might be misconstrued. I should not get myself aligned with any particular group in the present political atmosphere. As I told you earlier, I was in any case hesitant from before and after I found myself a centre of controversy, I just felt that I had to resign.

Q: Don't you think that the same logic applies to Justice Kacker who became Law Minister after you?

A: I wouldn't like to comment on that. It's his personal decision.

Q: Do you think it is unprincipled for a member of the judiciary to join politics?

A: Well, a sitting judge shouldn't dabble in politics but if the person has ceased to be in office, I don't see anything wrong. There have been a number of instances of former luminaries of the judiciary joining politics both in this country and abroad. Mr Chagla and Justice Hegde are good examples, and in the United States of America Justice Hughes actually ran for the Presidency, lost and then became Secretary of State. He later became Chief Justice, and was known as one of the finest Chief Justices of that country.

Q: Then if in principle you don't think there is anything wrong with an ex-judge becoming a minister, what are your reasons?

A: Some of the things that have been happening in the national scene recently would make one feel very unhappy. I just don't want to be aligned with any particular group. I am not saying that any particular group is responsible for what has been happening. Please don't get me wrong. I just don't want to raise any controversy.

Q: Were the Special Courts a factor in your resignation?

A: No, the question of Special Courts did not come up even once in my discussions with the Prime Minister. ■

The Government goes on forever

WHEN Morarji Desai eventually resigned as Prime Minister, many people expressed the spirited hope that the fad of prohibition would now be a thing of the past. Some members of the new Government also rekindled this hope. I wanted to keep it a secret, but now I want to share it with everybody: When we do start drinking publicly my toasts would invariably be to Indian Democracy.

The only thing which has emerged with honour out of the recent political crises is Indian Democracy. We have, haven't we, always wanted to put our own Indian stamp on everything that we have imported? We have succeeded in doing so. In this context I mean Indian Democracy.

As in the past, it has once again been given to the foreign Press to talk about this great phenomenon and congratulate us. Our Press got bogged down in the day-to-day coverage of the events and missed the long-term significance of the political developments. Our Press was busy moaning and lamenting and cursing our politicians. We have reached an all-time low, was the general refrain.

I don't agree. In my view we reached an all-time high. This was our finest hour. I don't have the politicians in mind, though they played their assigned and inevitable role. I don't praise, nor do I condemn them.

But I have the highest word of praise for our institutions which have stood the test of time. They did not let us down in this moment of supreme

crisis. And yet nobody has thought it fit to write about them. Since our institutions are young we haven't yet established that healthy respect for them. And when we talk of democracy we conjure up images of politicians in our minds. Democracy is not to be equated with politicians, even though the thought has been expressed that our democracy is of the politicians, by the politicians and for the politicians. Almost every system would prefer to call itself democratic. Even Idi Amin of Uganda was proud of his democracy. Dictators and fascists swear by democracy.

But we must notice the essential difference. Ours is a parliamentary system of government, so it is a parliamentary democracy. Here, it isn't the politicians, but the system, the institutions, which are supreme.

When the high drama of the politics was being staged in Delhi, almost endlessly, the normal life of the people didn't come to an end. Our Government offices were functioning normally—well, normally they are slow anyway—and people were getting their day-to-day work done. Except for three or four days when water was not flowing in the taps, essential services were running to the normal schedule. I said normal because it is normal for electric supply to be erratic. The trains were running, and so were the planes—somebody remarked to me that the Indian Airlines services were more dependable during the political crisis. The shops were open and people were

getting their grains and cereals and fruits and vegetables. The hawkers were continuing with their daily rounds. Everything seemed normal, except the behaviour of the politicians.

Again, three cheers for Indian Democracy. Our institutions have survived the stresses and strains imposed upon them by the politicians who, let us not forget, are a built-in and most vital part of the total system as we are practising it. This is the kind of democracy we wanted and have now firmly embedded in our native soil.

Some of the foreigners in India who watched the drama by the minute, blow by blow, wondered how it could all go on for so long, without any intervention. Some of our own people wondered too. They asked: "What is the Army doing?" They thought the Army would, or should have normally intervened and taken over. Maybe in other countries where democracy is cast in a different mould, not here. We have our basic strength which is our institutions. We have nurtured them all these years, despite the inevitably wayward doings of our politicians. In the situation that prevailed if the Army had struck we would have gone back to where we started—thirty-two years ago. There would have been no difference between us and the myriad tin-pot dictatorships.

We should thank our nation's stars, not the politicians, since they were mere instruments in it, for all that has happened. It has been a blessing in disguise. We subjected our systems to severe strains and came out triumphantly. The strains were such that the outside world thought they would strangle our young democracy. Some of them had perhaps written the obituary.

The youth of our democracy is one of our great advantages, which is also why many countries in the world are jealous of us. We have acquired new experiences in the last two to three years which took other countries centuries to get. We have matured considerably in this short span of time. We have built up new conventions, for they are the very essence of a parliamentary democracy. The British took centuries to build such conventions.

How long can we go on quoting from May's *Parliamentary Practice* when we are suddenly confronted with a political crisis? We must have our own native solutions to our problems. This is precisely what we have been busy doing in the recent past. Destiny has been kind to us. Our people were getting restless and losing faith in the system. Then, mercifully, came all the machinations of the politicians, menacingly wanting to tear everything apart.

But the patient, Indian Democracy, not only survived and lived, but started throbbing vigorously again. In the process, it also acquired roots among the ordinary people which it didn't have before. Cheers again to its vigour, long life and prosperity.

AJIT S. GOPAL



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Bitter dowry

Young brides are being burnt because their fathers have not been able to pay sufficient dowries. MANDIRA PURIE reports on the evils of the system.

MADAN Lal Bedi, Section Officer in the Delhi Milk Scheme had grand plans for his doctored daughter, Kanchen. With the help of the *Hindustan Times* matrimonial column, Jitendra Chopra, 27, and Kanchen, 24, were married on February 28, 1978. Kanchen bore him a child, brought home Rs 780 per month as a stenographer in the Union Public Service Commission and stoically accepted his beatings. On June 28, 1979, she died of severe burns.

Kanchen's was just one more name added to the long list of innocent young girls who have been victims of the characteristic Indian greed for more dowry. The avaricious attitude of the majority of Indian society which does not hesitate to take another human life for some more goodies—namely scooters, refrigerators and television sets—reflects the degenerated system of values that has taken over.

In spite of Kanchen pleading before her parents that she could not bear to live another minute in her husband's house in Patel Nagar, Delhi, she could not be saved. On June 27, Jitendra forced his wife Kanchen to return home, as he promised to make amends. Kanchen's brother Sunil, was slightly apprehensive as tempers were soaring high, so he decided to accompany them home. As they entered their Patel Nagar house, Sunil says that Jitendra began assaulting Kanchen. Worried about his sister's safety, Sunil then proceeded to the Patel Nagar police station where Chander Badan Singh, SHO, refused to make a diary. An hour and half later, Kanchen's parents were informed that she had been admitted into the Emergency ward in Ram Manohar Lohia hospital with severe burns. She died at 7.30 p.m. on June 28 while her husband sipped tea in the hallway, unperturbed. None of the in-laws accompanied Kanchen's charred remains to the cremation ground.

At first, the case was registered as suicide but, at Mr Bedi's insistence it was changed to murder, the SHO was transferred and the case handed over to the Special Cell under Inspector Om Dutt. Bedi mumbled tearfully: "Our customs are such that it is not proper for a girl to leave her husband's home. We kept hoping she would settle down...The SHO even went so far as to insist that the



Kanchen Chopra (nee Bedi)

Chopra family was innocent. They must have bribed him."

This is the plight of the few fathers of victims who have had the courage to register a complaint. Recently, the ex-Home Minister, H. M. Patel, said in the Lok Sabha that only 9 out of 99 cases registered in a particular area could be substantiated due to lack of evidence. There being no category of dowry deaths, most of the cases are usually lumped together with suicides and accidental deaths. A glance at two of the FIRs listed in one of the police memos sent to the Home Ministry in response to the various

queries raised in Parliament explains the situation to some extent.

—Case FIR No. 400 dated 28.4.77 u/s 302 IPC P.S. Gundhi Nagar, Delhi.

The above mentioned case was registered on the complaint of Shri Puran Lal that his daughter Smt. Laxmi Guddo was murdered by her husband and her in-laws because he could not pay the required amount of dowry. During investigation these allegations could not be substantiated and it was found to be a case of suicide. The case was finally cancelled.

—Case FIR No. 196 dated 19.5.77 u/s 302 IPC P.S. Najafgarh.

In this case Shri Suraj Bhan reported that his sister Rajbala was murdered by her in-laws because their demand for Rs 40,000 as dowry could not be met by him. During investigations it was established that the deceased had committed suicide on 19.5.77 and accordingly the case was sent as untraced.

"Since dowry is not a cognizable offence, it is impossible to penalize everyone for being responsible for the girl's suicide," Kiran Bedi, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Delhi, said, "It is altogether a hopeless situation. Even after the Bill is amended, it will be often impossible to prove the wife-burning case as murder, unless the wife issues a statement in her dying declaration to that effect, or we have first hand witnesses to the event." According to Kiran Bedi there was so much ignorance in the minds of the people that they kept blaming the police. "The police cannot do anything, unless they have enough evidence," she said. As to how she felt the problem could be dealt with, Kiran Bedi emphatically declared: "These women's organisations should deal with the problem at the root level. They should go from house to house and bring about social awareness instead of being such busy-bodies."

The Anti Dowry Act of 1961, has so many loopholes in it that it may as well be non-existent, said Lotika Sarkar, well-known professor of law and member of the Committee on the Status of Women. "It reflects the feeling of the society to that offence. The shameful part is that in 1955-56 during Parliamentary debates on the Hindu Marriage Act and Hindu Succession Act, women's organisations played a key role. They were constantly referred to as a force to reckon with. Now, leave alone working together, I would be happy if the so-called socially committed women's organisations did any work at all."

THE Committee on the Status of Women finally submitted its report to the Government in 1975. But, when they first started their research, dowry was the last thing on their minds. In fact they do not even have all-India statistics as their

questionnaire laid greater stress on other issues like family planning, adult education and work situations for women. Now, however, it is at their instance that the Act is being amended. The Report said: "We are compelled to record our finding that the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 passed with the ostensible purpose of curbing this evil, if not of eradicating it, has signally failed to achieve its purpose. In spite of the rapid growth of this practice, there are no cases registered under this Act."

Before finalizing the provision of the proposed amending Bill, the Government has ascertained the views of the State Governments and obtained their concurrence. The Indian Council for Social Science Research has been asked to study the problem by investigating the alleged murders as well as assess the extent to which the practice prevails. The State Governments have also been asked to identify organisations campaigning against dowry so that the Centre can assist them.

The punishment for violating the 1961 Dowry Act is a fine of Rs 5,000 and six months' imprisonment. Now, the punishment, sources believe, will be increased to two years' rigorous imprisonment. Nirmala Buch, joint secretary in the Ministry of Social Welfare in charge of Women Affairs, said the new Bill will also seek to check the display of gifts as well as ostentatious marriages. The Committee of Women has also recommended that there should be a limit of Rs 500 on gifts for the bridegroom and his parents, and that the gifts for the bride should not exceed a



Jitendra Chopra

prescribed amount. The Bill will also provide for summary trials, which requires that the case be completed within two months.

Lieutenant Governor D. R Kohli has had Special Cells set up in Delhi Police that will deal exclusively with suspected dowry murders to expedite the investigation. "The law itself is not enough," said Mr Kohli, "but it must be exercised to its full extent in cases of this nature." Currently the cases of suspected dowry deaths are treated along with other cases and since cognizable offences get priority, the staff of the police station cannot give dowry deaths their immediate time and attention. The officials in the Special Cells will work closely with lawyers and social workers to achieve a better understanding of the situation. The Committee of Women has also suggested the setting up of family courts like in Japan, where matrimonial disputes could be sorted out in an informal atmosphere.

An obvious assumption is that the educated sections of society have greater social awareness and therefore do not believe in the practice of dowry. This assumption is a total fallacy. The higher the education of the bridegroom, the higher the demand of dowry. The price tags run somewhat like this—Rs 1,00,000 or over for an IAS and IPS officer in addition to a car, refrigerator and television set, etc. Those employed in gazetted posts in the State Service and medical and engineering students expect up to Rs 75,000. Employed engineers and doctors are known to ask for anything between Rs 50,000 and Rs 1,00,000 in addition to a car and television set. The Government inserted a new clause in the Civil Service (Conduct) Rules, 1964, declaring that any Central Government employee found taking or giving dowry would be subject to disciplinary action.

Surveys conducted so far have revealed that the dowry problem is most acute in Punjab, Haryana and Delhi. According to police reports,

in 1975, 300 women were burnt to death in Delhi—almost a woman every day. In 1978 there were 200 such cases. According to Subhadra Butalia of the Sree Sangharsh Samiti, of these 200 cases registered only 9 could be substantiated. In Punjab, between 1974 and 1978, 61 married women were driven to suicide or murdered due to their inability to deliver an adequate dowry. Of these 35 were murders and 26 suicides. In the South, the offer and acceptance of dowry is fairly common in Tamil Nadu but not in Kerala. In the Saurashtra region of Gujarat dowry is a fairly common matrimonial practice.

The amendment of the Bill is a good beginning, but most women actively involved in combating the problem said the experience of the Sharda Act, which prescribed a minimum age for the marriage of girls should do away with any illusions over the effectiveness of what is stamped on legal paper. Reality stands in "burning" contrast to the law. Unless there is an immediate, overall change in the value systems in our society it is unlikely that an amendment in the dowry Bill will make any real difference. Mothers-in-law and husbands will continue to burn, poison, drown and hang the brides without batting an eyelid, unless the cases can be substantiated and the guilty persons convicted. Said Subhadra Butalia vehemently: "We will take the battle to the streets and lynch and kill the people if that is the only way to teach them a lesson. They cannot keep getting away with murders."

Statewise distribution of suicides in 1974

	Total	Women	Men
West Bengal	8,904	4,369	4,535
Madras	5,407	1,809	3,598
Delhi	164	71	93
Pondicherry	260	120	140
Bangalore	483	169	314
Kanpur	89	63	26
Hyderabad	227	114	113
Bombay	144	53	91
Calcutta (Metropolitan area)	37	15	22

Total : 46,008 suicides 18,217 females
27,791 males

Reason for death	Male	Female
1. Dread of disease	4,459	2,148
2. Inlaw problems	1,808	2,140
3. Love Affairs	1,348	1,199
4. Spouse problems	950	1,453
5. Poverty	1,234	466

Means of Suicide	Male	Female
Poison	7,281	5,429
Fire	1,039	1,725
Railway line	1,928	846
Drowning	3,861	4,091
Hanging	5,913	2,517

Statewise distribution of suicides in 1976

	Total	Women	Men
West Bengal	7,665	3,746	3,919
Madras	4,822	1,942	2,880
Delhi	240	105	135
Pondicherry	228	85	143
Bangalore	323	139	184
Kanpur	39	20	19
Hyderabad	103	48	55
Bombay	209	86	123
Calcutta (Metropolitan area)	44	17	27

Total 41,415 female 17,375 male
24,042

Reason for death 1976

	Male	Female
Inlaw problems	1,609	2,157
Dread of disease	4,684	3,405
Fight with Spouse	1,035	1,553
Poverty	1,033	495
Love Affairs	1,130	1,099

Means of suicide

	Male	Female
1. Hanging	5,135	2,566
2. Drowning	3,854	3,866
3. Poison	6,811	5,662
4. Fire	1,084	1,719
5. Railways	2,007	563

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Sideshow of Vietnam War **Cambodia's nightmare**



Few modern statesmen have achieved the worldly success of Dr Henry Kissinger. First as Nixon's National Security Adviser, then as his Secretary of State, Kissinger—shuttling between crises, conjuring solutions where others found deadlock—became a media superstar. ('Power', he said, 'is an aphrodisiac'.) His reputation, and the glamour of his Nobel Peace Prize, survived Nixon's ruin, and Kissinger appears as one of the West's prima oracles, expounding to reverent interviewers his thesis that diplomacy flourishes through secrecy, ruthlessness and the subordination of means to ends. The chorus of his admirers drowns those asserting that Kissinger's 'solutions'—in Cyprus, Southern Africa, the Middle East, Indo-China—have disintegrated, often bloodily, as rapidly as they were assembled.

Now a young English reporter, WILLIAM SHAWCROSS, has tackled the Kissinger legend head-on, in a remarkable book called *Sideshow*, which has produced a nation-wide impact in America. Using records unearthed by the Freedom of Information Act, Shawcross anatomises the policy which Kissinger and his master Nixon imposed on Cambodia—'sideshow' was their own contemptuous label for the nation which they visited with the most destructive bombardment in the history of aerial warfare. Having built their policy upon the fantasy that a mortal blow might be dealt to Vietnam by attacking Cambodia, Nixon and Kissinger usurped to themselves the war-making powers which the US Constitution reserves to Congress—thus covertly extending a war which they claimed in public to be ending. To keep their gigantic bombing campaign secret, they so far subverted the command-structure of the USAF that (in one officer's words) anyone who 'could have punched the right button into the right spot... could have had us bombing China'. Overall, Shawcross depicts the world's most powerful democracy in the temporary grip of men to whom neither legal nor moral restraints were meaningful, and shows how the consuming scandal of Watergate grew from the Cambodian 'sideshow': Cambodia, he says, 'was not a mistake; was a crime.'

America's society, of course, recovered. Cambodia's did not. Shawcross shows how Nixon and Kissinger's violation of Cambodian neutrality produced the nightmare conditions for the emergence of the Khmer Rouge. *Sideshow* is a long, heavily-documented book—in the judgement of General James M. Gavin it is 'the first truly significant book about our Vietnam involvement'—and almost impossible to serialise in the conventional manner. Here, in the first of two articles based on Shawcross's work.



UPI

AT THE beginning of the Seventies, Cambodia under Prince Sihanouk was a relatively peaceful part of a troubled world. 'Relatively' is the important term: Shawcross does not idealise the society which has been destroyed. It was not a democracy: Sihanouk presided feudally over Cambodia from 1941 to 1970, as King, Chief of State, Prince, Prime Minister, head of the main political movement, jazz-band leader, magazine editor, film director and gambling concessionaire, attempting to unite in his rule the unfamiliar concepts of Buddhism, socialism and democracy. He would not tolerate criticism or dissent, and he treated his aides as flunkies. His speech was high-pitched and idiosyncratic, and his statements were frequently ambiguous.

At the same time he had enormous political skill, charm, tenacity and intelligence. He exploited all these qualities in the interests of one overriding cause — the preservation of Cambodia's peace and its independence from further encroachments by its neighbours. Cambodia is roughly the size of England and Wales, and in Sihanouk's time it supported its five million people in, by Asian standards, abundance. But one of the Prince's qualities was to be aware of the fragility of Cambodia's poise. The visitor's impression true as far as it went, was of fecundity and greenness, of chocolate-brown waterways and buffalo steaming gently in the heat, with small boys or large white birds perched on their backs. But in its raw state, the area is hostile: unless the intricate irrigation works are preserved, seasonally receding waters leave stagnant swamps as well as fertilised soil, and no adequate crop can be produced for the population. Just as the balance of land and water is delicate, Cambodia's national existence depends on preserving a space between the ambitions of the greater nations of South-East Asia, especially the Vietnamese and the Thais. And always, under the surface lay the fierce traditions of the Cambodians' own history, going back to the brilliant but violent civilisation of Angkor.

Sihanouk, having won independence from the French, was determined to maintain a policy of 'extreme neutrality', exploiting in the name of Cambodian survival the ambitions and the weaknesses of his more powerful neighbours, and of their still more powerful Soviet Chinese and American backers. The ambition displeased Richard Nixon as early as 1953, when he visited Indo China as Vice-President. In 1959, a Pentagon report entitled *Psychological Operations: Cambodia* deplored the condition of the Cambodian people. They could not be easily panicked, their horizons were limited to village pagoda and forest, they respected their Government, they knew of no other countries, they feared ghosts and, in short "they cannot be counted on to act in any positive way for the benefit of US aims and policies".

AMERICAN impatience with Sihanouk grew throughout the Sixties, as America became more deeply embroiled in the Vietnam war. The North Vietnamese made use of Cambodia's eastern territories to send supplies to the battle in South Vietnam, and they made for themselves 'sanctuaries' inside the Cambodian border, into which they could flee from American firepower. Sihanouk had neither the means, nor in reality the desire, to prevent these incursions, and he chose to turn a blind eye to them. Gradually, American military commanders persuaded themselves that there must be a great Vietnamese headquarters—'COSVN'—just across the border in Cambodia, and if only they could unleash their power against it, their difficulties would be over.

But under Lyndon Johnson, even after the dreadful provocation of the 1968 Tet offensive, the matter did not go beyond impatience. Chester Bowles, US Ambassador to India, had certainly told Sihanouk that he must expect occasional American attacks upon Vietnamese troops in Cambodia. But the war was not to be widened through any systematic assault on Cambodian neutrality.

Then, on February 9, 1969, just one month after Richard Nixon's inauguration, General Creighton Abrams cabled to Washington from Vietnam that 'recent information, developed from photo reconnaissance... gives us hard intelligence on COSVN HQ facilities in Base Area 353', an area of 'thick canopy jungle' straddling the



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border north of Tay Ninh City. He requested permission to attack it, and in Washington the request was passed to Henry Kissinger, the new President's newly appointed National Security Adviser.

Shawcross reminds us that in those days Kissinger's one-time academic colleagues from Harvard were still slightly surprised that he had made it to the White House. He had, after all, publicly stated that Nixon was 'unfit to be President'. However, *Sideshow* also reminds us, with evidence drawn from a rather later period, that Kissinger's attitudes to the great have always been flexible. In March 1976 the retired Nixon wrote a report for President Ford on a trip he made to China, and a tape exists of Kissinger discussing it with his old boss. 'Mr President', said Kissinger, 'I wanted you to know I have read the report and find it very fascinating... I thought you were very, very clever.'

Nixon recounted what he had told the Chinese about Taiwan.

'I thought you are very, very good on this', Kissinger replied. And when Nixon mentioned discussions on SALT, Kissinger said: 'I thought that was very clever.'

Loyalty to an old boss fallen on hard times? Shortly afterwards, the same leaked tape records Kissinger talking to Nelson Rockefeller: '... I have read the Nixon report on his trip now. He is such an egomaniac. All he wrote was—'

—his memoirs', interjected Rockefeller.

'Just what he said. Nothing what the Chinese said.. A fascinating account of himself'

'I love it...', responded Rockefeller, the new Vice President—Kissinger's new boss.

The incident illustrates Shawcross' contention that Kissinger rose in large part through a capacity to feed Richard Nixon's almost insatiable desire for flattery—though he relieved his feelings in private by describing Nixon as a 'meatball mind'.

Kissinger appreciated that Nixon enjoyed foreign affairs: unlike domestic policy, which involved difficult decision-making and regular frustration of the Presidential will, it manifested itself as rambling chat sessions, in which the intellectual Kissinger deferred to every Nixon apothegm. And Kissinger's most considerable bureaucratic achievement was to modify Washington's decision-making structure so that in foreign policy the President's fiat could go virtually unchecked.

This was done by making the National Security Council (NSC) run by Kissinger himself, the sole channel by which policy-studies could be sent up to the President, and the sole channel by which decisions could be filtered down. Shawcross quotes an aide to whom Kissinger showed the complex paperwork of this system just before Nixon approved it: 'Whatever happened to the Secretary of State?'

The answer, of course, was that the post became unimportant until Kissinger subsumed it to himself. Equally, the scheme cut out the Secretary of Defence and many other checks and balances.

So Kissinger's deference to Presidential authority was combined with an immense appetite for power of his own: it was also combined with a radically pessimistic, Manichean view of the world, in which initiative and energy was all on the side of the Soviets, because of their 'greater moral toughness... greater readiness to run risks both physical and moral.' The Russians were 'iron-nerved', they analysed events with a ruthless objectivity, they conceptualised the world more subtly than Western politicians. American methods of policy-making were inadequate to confront them, for all the military forces America might possess.

The problem lay in the fact that there were restraints on the use of all this seemingly endless force, a frustration expressed under the Johnson administration by another academic-turned-statesman, Walt Rostow: 'We are the greatest power in the world—if we behave like it.' To Nixon and Kissinger 'behaving like it' meant disposing of restraint: in the President's words 'the real possibility of irrational US action is essential to the US/Soviet relationship.' Threat, he told H.R. (Bob) Haldeman, was the key: '...I call it the Madman Theory. Bob, I want the North Vietnamese to believe I've reached the point where I might do anything to stop the



Prince Sihanouk

war. We'll just slip the word to them that 'for God's sake, you know, Nixon is obsessed about Communism. We can't restrain him when he's angry—and he has his hand on the nuclear button'—and Ho Chi Minh himself will be in Paris in two days begging for peace. A problem with this theory, Shawcross observes, is that reputations for irrationality have to be established, and this can only be done by irrational actions. Unluckily for Cambodia General Abrams' bombing proposal provided an excellent opportunity to put the Madman Theory into practice.

A MERICAN commanders had proposed the bombing of the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong 'sanctuaries' when they first began to grow up inside Cambodia. But the Pentagon under Lyndon Johnson replied that 'in the light of the prevailing political and diplomatic environment, the President did not approve the operation for execution...' Johnson thought any military advantage would be irrelevant beside the domestic upheaval it would cause. He had, of course, obtained his own authority for military operations in Indo-China by presenting Congress with some rather dubious assertions about North Vietnamese aggression (the 'Tonkin Gulf' incident). But the idea of undertaking an act of war against a neutral country in total secrecy—as Nixon and Kissinger were to do—did not occur to him.

Some of Shawcross' most striking passages concern this weird military adventure. The aircraft used, eight-engined B-52s carrying 30 tons of bombs apiece, were for the most part based at Guam, from which they regularly flew 'Arclight' strikes against targets in Vietnam. Attacking at night, without opposition, they bombed 'blind' on co-ordinates provided by ground radar controllers, who counted down each bombardier to the target with the words 'Five-four-three-two-one-back!' On March 17, 1969, after General Abrams had received from Washington the message 'Execute Operation Breakfast', the pilots and navigators of a proportion of the crews about to take off from Guam were taken aside and warned that over Vietnam they would be diverted by special and unfamiliar co-ordinates. These they were not to discuss with anyone else.

As night fell over Indo-China, day was beginning in Washington. In his basement office in the White House, Kissinger was talking with Morton Halperin, a young political scientist who had helped him devise the National Security Council scheme. Colonel Alexander Haig, entered and handed Kissinger a paper. Kissinger smiled, turned to Halperin and said that the US had bombed a base in Cambodia and the first bombdamaged assessment showed that the attack had set off many secondary explosions. Halperin, who knew nothing of BREAKFAST or of the

scale of the whole MENU campaign which was beginning that day, replied non-committally. Scarcely anyone knew about the attack, said Kissinger. No one else must know.

It was, of course, fantastical to suppose that even in rural Asia physical destruction on the Archlight scale could be accomplished in secrecy—and by the forces of a democratic society. Shortly after the raids began, the pilot of a Forward Air Control (FAC) plane was sitting out in the evening near An Loc, a few miles from the Cambodian border. 'We saw beacons going overhead to the West', said Captain Gerald Greven later. 'We saw the flames in the distance and the trembling of the ground from what appeared to be B-52 strikes'. He was surprised because he knew no targets in that area. Next day he flew to find the craters, and 'to my astonishment they were on the West side of the river separating the borders of South Vietnam and Cambodia'. Impressed by the scale of destruction, Greven inquired with an support headquarters, and was told 'with a slight smile, that obviously my 'maps were in error' (Eventually Greven decided to inform Congress of his observation).

AFTER secrecy was blown, Nixon and Kissinger claimed that the areas bombed were not known to have any population except Vietnamese troops. Shawcross proves the untruth of this by citing a memorandum from the Joint Chiefs of Staff in which all the MENU areas were described.

BREAKFAST itself contained 13 villages within its 25 square kilometres, and had an estimated population of 1,640 Cambodians. LUNCH in wild country near the Laotian border, contained perhaps 198 Cambodians. SNACK contained one village and about 383 Cambodians. DINNER 770, and DESSERT 120. The Joint Chiefs claimed that Cambodian casualties would be 'minimal', but acknowledged that such calculations were 'tenuous at best' and that 'some Cambodian casualties would be sustained' — all the more so because of the effect of surprise, and the absence of Vietnamese-style shelters among a population with no experience of being bombed.

The Chiefs deployed some scruples; base areas 704,

354 and 707, which had sizable concentrations of Cambodian civil or military population (sizable perhaps being more than BREAKFAST's 1,600) weren't recommended for attack. Such hesitancy was not shared in the White House which listed Area 704 as SUPPER, and ordered in all 247 bombing missions against it.

The Secretary of the Air Force was not informed of the raids, nor was the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, nor the Cambodian desk officers on Creighton Abrams' intelligence staff, nor the Office of Strategic Research and Analysis. No Congressional Committees were informed that the President was carrying war into a third country whose borders he had promised publicly to respect (although some sympathetic Congressmen were privately informed). An elaborate system of dual reporting was required to maintain this secrecy.

Both ground radar controllers in Vietnam, and B-52 aircrew operating from Guam, Okinawa or Thailand had to fill in poststrike reports for 'normal' raids against Vietnamese targets. These were filed with the American HQ in Saigon, from which they entered the Pentagon's computers as part of the official history of the war. But MENU raids followed the original BREAKFAST procedure! Some pilots and navigators, having received the general briefing for Vietnamese targets, were warned to expect new co-ordinates just before the bomb-run (flight time would be only marginally different).

For much of 1969 Major Hal Knight was supervisor of the radar crews chiefly involved. Each afternoon before a MENU mission a plain manilla envelope arrived at his office on Bien Hoa airbase: inside would be a post-strike report form, with the co-ordinates already filled in. This he had to lock in his desk until giving the co-ordinates to his evening shift radar crews, who then ran them through computers to obtain the final count-down commands.

Bomb-run completed, each plane's radio operator—not briefed on the diversion—radioed his base to report mission accomplished. Base intelligence: equally ignorant, then entered the original South Vietnamese co-ordinates in the poststrike report. On landing, the

A My Lai survivor points to one of the six tombstones, the spot where the first helicopter landed in 1969.





US built A-37 Dragonfly jets drop bombs and napalm on suspected communist positions northwest of Saigon

crews were routinely debriefed and the pilots and navigators made no reference to the in-flight diversion. At Bien Hoa, Knight had to put into an incinerator every tape and paper used to plot the raid—waiting till daylight in case any scrap might go astray. He had then to call a Saigon number and tell the unidentified man answering the phone: 'The ball game is over'.

Normal poststrike reports were then filled in with the co-ordinates of Vietnamese cover targets, and the raid entered the records as having taken place in Vietnam. The bombing was not merely concealed: the official secret records showed that it had never happened. Knight did not know who had authorised the bombing, but he realised that fraudulent reporting undermined the whole discipline of Strategic Air Command. It was Knight who remarked that anyone who knew the right numbers could have launched an attack on China. Eventually, he decided to testify to Congress.

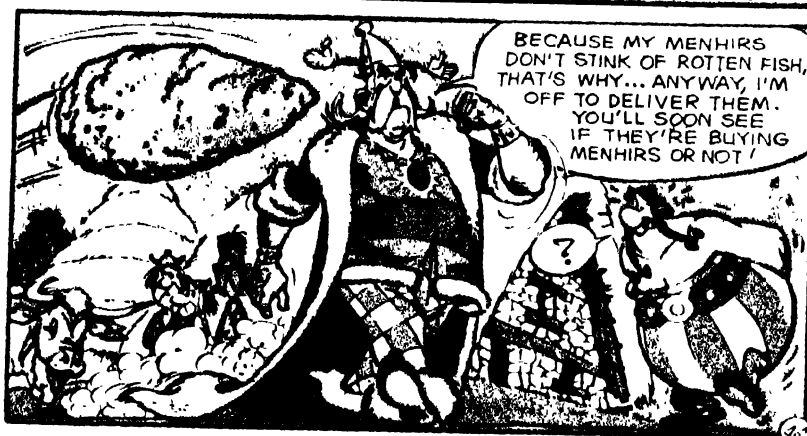
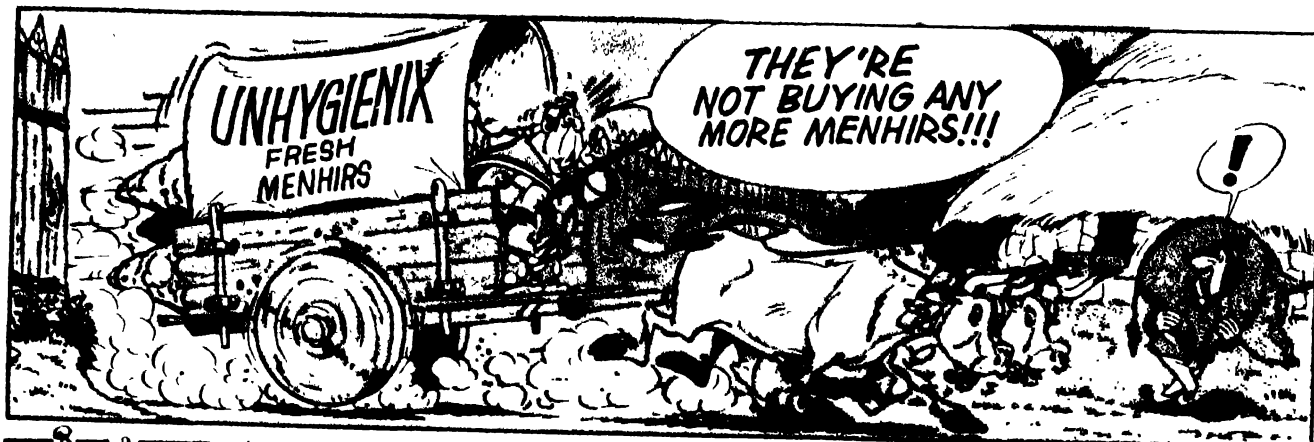
PRESUMABLY Kissinger and Nixon hoped that the MENU bombing would destroy 'COSVN' and bring the Vietnamese communists to their knees. It failed wholly to do so—there was, anyway, no such centralised headquarters as the Saigon command imagined—but what it did was to weaken fatally the neutralist balance which Sihanouk was anyway barely contriving to preserve. Bombing the sanctuaries must have killed many Cambodian civilians: it killed few of the seasoned Vietnamese soldiers but it caused them to move westward, deeper into Cambodia, 'thus bringing them', as General Abrams acknowledged, 'into increasingly serious conflict with the Cambodian authorities.' More and more reports of serious clashes between the Communists and Cambodian villagers and troops reached Phnom Penh. Sihanouk's precarious balance of right against left began to destabilise.

Kissinger and Nixon have suggested that ultra-secrecy was required because Sihanouk was party to Washington's two-track policy. Shawcross acknowledges that the ambiguities of the Prince's record make it impossible to take the denials entirely at face-value: but there is cor-

roboration for them, and none of the American evidence for complicity stands up (especially as Kissinger continued to deny the existence of MENU after Sihanouk was in exile, and required no further protection). To the alternative claim that false recording was due to 'over-zealous' junior officers, Shawcross quotes his own interview with General Brent Scowcroft, deputy to Kissinger at the NSC, who states that it was done on direct White House orders. The purpose, without doubt, was to conceal the extended war from the American people. And this initiated a destabilisation in Washington as well as in Phnom Penh.

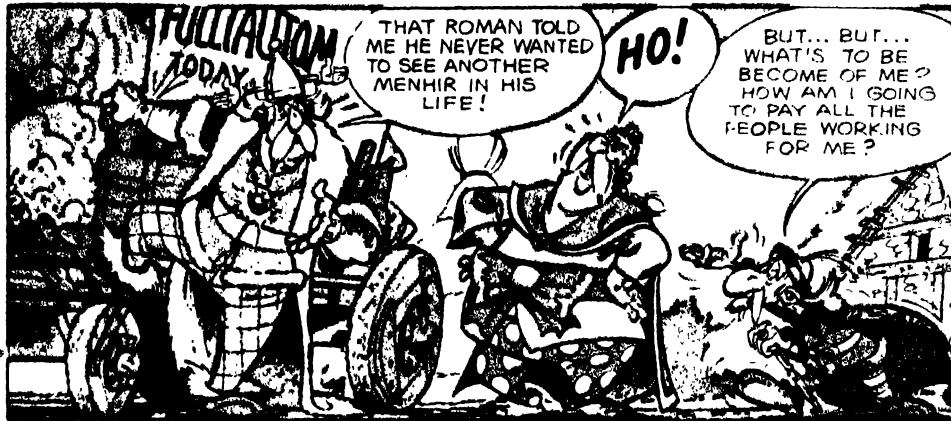
For of course news of such large-scale action did get out. On May 9, 1969 William Beecher wrote in the *New York Times* that American aircraft were bombing Cambodia. The story received little public attention, but caused panic in Nixon's circle. Melvin Laird, the Secretary of Defence—who had only reluctantly agreed to orders which deceived most of his colleagues—was hauled off a golf-course to the telephone. Nixon and Kissinger, calling from the summer White House in Key Biscayne, were accusing him of 'leaking'. Back in Key Biscayne, Kissinger also accused his own assistant, Morton Halperin: out of this hysteria grew the 'Plumbers', whose duty was to plug all possible leaks.

What Senator Sam Ervin later called 'Gestapo mentality' was in evidence from the first. On May 10, Kissinger sent Alexander Haig over to the FBI with names of four officials whose telephones were to be tapped. Three, including Halperin, were in his own NSC office. The fourth, Colonel Robert Pursley, USAF, was Melvin Laird's assistant: a brilliant officer, widely regarded as a future Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. Although he had made plain his opposition to MENU, his record suggested that he was a most unlikely security risk. But Laird relied closely on Pursley, and often called him at home for policy advice. Both men told Shawcross they believed the purpose of the taps was to help Kissinger to forestall political opposition from Laird.



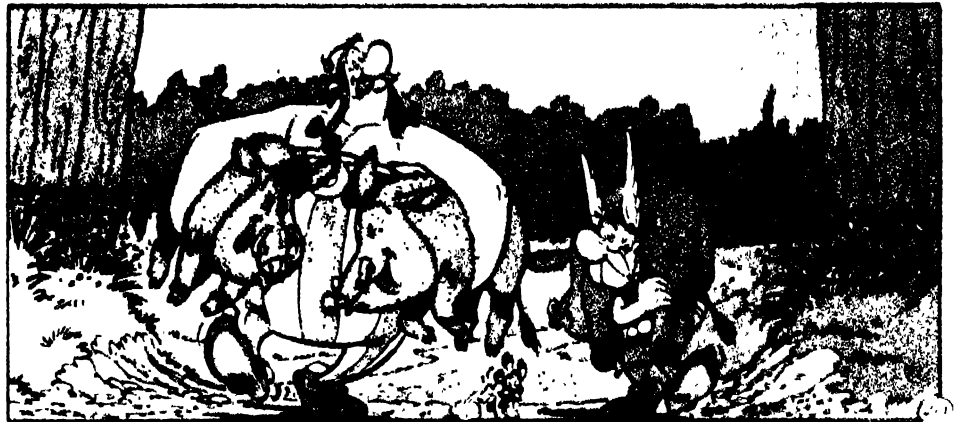
A LITTLE LATER...





HO!

BUT... BUT... WHAT'S TO BECOME OF ME? HOW AM I GOING TO PAY ALL THE PEOPLE WORKING FOR ME?



SO HE KNEW THE ROMANS WOULDN'T BE BUYING ANY MORE ... AND HE DIDN'T WARN US!

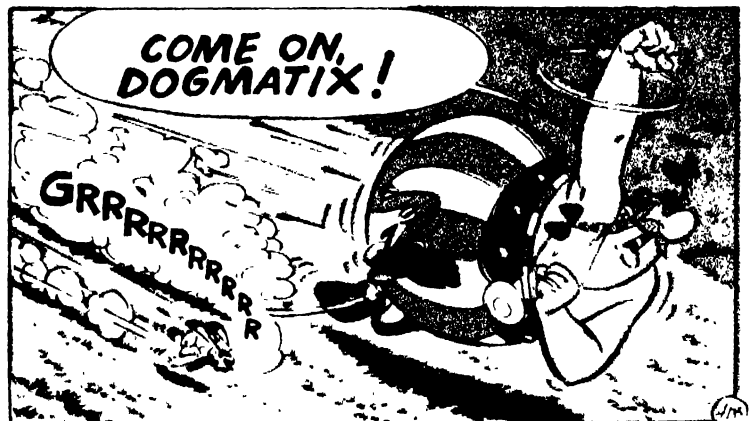
AND IT'S ALL HIS FAULT WE STARTED MAKING MENHIRS IN THE FIRST PLACE!



WE OUGHT TO TEACH HIM A LESSON!



WITH PLEASURE.



IN AUGUST 1969 Sihanouk, hardpressed, appointed a 'Gouvernement de Sauvetege', that was far to the right of the previous 'Gouvernement de la Derniere Chance'. His new Prime Minister was the former Minister of Defence, Lon Nol, whose mystical anti-communism had not in the past, inhibited him from making large profits out of the trade they brought through Cambodia. Now, however, he was becoming too much to tolerate. In *Side-show* Shawcross attempts a fresh evaluation of the evidence for and against American complicity in the coup of March 1970 which Lon Nol successfully mounted against Sihanouk.

By 1970, the arguments of US commanders in Vietnam had once more shifted to account for failure. The success once predicted for a 'surgical' B-52 strike against 'COSVN' was forgotten; now a ground invasion of Cambodia was required. But it was impossible without a degree of acquiescence from Phnom Penh and nobody imagined that would be forthcoming with Sihanouk in power. Subsequently, Melvin Laird's successor Elliot Richardson told a group of Congressmen in private that but for Sihanouk's overthrow invasion could not even have been 'considered'.

Certainly Washington had advance warning of what was going on. On March 12, the CIA received a report entitled *Indications of Possible Coup in Phnom Penh*. This stated correctly that Lon Nol and Sirik Matak were scheming against Sihanouk (who was in Paris) and organising anti-Vietnamese demonstrations. According to the former CIA agent Frank Snepp, American agents deliberately 'exacerbated the crisis by throwing up false information', persuading the Queen Mother to tell Sihanouk that he did not need to return, until any return appeared to be too late. Snepp says that throughout, US agencies were in close touch with both Lon Nol and Sirik Matak.

General William Rosson, deputy to Creighton Abrams in Saigon, confirmed to Shawcross that US commanders were informed several days in advance that a coup was

being planned, and that American support was solicited. Prom Thos, an opponent of Sihanouk's who became Minister of Industry under Lon Nol, said that whether Lon Nol had specific promises of US help before the coup is 'unimportant'. 'We all just knew that the United States would help us; there had been many stories of CIA approaches and offers before then.'

William Colby former Director of the CIA, said he knew of no 'specific assurances', but agrees they were unnecessary, because 'the obvious conclusion (for Lon Nol) was that he would be given United States support'. And as soon as Sihanouk was deposed, American recognition was conferred on Lon Nol and his co-conspirators.

Henry Kissinger refused to answer Shawcross' questions about this, or any other aspect of the Cambodian story. The nearest he has come to discussing the coup was at lunch with a group of European journalists in January 1977, when he said that the US had not been involved in Sihanouk's overthrow, 'at least, not at the top level'. Nobody pursued the qualified denial at the time.

As the bombing led to the coup, the coup led to invasion—and the spreading of destruction over the entire area of Cambodia. It was to be launched by a President who had, apparently, surrendered without reserve to the Madman Theory of politics. A good deal of his 'planning' was done in drinking sessions with the Florida real estate dealer Bebe Rebozo. One evening when Kissinger came on to the phone with the latest progress report, the President seemed drunk. Kissinger's notetaker recorded Nixon saying: 'Wait a minute—Bebe has something to say to you'. Rebozo came on the line: 'The President wants you to know if this doesn't work, Henry, it's your ass.' 'Ain't that right, Bebe?' slurred Nixon. But Nixon was wrong again, the invasion would be another bloody failure; which Kissinger would survive triumphantly.

After the secret bombing of Cambodia had destabilised Prince Sihanouk's regime, he was overthrown by Lon Nol in a coup which the Nixon Administration welcomed.

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unrecognised restraint was missing in April 1970. Decision-making was already so centralised in the White House that it was not true, in Neustadt's phrase, that the President stood 'at the centre of a watchful circle with whose members he cannot help but consult.'

Throughout the month Nixon was visibly angered by the Senate's rejections of the two men he had nominated for the Supreme Court seat left vacant by the resignation of Abe Fortas. After his first choice, Clement Haynsworth, was thrown out, Nixon publicly demanded that his second, G. Harrold Carswell, be approved automatically. The Senate, however, found that Carswell had no legal qualification for the task and was a segregationist; he too was rejected. In his book *Six Crises*, Nixon had described how he had always tried to control his impulsive rages. This time he wheeled into the White House press room, stuttered out a denunciation of the sixty-one 'vicious', 'hypocritical', 'prejudiced' Senators who had thwarted the people's wishes as he had expressed them, and jerked out again leaving a slightly awkward press corps behind him.

His distress did not abate during the month, and it was apparent to members of the NSC staff that, whatever else he thought of Cambodia, Nixon also saw it as a chance of restoring his slighted authority. 'Those Senators think they can push me around, but I'll show them who's tough,' he warned Kissinger after a Congressional appeal for caution. 'The liberals are waiting to see Nixon let Cambodia go down the drain just the way



Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger

Eisenhower let Cuba go down the drain.' His belligerence was increased by another irrelevant factor. Early in April he had a private viewing of the film *Patton*, in which George C. Scott gives a compelling performance as the gifted, demagogic, lonely and naive World War II general, who defied conventional restraints and risked everything to achieve a success in the Battle of the Bulge. The film appealed to Nixon's self-image, and he had a second showing as the Cambodian crisis deepened. William Rogers was dismayed to hear the President repeatedly citing *Patton* in this context, almost as he quoted his triumph over Alger Hiss during domestic troubles.

By use of the Freedom of Information Act, Shawcross has uncovered intelligence appreciations which clearly were suppressed because they did not fit in with Nixon's preconceptions. On 21 April 1970, Nixon was briefed by Richard Helms, Director of the CIA.

HELMS informed the President and Kissinger that the North Vietnamese were threatening Phnom Penh itself; this, Kissinger later confided to reporters, made Lon Nol's appeal for arms very poignant. What Helms did not say, either then or at any stage during the next week, was that he had just received a National Intelligence Estimate on the Cambodian situation. Entitled *Stocktaking in Indochina. Longer Term Prospects* and drafted by the CIA's Indochina specialists, the paper dealt with the implications of Sihanouk's removal. It considered that if Hanoi could be denied Cambodian sanctuary its strategy would be endangered. But there was no way this could be enforced by Lon Nol.

It 'would require heavy and sustained bombing and large numbers of foot soldiers, who could be supplied only by the United States and South Vietnam. Such an expanded allied effort could seriously handicap the Communists and raise the cost to them of prosecuting the war, but, however successful, it probably would not prevent them from continuing the struggle in some form.'

Helms did not forward the memorandum to the White House. Instead, he sent it back to the Chairman of the CIA's National Estimates Board, Abbott Smith, with a handwritten note: 'Let's take a look at this on 1 June, and see if we would keep it or make certain revisions.' Helms has since declined to explain his coyness: one member of the Board testified later that the Director would have considered it 'most counterproductive' to send such a negative assessment to the White House, where he and the CIA had already encountered hostility. George Carver, Helms's Special Assistant for Vietnamisation Affairs, objected to this explanation of Helms's action, but inadvertently confirmed it. He testified that Helms thought it would be fatuous to send the estimate forward for although Helms knew Nixon was already planning an invasion, his analysts did not.

Carver's view is hardly coherent. The CIA Indo-Chinese experts' ignorance of Nixon's desire to send troops into the sanctuaries freed them of political pressures and would have tended to make their conclusions more, not less, relevant. But such was the fear of the White House within the CIA that Nixon was deprived of the considered opinion of the specialists that invasion was unwise. Whether it would have had any influence must remain a matter of speculation, but the incident is illustrative of the way in which inconvenient views were suppressed.

(By arrangement with the 'New Statesman')

To be concluded

KHAAS BAAT

NOW that Hema Malini is fast losing her grip on the No. 1 position in the Bombay film industry and producers have started looking around for new faces to fill the vacuum, the obvious choice, or so it is believed, is *Jaya Pradha* a girl from South India, new to the Hindi film world. Jaya has both the looks and the figure of Hema and given the right roles and the right direction, she might well occupy Hema's position.

WHY exactly is *Ranjeeta* encouraging rumours involving herself and her constant hero *Mithun Chakravorty*? Mithun on his part, has been doing all that he can to avoid her. Either he is being cautious or he is trying to turn the entire thing into a publicity stunt. Anyway, this is the first time that such a gimmick has been tried.

MORE than once during a meeting with *Sunil Dutt* you are made aware of the fact that he has an ego larger than himself. Nothing irritates him more than a comparison with another actor, especially if the other actor is praised for his bravado. Sunil considers bravado to be his monopoly. After all it was this that made him acquire a respectable image in the Hindi film world. Now he is referred to as Mr Sunil Dutt. In fact, early in his

career when he got involved with Nargis, who was then an established actress everyone thought that he would sponge off her. Now opinions have changed. People no longer call her Nargis, but Mrs Sunil Dutt. Added to this is the fact that he takes credit for the beautiful appearance of his daughter, Namrata, and he never mentions the contributions that Nargis has made towards the upbringing of their children. Sunil, of course, says that though he is providing all the encouragement and support needed for launching Sunjay's career, he will not break down if he does become a big star and decides to walk out on him.

IF ever there was a hero who has eaten his cake and had it too and continues to do so, it is *Shatrughan*.



being planned, and that American support was solicited. From Thus, an opponent of Sihanouk's who became Minister of Industry under Lon Nol, said that whether Lon Nol had specific promises of US help before the coup is 'unimportant'. 'We all just knew that the United States would help us; there had been many stories of CIA approaches and offers before then.'

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iful bathroom!

of designs and colours-
lative touch

Gracious homes not ex-

Sinha. In the affair both with Reena Roy and Poonam. Recently, it was rumoured, that he went off on a holiday to Hong Kong with Reena Roy. That, of course, means that Poonam was left in Bombay all by herself. This certainly contradicts the rumour that Shatru had parted company with Reena. Anyway, Reena is looking happier now.

NOW the second part of Leena Chadavarkar's life has begun. She is said to have defied her parents and walked out on them. Of course, she has a lovely flat in an exclusive locality and she could settle down there and lead her own life. But will Kishore Kumar, a constant visitor to her old flat follow her to her new residence? Or

will he offer the charge of his bungalow to Leena? Since both are very secretive by nature, no one may possibly get to know the answers.

WILL dear old *Prema Narayan* be the latest entry into the R.K. fold? If she will—and so much the better for her—with all the talent, looks and fair reputation that she has, it is high time she got going under a big banner (other than the usual Shakti Samanta films) to launch herself in a big way. My hunch is she might just go the way of long-lost Mumtaz if she is given, and takes, the right breaks. Coming back to the speculation about R. K. films, Dabboo seems to be taking a keen extra interest in her—so watch out!

besides other assets

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"I HAVEN'T seen anyone more beautiful than you", declared the villain after having taken a hard look at Jayanthi's derriere, and the audiences watching the film, *Devathai*, burst into sniggers. But to her credit, it must be recorded, that the ageing, buxom Jayanthi has done rather well as a sacrificing sister. But since *Devathai* is limping right from the day it was released one wonders if she can stage a comeback in Tamil films. She has a few Kannada and Telugu assignments but the Tamil market is more lucrative, and Jayanthi says she's prepared to play character roles, but they should not be mere guest appearances.

Jayanthi's career floundered when her relationship with filmmaker Peketi Sivaram turned sour, and they even began trading abuses



A FAT LOT OF SEX... is what draws crowds down South. Actresses Deepa (l.) and Y. Vijaya



in public. He had featured her in many successful films. Though there was a sort of rapprochement, Jayanthi felt a bit lost and continued drifting from one bad film to another.

PREMILA'S willingness to strip just shocks me: So what if her film, *Tamburatti* was a hit? (Well, Reena too stripped in it.) Again, some wolf-whistles were heard when she bared herself in

Agravam. Frankly, her bulging frame and flawed skin is, to put it mildly, quite disgusting. She ought to learn a few things from veteran Malayalam actress Sheela: much before Seema and Jayabharathy wriggled their vital statistics before the cameras, Sheela was the sex symbol in Kerala. But now she's extremely recalcitrant even to show her navel (rightly so). In two of her hit films *Yetta* and *Sarapancharam*, Sheela plays "sexy" roles—in the latter, she is shown writhing in sexual ecstasy with her lover, when her husband suffers a massive heart attack. And yet, in both films, Sheela didn't resort to baring her body.

MGR lost no time in rushing to Tuticorin to condole the relatives of 102 moviegoers who perished in the biggest cinema hall fire disaster: He was quick enough to announce generous relief measures and set up a one-man commission to probe the disaster.

Well done, but where was this concern when four years ago Tamil Nadu exhibitors stoutly opposed a Government fiat that all cinemas, particularly the make-shift ones, should have more fire extinguishers? The Tamil Nadu film industry has benefited a great deal after MGR became the Chief Minister. Or so it is said. Surely, the Chief Minister could have insisted on these basic precautions. Incidentally, two days after the Tuticorin accident, yet another cinema hall near Erode caught fire, killing one and injuring a dozen: The Chief Minister regretted that the South Indian Film Chamber of Commerce had not come forward with any assistance to the victims even three days after the gory incident. And two actors, Sivakumar and Sivaji Ganesan, rushed to offer a substantial donation. All these populist actions, like setting up a commission, etc., are alright, but can't MGR, who has spent most of his life in the industry, order the implementation of proper safety measures in cinemas throughout the state?

PIOUSJI

America's worried Hamlet

PORUS COOPER reports from Washington D.C. on President Carter's lonely bid to woo a tired electorate.

AS a political Hamlet, Jimmy Carter couldn't have played better the ten days preceding his television address to the nation on Sunday, July 15. The comings and goings of advisers at isolated Camp David in the Catoctin mountains; the swift surprise forays into the homes of Mr and Mrs Average American; the calculated dribbles of information that portrayed the President as pondering not just the opinion polls, but the fate almost of humanity as a whole. It was high drama that a modern-day Shakespeare would have been proud to snitch for a scenario.

Unfortunately for Jimmy Carter, the speech does not mark the happy ending, the victory of the righteous and the defeat of evil forces. The true denouement will come in next year's presidential election, and that makes for the real suspense of the Jimmy Carter story. Whether that ending is happy or sad for him depends to a large degree on what steps he takes to follow up on the sentiments he expressed in his speech to the nation.

He called for sacrifices from the American people and asked them to regain a spirit of confidence; he ask-

ed them to shun the mania to own things, rather than be something; he even asked them indirectly to repose again their faith in American institutions, a faith he acknowledged had been battered by political assassinations, a lost war and scandal. Altogether, he made a valiant effort to rally the people in a "war" — as he repeatedly put it — against dependence on foreign oil.

In many respects this was the same Jimmy Carter who told America: "Trust me", and was elected president. He repeated some of the themes of the low-keyed, softspoken campaign that carried him to success in 1976: His honesty, the decency of the American people, a rekindling of the people's faith in their political institutions.

But in many other respects, the President, as the speculation on his intentions during his sojourn at Camp David had indicated, figuratively and even literally raised his voice. This was not the Jimmy Carter who swallowed the ends of his sentences in his southern drawl, — "Be bold", is one of his favourite pieces of advice to his advisers, and both in what he said and how he said it, Carter

made bold. Visibly animated, he even spoke with some passion, an attribute he has been accused of lacking.

Personally, he did an unusual thing for a politician — he confessed his sins and weaknesses. He did it deftly by quoting critics. Nevertheless to his credit, he did it disarmingly and with humility. Only time will tell whether he has undergone a genuine relearning, or whether, as an analyst recently wrote, he wants others to be impressed by saying the right things much as a student eager to score points with a teacher. Politically, he announced some fairly ambitious objectives whose implementation will almost certainly cause distress to the vast majority of Americans accustomed to the affluent lifestyle.

His decision to peg oil imports at the level they were in 1977 and initiate measures to cut imports by half by 1990, is bound in time to push up oil prices to a level where they begin to hurt, but he has also promised to act to use the extra profits that will accrue to the oil companies to develop alternative energy sources in the country and to aid the poor.

The details of his plans, as he himself said, will be made in the next few weeks as he travels the country and speaks to smaller and specialised audiences. For one thing, it will be interesting to know how Carter arrived at the goals he set. He will of course hear objections to them, many of the dissenters being the same special interests he disdainfully referred to in his television address. He will also certainly discover the genuine limits to which America can tighten its belt without either the belt or its wearer giving way. The main risk is that he may have overreached himself, as he appears to have done in his campaign promise to have a balanced budget by 1981.

Most important, however, is the element of momentum. A speech may inspire and galvanize the people. But only sustained acts of leadership can move them in the chosen direction. The real test facing President Carter is the test of his political competence. In that context it was probably counterproductive for him to have again disparaged "Washington, D. C." as being out of step with the rest of the country. That attitude in the aftermath of the Nixon-Ford years certainly helped to get him elected, but in 1980 it is not his personality but his performance that is going to be judged. And for that he can hardly afford to write off the legislative-bureaucratic nerve-centre of the country.

If Carter expects the American people to resume their faith in their leaders, he hardly sets the right example by deriding them himself. The President has gained time. Now he has to go beyond the rhetoric. ■



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Burnt alive

The women and children got left behind

SUNDAY, July 29, '79 left an indelible scar on the face of the fast-growing 'pearl city' of Tuticorin, in Tamil Nadu. Unusually, the weather was very pleasant on that day; a sun diffused by the clouds and the caressing sea breeze over the town lent a special charm to the atmosphere. An atmosphere of serenity prevailed over the city. The day will be remembered for the fire which occurred in a touring cinema which killed many. While the men inside escaped almost unhurt, the women and children remained behind to be badly burnt. When official figures say that 77 bodies were removed from the burnt theatre and 31 died in the hospital, unofficial sources claimed that the number of deaths was more than 150 and about 300 were injured. Except for one male all those dead were women and children.

Lourdhammalpuram, a colony, is a couple of kilometres away from the Tuticorin taluk office near the seashore. It is a densely populated area — a majority of the people are from the low-income group, and a good percentage of them are in the lower rungs of the social ladder.

Sacrificing their pleasant siestas, the residents of this colony and those in the neighbourhood, mostly women with children, rushed to the only touring cinema house, 'Lakshmi Talkies', to see their favourite hero Sivaji Ganesan in action on the silver screen. The old Tamil hit



Carrying a dead child for burial

Paavamannippu (Forgiveness of sin) was being shown. As it was an old hit most of the audience were second-time viewers.

It was Sunday, and there was a big crowd. According to the theatre-owners, about 450 tickets were sold for the matinee show. The seating capacity of the theatre was 998, and

the licence is valid up to October 17, '79.

The audience inside the theatre for the fateful show was about 700, one of those who had witnessed the movie said. A majority of them were young people and children in the age group of one and a half years to sixteen years.

A few minutes after the intermission, by about 4.15 p.m., and ironically enough when the heroine Savithri tried to commit suicide in the story and Sivaji Ganesan appeared to save her on the screen, a reddish spark was noticed on the top portion of the screen at the side of the women's enclosure. The picture on the screen suddenly became hazy and coloured. Many clapped their hands applauding the colour show. (It is common to show these colour strips in the middle of a movie in touring theatres.) With renewed enthusiasm the audience leaned forward on their seats to have a better view of the movie. But the colour show soon proved to be something more menacing.

The entire screen burnt and fell down. The chemical contents on the screen helped the fire to spread. The fire spread to the thatched roof which proved to be a well-dried fuel for the raging flames. There were cries of alarm and the audience panicked. Both sides of the auditorium or the theatre were closed with bamboo-shutters, 'thattis', and even the small gaps were covered with tarpaulins to prevent the sunlight from getting in. The men succeeded in breaking open the shutters on their side and got out. Only a few of them were injured.

For the weaker sex however, the shutters were too strong. Dragging their children they rushed to the narrow exit which was fastened tightly with a cycle chain. As the women's enclosure was partitioned from the males' by a small parapet wall inside the theatre they could not scale it easily.

The fire spread to all the corners and besieged everyone inside the cinema house. Suddenly the entire burning thatched roof caved in causing a fiery burial to more than hundred women and children. The evening breeze outside helped the fire to spread and according to one Mrs Mary, a 45-year-old teacher in the R.C. Primary School, "everything was over in a few minutes." She is now in the Government Hospital in Tuticorin for her severe burns. In fact, she had preferred another movie but it was her friend who compelled her to see the ill-fated show. Tales of sorrow are heard from every household. Each family has lost some one or the other. In some cases four or five family members have been burnt or are dead.

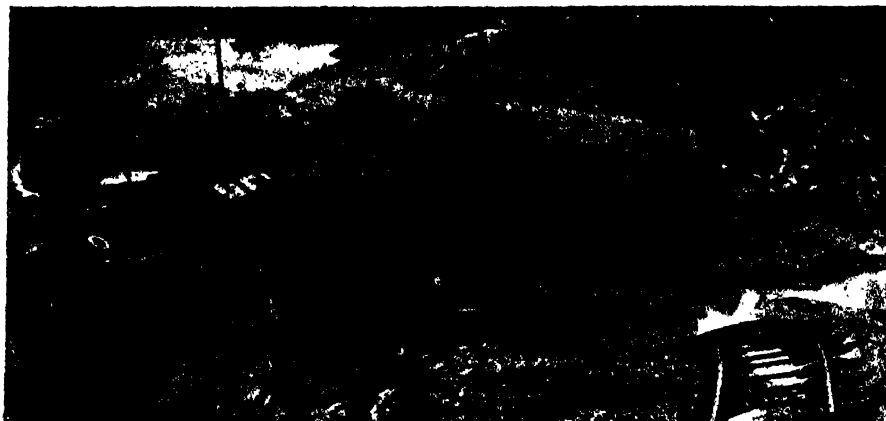
VASISHT, Tuticorin

A burnt victim in the Hospital



Deluge in the desert

The result was havoc



A goods train swept off the tracks

FOR three days the Thar desert was transformed into a watery grave, ironic though it might sound. About 30,000 sq km of parched land was inundated for the first time in recent memory from July 16 to 18 as a result of a cloudburst over the western part of the Aravallis. According to first estimates by Mr Kalyan Singh Kalvi, Rajasthan's Minister for Agriculture, 350 people lost their lives while 200,000 head of cattle had to be written off. About 40,000 homes were damaged beyond repair in roughly 5000 villages, leaving 300,000 people in the districts of Barmer, Pali, Jalore, Jodhpur and Nagpur of Rajasthan homeless.

Every bridge in these five districts was washed away by the gushing waters while railway bridges between Pali and Luni, Jalore and Samdari were also destroyed. Rail services in the area were completely disrupted, while those roads that were not under water were severely damaged. Power and electricity cables were destroyed and, to all practical purposes, these five districts were cut off from the rest of the State for a whole week.

Both the villagers and the administration were caught unawares by the rapidity with which the flood waters rose. So swift was the velocity of the water that the floods, which originated in the Aravallis, reached Pakistan in just two days time. Carcasses, both human and animal, were swept as far away as the Raan of Kutch and the Gulf of Kutch. The first showers of the season started on the evening of July 15 but by midnight the mild rain had turned into a torrential downpour which continued unabated for 12 hours and 364 mm of rain was recorded in that short span. On June 17 and 18, a further 202 mm and 180 mm, respectively, poured into the catchment areas of the rivers Luni, Jojri and Bandi. Pichar Dam on the Luni overflowed by a foot on the very first day of the floods.

Not one drop of rain fell on Pipar

city but the overflow from the Aravallis inundated the city on June 16. At 11 am that day an SOS was sent to Jodhpur but before help could arrive all the roads between Jodhpur and Pipar were completely cut off. By the evening, however, the outskirts of Jodhpur town were also under water as it was raining heavily there too. The situation was so bad that the river Luni, swollen by the flood waters, was 15 km wide at one part. The Jojri and Bandi rivers joined the Luni and engulfed whatever came in their way. In their wake they left the village of 'Satlana, where 400

houses were razed and six people lost their lives in the muddy torrent.

The industrial town of Balotra in Barmer district was also badly hit. Besides the low-lying areas of the town, the industrial area was submerged. About 250 industrial units, mostly engaged in textile dyeing and printing for the export market, were completely ruined. Salt sources at Pachpadra were also washed away. The 'Kyars' were filled with dead bodies instead of salt.

About 11 years ago the water-level of the River Luni had risen to a record level of 22 feet at Balotra. This time it rose to 29 feet, breaking its own record. More than 90 per cent of the houses in the villages which came in the way of the rivers were damaged. About 10,000 wells on either side of the River Luni are now under sand and have been rendered useless. In most of the flood-hit villages not a single head of cattle was found alive—50,000 animals met their end in and around Gandharva village. So offensive was the stench of rotting carcasses that it became almost impossible for relief parties to operate in the affected areas. These parties mobilised local residents and launched a massive operation of burying the carcasses. The area used to contribute 60,000 litres of milk per day to the dairies. It may now be impossible in the near future to restore the quantity. The Army jawans and Air Force people did a commendable job in providing help to the flood-stricken people. They rescued about 10,000 marooned people. They also air-dropped food and medicines.

MILAP CHAND DANDIA. Jaipur

Rickshaw-pullers unite!

They did



Saveendranath Manjari

ON July 30, more than 1,000 rickshaw-pullers of central Calcutta walked in procession from Park Street to Lalbazar, police headquarters to protest against police harassment. The leader of this procession was a most improbable figure: a diminutive, bespectacled commerce graduate of Delhi University, Atul Kumar Gupta (21), who has been plying an unlicensed rickshaw in the Free School Street area of Calcutta since early July. On the night of July 27, Atul had been arrested and beaten up inside the Park Street police station. His crime was that his rickshaw did not possess a licence.

A most surprising fact about the 60,000 rickshaws that ply in Calcutta is that nearly 55,000 of them are unlicensed! This was claimed by S. C. Datta, general secretary of the All Bengal Rickshaw Union, in a recent newspaper communication and corroborated by Lalbazar sources.

On the afternoon of July 28, Atul Gupta was released from jail and, literally overnight, became the "leader" of the rickshaw-pullers of central Calcutta. The demand of the rickshaw-pullers is that the Rs 2-3 daily bribe which they allegedly pay

to constables should stop. Since many of the rickshaw-pullers worked in shifts and because most of them plied unlicensed rickshaws they had no union to articulate their grievances.

"Every day, I invariably meet a few people who ask me if I pull this rickshaw because I want to marry a German girl," a smiling Atul said a few days earlier. We were passing along the glittering neonlit Park Street and, like a few other people, had stopped to stare twice at a young man wearing trousers, a full-sleeved shirt and chappals pulling a rickshaw.

A rickshaw-puller had remarked: "We hear he is educated and comes from a wealthy family. Must be slightly cracked in the head." A few people standing around on the pavement nodded their heads in assent. Speaking to Atul was initially a bit difficult. Different people had asked him the same questions too many times. But, as he gradually opened up he proved to be quite sane. "My story is like a Hindi film," said Atul. "In fact, the other day when I was plying my rickshaw along the street, a policeman stopped me and asked: 'Which film is being shot here?'"

With that statement Atul let out a hearty laugh. Quick-witted and speaking refined Hindi, he looks obviously "cultured". He smiles readily but every so often the deep pain that was inside him surfaced through. Said Atul: "I belong to a wealthy *bania* family who own jewellery shops in Connaught Place, New Delhi. In February this year, my father died abroad under unfortunate circumstances. Within less than three months, just after my B.Com (Honours) examination, my mother also expired. That broke my heart completely. I had never got along well with my only brother. He is a crooked man and indulges in smuggling. He drinks a lot, womanises. He wanted me to do some unethical work for him and I decided it was time for me to go away. I managed to save up some money. An old servant of our household, who had been dismissed by my brother for stealing, advised me to come to Calcutta. I trusted him. Calcutta seemed like a dream—I wanted to break away completely from my past.

"I came here with Rs 5,000 in my pocket. The servant met me at Howrah station. I was dirty and he asked me to have a wash in the upper-class waiting room. I was a naive fool. When I came out of the bathroom, I found that my money and clothes were gone! For three or four days, I roamed all over Calcutta like a mad man. Then, I decided that I had to do something—there was no going back.

"For seven days, I was piling garbage on Corporation lorries at Mechuaabazar for daily wages of Rs. 3. A rickshaw-puller of the locality was kind enough to put me up after a few days. I managed to persuade him to try and get me a rickshaw. But, he said it would be difficult. I searched all over—from Radhabazar

to Sealdah to Motijheel—and was disappointed by three different rickshaw-owners, one of whom, I heard, was the owner of 2,000 rickshaws. All the people laughed at me—they were convinced that I was mad. But I showed them I was not a weakling. After four days of running around I finally managed to convince a man to let me ply his rickshaw. That first day I got this rickshaw. I was really lucky. I earned Rs 14 and you can't imagine how great I felt."

But why did he ply his rickshaw wearing trousers and a shirt (with a pen tucked into his hip-pocket)? Atul replies: "It is to attract attention. What else could be the reason? I made this shirt in Calcutta for Rs 25; another was donated to me by a friend." A rickshaw-puller remarked: "He dresses well, gets paid more than us."

Atul retaliated at once: "No, I'm not a fraud. I may have taken eight annas extra from some passengers but never more. I'll tell you of an incident that happened one night. A well-dressed Anglo-Indian lady rode on my rickshaw and after she reached her destination, she offered me a note which was tightly rolled up. I thought it was one rupee, but to



Atul leading the rickshaw-pullers

my surprise, it turned out to be a hundred-rupee note! I returned the money to her at once but she refused to take it back saying she had no change. I was adamant and did not take the money. No sir, nobody can accuse me of being a fraud."

Questioned about his background, Atul said: "In Delhi, as part of our family's tradition, I used to attend RSS shakhas. Today, I have no politics, no caste, no religion. I have to work hard and then maybe I won't have to be a rickshaw-puller for long. I will do any kind of work. I have left my background for good. People call me all sorts of names—a lunatic, a pimp and even a police agent!"

On the night of July 27, Atul was arrested and taken to the Park Street police station. There they allegedly beat him up. The provocation was Atul's naivete. He had allegedly asked the police constables the reason for taking bribes from

poor rickshaw-pullers and prostitutes. On the afternoon of July 28, Atul was released after a case had been filed against him for plying an unlicensed rickshaw. He came out of the thana to find himself surrounded by hundreds of rickshaw-pullers. He was now their leader.

But Atul Gupta tried in vain. His efforts at organising a rickshaw-pullers' movement seems to have fizzled out. On July 29, he was approached by some rickshaw owners who told him in no uncertain terms that they would stop hiring out their rickshaws to all those who followed him. Atul Gupta, to his dismay, found that there were only a handful of rickshaw-pullers on his side. The others told him they were afraid of losing their hard-earned bread if they continued to fight for him. And so he is now alone. These days he has even stopped pulling a rickshaw.

THOUGH Atul Kumar Gupta's experience is certainly exceptional, there are 55,000 more unlicensed rickshaw-pullers like him in the city of Calcutta who reportedly pay a daily bribe of Rs 2-3 to police constables to be able to ply their vehicles. Why are the majority of rickshaws in Calcutta unlicensed?

A police official at Lalbazar said: "Unauthorised rickshaw licences have been issued to numerous people over the years. It is said that for every genuine metal licence plate issued by the Calcutta Corporation there are two, three or more forgeries. Moreover, many rickshaw-owners have had licences issued to them by local panchayats and municipal bodies outside the Calcutta Corporation area. These vehicles ply inside the city, though the rickshaws are registered at places where no hand-drawn rickshaws are used—only cycle-rickshaws are used in the suburbs. Also, the legal procedures to apprehend an unlicensed rickshaw-owner are rather cumbersome." On paper, rickshaw licences have not been issued since 1934 under the instructions of the Hackney Carriage Department of the erstwhile British Government!

Rickshaws are used for a number of purposes in Calcutta. In most residential localities they provide crucial links from the doorstep in an interior bylane to the main street. Rickshaws are also hired, sometimes on a monthly basis, for transporting children to and from school. Near Howrah and Sealdah station, however, rickshaws are primarily used to transport light cargo. In parts of central Calcutta, some rickshaw-pullers act as pimps during the evening and night.

The cost of constructing a rickshaw is about Rs 400. An average rickshaw-puller of Calcutta earns Rs 10-13 a day of which Rs 3 is paid to the owner. His earnings get nearly doubled during the rainy season when streets are flooded. His two daily meals usually consist of *sattu* (maize flour) with chillies and pickles.

PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA,
Calcutta

Raj Narain vowed not to shave till the Morarji Government fell. After it was all over, he went to Vindhyavasini temple in Allahabad for his 'mundan'.



Photographs by Electro Studio

Casteing names

IS Bose a surname or a caste name? The Madras City Corporation thinks it's a caste name and so the busy Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Road has been rechristened as N. S. Chandran Road, thus honouring the Tamil Nadu Government fiat that caste names should be removed from street nameboards. This wish was expressed a long time ago by the rationalist, E. V. Ramasamy Naicker ("EVR") who had successfully campaigned for the removal of the word "brahmin" from signboards of hotels. He couldn't, however, delete the caste names from street signs; ironically, EVR did not feel the urge to drop "Naicker" from his own name.

Even before the Corporation could work on the Government order, self-styled "rationalists"

went around the city at night blotting caste names on nearly 2,000 streets and roads. In their over-enthusiasm, they turned "Brahmin Street" into just "Street" while "Chetty Road" became only "Road"; no alternative names were given. The concrete slabs bearing "St. Mary's Street" posed problems; self-styled rationalists weren't sure if "St" was a caste name or "Mary" was. So in some places, they removed "St", and the street became Mary's Street. Elsewhere, it became "St...Street"! Some confusion prevails in Madras as Siva Naicker and Siva Pillai Streets in the same area now bear the names Siva Street, if one goes by the tarred streetboards.

The Shafi Mohammed Street doesn't contain the word "Mohammed" now. Writing in a Madras

daily, a reader S. M. Ali Mohammed observed: "...The officials and non-officials concerned are, as usual, more royal than the king. They have in certain cases tarred names not covered by the said Government order. Shafi Mohammed was a nationalist Muslim; a silver-tongued orator in Tamil, his meetings in the pre-Independence days were thronged by people to hear a Muslim speak in Tamil of "One India"...It is strange how any one could think that the word "Mohammed" is a caste name..."

The same Government order also prohibits the naming of streets and localities after living persons. Already Karunanidhi's name has been wiped out from a multi-storeyed building named after him. But a school named after MGR still functions under the original name.

ARTHUR PAIS, Madras

Amritraj family in big business

Nothing seems to be going right



The Amritraj brothers

BUSINESS acumen and tennis money are proving to be a poor-paying doubles combination for Indian tennis players. They have inevitably chosen the TV industry for investing their cash, perhaps with an eye on quick money. First to fault was Ramanathan Krishnan when he lost about Rs four to five lakhs bringing out the Krish TV set. He folded up fast and took up agency business with the help of top political contacts and is reported to have surfaced from financial ruin. Now follows the Amritraj family with the idea of setting up a 100 per cent export-oriented TV unit at Hosur, a backward district of Tamil Nadu. The project, placed on the drawing board two years ago, has yet to start production. This may not be possible in the near future.

Everything about the project seems to be wrong. To start with, the unit, styled Orient Vision, does not have a valid industrial licence and is based on imported TV technology which is banned. Usually a unit with an investment in plant and machinery up to Rs three crores does not need an industrial licence. But a licence is needed if the imported content is more than 30 per cent — and Orient Vision will be entirely dependent on imported parts and drawings. All the existing TV units in the country rely on indigenous technology though they use imported components like picture tubes.

The promoters of the project are the Amritraj family with Mr Robert Amritraj, the father of the famed Amritraj tennis players, acting as managing director. The chairman of the company is Mr K. V. Srinivasan of Standard Motors. The Amritrajs have been able to net a textile unit — Gomati Mills — apart from the

public sector Electronics Trade and Technology Development Corporation (ETIDC). The strategy is to get all the top men of established units to lend their name to the unit and probably to sort out any "business complications" which may arise.

But the strategy is not working. The three partners in the project — Mr K. V. Srinivasan, the Amritraj family and Gomati Mills — were to put up Rs six lakhs each as seed capital. But Gomati Mills have withdrawn from the project along with their Rs six lakhs and have declared that they are in no way connected with the project. The dropout followed a tiff between Gomati Mills and Mr Robert Amritraj over who should run the show. All the three Amritraj brothers are on the board of the unit which seems to have irked Gomati Mills as the latter do not have much confidence in the "entrepreneurial sense" of Mr Robert Amritraj. Now there are reports that even Mr K. V. Srinivasan is thinking of leaving the Amritraj family to run the show alone.

The total cost of the project is placed at around Rs 1.20 crores. At the initial stage a public issue of Rs 24 lakhs was proposed which is yet to materialise. The rest of the money is expected to flow from banks and financial institutions. The unit will be producing 12 inch portable TV sets which has a good market overseas though in India it has not been able to catch the customer's attention. The capacity of the unit is 2.4 lakh black and white TV sets per annum and this has been augmented by the Amritraj family buying the licences of three small scale TV units including that of Krish TV.

It is contended that even if the banks pull out, the Amritrajs can

foot the whole bill as the total assets of the Amritraj family is placed at well above Rs three crores. This excludes gifts like cars and yachts which the brothers have acquired playing tennis. All the three are non-residents of India. Ashok is a US citizen while Anand and Vijay stay at Bermuda, the tax haven for all moneyed men.

The money and the fabulous prizes have come from Vijay, Anand and Ashok who play "professional" tennis all over the world for about 11 months in a year. This, despite the fact that Vijay, the best among the three, is considered just about an average tennis player in the world tennis circuit. In the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) computer ranking he is placed as low as 27th with Anand at 110 and Ashok at 120.

Interestingly, the Amritraj family has some experience in small-scale business. Even when Mr Robert Amritraj was working in the railways, his wife ran a corrugated box unit behind their residence at Madras. The unit is still in operation and its entire output is absorbed by the Railways, thanks to Mr Robert Amritraj's connections with his former employers. It is said that Mrs Amritraj is the financial brain behind the group. It is to be seen if she can pull out Orient Vision from the mess which it seems to be in.

To top it all the project is facing a technical hitch, which may spell its doom. Many think that the unit will not be able to export at an economical price. The ETIDC has arranged for the import of portable TV technology from the USA through a New York based trading company — Broadmoor International — in which the son of a Madras businessman, Mr Alagapa Chettiar, is a partner. Mr Chettiar, according to the agreement, will be getting a commission on the deal.

Under the buy-back arrangement, the US company will buy 100,000, 12 inch portable TV sets every year for about five years. The cost of a single TV set comes to around \$35 per set which will be sold to the US at \$41. The selling price in other parts of the world has been worked out at \$49 per set. The margin of \$6 appears to be thin.

It seems that the Amritraj family has realised that a 100 per cent export oriented unit is uneconomical and has approached the Government for selling a part of their production in the domestic market. The portable TV set, if sold indigenously, will be priced at around Rs 1,300 per TV set and provide effective competition to the existing units, in turn forcing them to cut back their prices. But in the process the Amritrajs will be successfully killing the entire idea of a 100 per cent export-oriented TV unit.

P. DEVARAJAN, Bombay

Tackle inflation first

PROFESSOR J. K. GALBRAITH, perhaps the greatest living populariser of the somewhat forbidding subject of economics, has been interviewed at length by NICOLE SALINGER and



the result is "Almost Everybody's Guide to Economics" (published in India by Clarion Books, Price Rs 60). Here he explains everything you wanted to know about world money.

Q Can any country solve its economic problem by itself? Aren't all countries greatly interdependent? And let me ask another question: why have currencies become so unstable in these last years? The dollar, the franc, the pound, are always moving up or down in their exchange value, one for the other.

A: Interdependence is great and growing. Imports and exports are very important in the lives of all people in the industrial countries. And prices of both imports and exports are determined outside any given country or by movements in exchange rates. But a country's own inflation is the place to begin. If prices rise at different rates in different countries—the present situation—then exchange rates are certain to be unstable. If the inflation rate is very high in Britain, as it was until recently, then the pound goes down to compensate or more than compensate. That's because when British prices go up in relation to prices in other countries people stop buying British goods and travelling in Britain. Sterling, not being wanted, then declines in relation to francs or dollars. That restores the situation. A good thing too; otherwise no British goods would be sold at all. On the other hand, if prices are comparatively stable, as they have been in Switzerland, then the currency, in this case the Swiss franc, will be in demand to buy goods and travel. The franc gains in value in relation to other currencies. That makes Switzerland and Swiss products expensive for outsiders. And again a good thing for otherwise everyone would be in Switzerland buying more watches than even the Swiss could make.

This isn't the whole explanation. The Swiss franc has also been strong because Switzerland seeming to be a secure and reliable place, people have been using it as a safety deposit box. So when people from the Arab countries buy Swiss francs, that bids up the franc yet more, makes it even stronger and more than compensates for the stable prices.

In recent years countries that have been heavy importers of oil, the United States among them, have, in consequence, had large accumulations of their money (or its equivalent) in foreign hands—the money that paid for the oil. As foreigners have sought to get rid of the accumulations or convert them to other currencies, this has caused the currency in question to decline in exchange value. But, broadly speaking, currencies have been unstable because of inflation and specifically because inflation has been at different rates in the different industrial countries.

Q : What is a floating currency?

A : The term is a fraud. Economists and central bankers invented the reference to floating currencies when instability in the exchanges became inevitable. With prices rising at different rates in different countries, there was no chance for stability in the rate at which different currencies were exchanged. That was inconvenient. But what was inevitable and inconvenient could be improved by giving it a better name. So instead of speaking of currency instability or unpredictability or disorder or chaos, the term "floating currency" was invented. The Public heard the monetary experts and authorities speaking with wonderful solemnity of "the float" and imagined

that they had found something new. They hadn't. They were in a bad storm and called it atmospheric ventilation.

Q : Is stabilization possible? Isn't that what we mean by international monetary reform?

A : Monetary reform does mean some kind of stable exchange relationship between currencies. But it will not happen so long as inflation continues in the industrial countries. The price increases will be at different rates, and exchange rates will make compensatory adjustments. So when next you hear that the great men of the International Monetary Fund and the U.S. Treasury, the Federal Reserve System, the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank for International Settlements at Basel and other assorted gnomes are meeting on international monetary reform, you can be absolutely sure that nothing will happen unless, miraculously, inflation in the various countries concerned has first been brought under control. The great men will greatly enjoy seeing each other; they will speak admiringly of each other's wisdom as only bankers can; they will go to quite good restaurants. The Chairman of the Federal Reserve will come out to talk to the Press looking very solemn and the reporters will all swarm around him and say, "Sir, could you tell us how the meeting went this morning?" He will think carefully and say, "No comment". The reporters will assume that great things were decided.

Q : What was the "snake" and why did it go to pieces?

A : The "snake" which goes back to 1972, tied the various European currencies together into what was hoped would be a fairly stable exchange relationship, one with the other. It then provided that all would fluctuate together in relation to the dollar. But there were different rates of inflation in the different European countries—in the different segments of the "snake". So the "snake" broke apart—a painful thing, I'm told, for any snake. The countries with a higher rate of inflation eventually had to allow their currencies to depreciate in relation to the currencies of those with a lower rate. It's an outcome that should have been foreseen; in fact, if I may be allowed a word of self-praise, I did along with some others, foresee it. I told an exceptionally favoured audience of Zurich bankers two or three years ago that it would happen.

Q : What about the International Monetary Fund—doesn't it stabilize currencies? If not, what does it do exactly?

A : The IMF was created in the closing months of World War II and was largely the design of two men, John Maynard Keynes and Harry Dexter White of the United States Treasury. White was a highly intel-

ligent economist who died a little later of a heart attack after he had been accused of being a Communist. It was an improbable charge; good Communists don't spend their time creating things like the International Monetary Fund.

The Fund is essentially a bank which lends to countries that at the going exchange value of their currency, are having trouble exporting enough goods to earn the money they need to pay for imports and meet their debt obligations. It provides what are essentially stop-gap loans until better control of inflation, devaluation or some stroke of good fortune, such as the finding of oil by the British, allows the country to balance outgo with income again. Along with the loans, it also tenders highly unpopular advice on controlling inflation — advice which invariably includes a recommendation for a cutback in public expenditures. And, increasingly, it makes its loans conditional on accepting such advice. It's a rather large power in international economic affairs. A few weeks ago I went to Mexico to give some lectures, visit friends and respond to the invitation of the new president, who had just been inaugurated. There were news reports that I had been there as a secret agent of the IMF. A very bad thing, I discovered much like the CIA.

Q : Could you give a practical example of its operations — the IMF, I mean, not the CIA?

A : The recent British experience provides a good illustration. Since World War II the British have been having difficulty buying food and raw materials, including oil, and servicing their debt. Their manufactured goods were expensive; their industries were not as reliable on delivery dates and quality as those of their German or other competitors. In 1975-76 the pound fell, but it took time for this to have an effect on exports and it also raised prices of imported goods and added to living costs. So Britain borrowed heavily from the International Monetary Fund. And in keeping with IMF conditions, it had to make some budget cuts. It also got its wages and prices under better control. Presently the British were selling more in relation to what they were buying, and oil was flowing from under the North Sea more rapidly than anyone had expected. Foreigners began investing again in Britain. Englishmen stopped trying so hard to get their money into dollars and other currencies. Dollars and other foreign-currency balances accumulated in London, and it became possible to pay back loans. This is how the IMF smoothes over temporary difficulties, a useful thing. The economic advice is sometimes less useful; it runs to rather righteous warnings against being too generous to the poor. The IMF does not, I promise you, provide any permanent cure for currency instability. That cure will come only when inflation in all major countries is under control.

Q : If we agree that internal stabilization will come in different ways for different countries, what happens in the meantime?

When you hear that the great men of the IMF and the U.S. Treasury, the Federal Reserve System, the Bank of England, the Bank of France, Bank for International Settlements at Basel and other assorted gnomes are meeting on international monetary reform, you can be absolutely sure nothing will happen.

A : Exchange instability will continue. The currencies of those countries with a low rate of inflation will gain in exchange value. Countries with a high rate of inflation, which are having more trouble in developing the CIPP (comprehensive incomes and prices policy) will see their currencies go down.

Q : Does that mean that if the United States is slow in developing an incomes and prices policy, your CIPP, the dollar will be weak?

A : Yes. And we need to get our oil imports under control, too.

Q : But is any international stabilization really possible until the United States stabilizes prices?

A : Stabilization by the United States is decisively important, for we are a major factor in world trade. If prices in the United States are stable, a very large segment of all world trade is at stable dollar prices. Also, if dollars are stable, people will be willing to hold them and not try to get them into other currencies. That is an additional source of stability.

Further, if prices are stable in the United States and employment is good, other countries have a fixed point around which to shape their own policies. They can adjust to what they know will happen here. If their prices seem to be low and they are accumulating dollars, it will be an indication that they can let their wages and prices go up a bit, be a little more generous in the income they dispense. And if they are losing dollars, it will be a sign that their prices are too high, that they must keep a firmer hold on wages and other income. If there are inflation and unemployment in the United States and no one knows how much more to expect, economic management in other countries becomes much more difficult. So I attach great importance to stable prices and stable high employment in the United States. Every sensible French man or French woman should worry first about what Washington is doing and after that think about what is going on in Paris. In a rational world, all finance ministers of all the industrial countries would sit in on President Carter's meetings on economic policy.

Q : Isn't it unhealthy, even from the standpoint of an American, for so much to turn on American policy?

A : Certainly. The world would function much better with a strong, unified European community able effectively to express and implement its ideas on prices and employment. A second point of view always has a useful corrective influence. Also, our presidential system introduces a discontinuity — a period of change and

learning every four or eight years. A strong, articulate Europe would help overcome the effects of this recurrent lapse into on-the-job training.

Q : But Europe is still a long way from being unified.

A : A desire for unity certainly exists. The substance involves a lot more than the rhetoric of international cooperation usually implies. It requires a common fiscal and monetary policy, similar action on prices, wages and incomes, and this probably means a common government with power to adopt and enforce these measures. Only when one has all of these things can one have a common currency. All this is still considerably in the future.

Q : A minimum degree of cooperation is still useful, is it not?

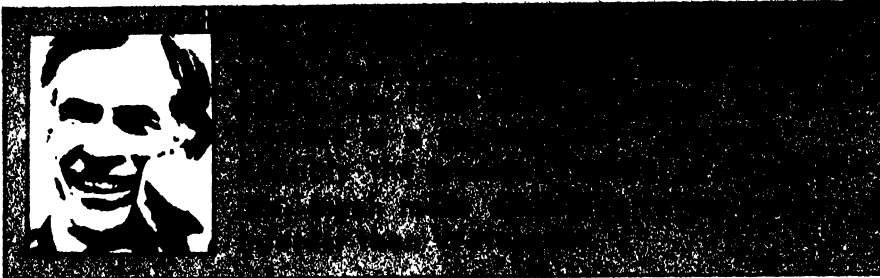
A : Oh, yes. For example, the development of a CIPP along the lines I outlined will be easier or more difficult as all have a common understanding of the goal and work in harmony to effect it. Then the price movements in one country are not so disruptive a force in others.

Q : Until Europe develops a common policy, must it adjust to a fluctuating American economy? It will be American and not European stability that counts?

A : American stability will be more important. But that shouldn't be an excuse in Europe for not trying. Our sins are great, but not everything should be blamed on us.

Q : Won't the prices charged by the OPEC countries and the other raw material producers be a continuing source of instability?

A : Oil prices surely are. But oil may be sui generis — a special case. When the oil cartel escaped from the rule of the market, we immediately thought about similar possibilities for wheat, copper, rubber, cocoa, marijuana and other basic materials. In fact, it isn't nearly so easy to run an international commodity agreement as is some times imagined. The oil cartel worked primarily because two countries, Saudi Arabia and Libya, were willing to accept reduced sales in return for the high prices. In the case of most other products, no one country wants to accept the reduction in sales and the resulting accumulation of inventories that, more or less inevitably, go with higher prices. So it cuts prices a little to keep its share of the market or maybe increase its share a little. Others then hear of or suspect the price-cutting and do the same. The chiselling increases, becomes epidemic and the agreement breaks down. This has been the general history of commodity agreements. At most they accomplish only with extreme difficulty



what a modern industrial oligopoly does so normally and naturally.

Q : How upsetting is the high oil price? Isn't it an important cause of inflation?

A : The worst feature is the very different impact on the external expenditures of different countries. Italy, for example, has great difficulty selling enough to pay for the oil for its big automobile population as well as for industrial and heating needs. Likewise Spain. In France it isn't easy. And the less-developed countries that have no oil but are sufficiently developed to use a great deal of it have been in serious trouble. They have been covering the cost of their oil purchases — and also other import needs — with bank loans, including loans from the large American banks. American banks in 1976 had loans to those countries of around \$45 billion and, in the case of Brazil, Peru, Zaire and some others, a good deal of worry about possible loss.

Q : Is this serious?

A : Not desperate. People who lend money must expect on occasion to lose money, and losses can be disguised. The debtor never wants it known that he has defaulted. The creditor never wants it known that he has made a foolish loan. So they get together in a conspiracy of concealment. They speak of extension, rolling over, refinancing, moratoria — all euphemisms for default. In the months and years ahead there will also be pressure on the IMF the U.S. Government, other governments and other public bodies to lend money to the poor countries. This, of course, will help them meet their debt service. We will again see that wonderful flexibility of the capitalist mind. The Citibank in New York is one of the big creditors. Mr Walter Wriston, its chairman, has long been contending for the world's record for speeches on the purity of private enterprise. But he will be rather tolerant of socialism where public aid to the debtor countries is involved. Or so I predict.

Q : Haven't some countries worked out their oil problems?

A : Yes. Japan, which has no oil, has sufficiently overcome the price increase so that it again has a big surplus of export revenue over payments. In Germany and Switzerland the process of accommodation is more or less complete. Exports have been increased; domestic use of gas has been held down in some cases.

Q : What is the prospect on oil prices?

A : In the immediate future there could well be enough new oil around

— from the North Sea, the North Slope, Mexico — so that the OPEC countries will be somewhat cautious about raising prices. But I do not know.

I can only let you in on a geological secret. The earth really turns on a great lubricating seal of oil about a mile down. If you drill deeply enough, you tap into that lubricant. The signal that we are exhausting our oil will be a loud squeaking sound under Riyadh. I offered that hypothesis in a speech in Washington once, and the ambassador from one of the OPEC countries, I later learned, cabled it home as a fact.

Q : Would it have helped us to have been able to foresee the quadrupling of the price of crude oil at the end of 1973?

A : Oh, sure. In the United States we, for a long while, limited oil imports by quotas in order to sustain our own prices, the effect being, of course, that we used up our own supplies. If we had foreseen OPEC and been sensible, we would have relied much more on imported oil and saved our own for the future. Now, of course, our reliance on foreign oil is increasing — up from around 35 per cent of consumption at the time of the Arab boycott in 1973 to about half in 1977.

Q : Why weren't you more sensible and farsighted?

A : The American oil companies, large and small, control a certain number of members of the Congress and handle them pretty much as the performers in a puppet show manipulate their puppets. A squeeze here, a squeeze there and the arms respond and the voice squeaks yes. It's very possibly the greatest scandal in our political life, much more damaging to the public interest than Watergate.

However the need for foresight is not peculiar to oil. It should now be accepted practice to keep all the prospective supplies and prices of all major materials under constant review and study, to conserve as needed and to have plans against the day of shortage. As our retreat from the market proceeds, there is no longer any market mechanism that ensures that supply will equal demand at prices people will find tolerable.

Q : What about your big energy programme?

A : It isn't very good. It depends for its effect, broadly speaking, on relatively small differences in prices — slightly higher prices for gasoline, slightly higher prices for big cars, slightly higher rates for

large users of energy, a slight price differential in favour of energy sources other than petroleum, quite a lot higher prices to stimulate the production of gas and oil. All experience shows that consumers don't respond much to higher prices of petroleum products, and prices were high enough to stimulate production before. You have seen the effect on consumption in France where prices are very high. A top Iranian official — it was the Shah, if I may drop a name — once told me with some indignation that the Government of France now gets more money out of a barrel of oil in taxes than Iran does in the price. Energy conservation in the United States will be minor as long as it depends on small or even sizable price increases.

Mr James Schlesinger, whom Mr Carter put in charge of the energy programme, was a student of economics at Harvard. Somewhere along the line we must have forgotten to tell him about the elasticity of demand and that it can be very low. A bad oversight.

Q : I understand that we should be cautious in the use of every important material. But aren't coal, energy, maybe nuclear energy, substitutes for oil?

A : They are. It's why we should plan intelligently and effectively but it has also, as you say, great capacity for substitution. During World War II, we made real efforts to deny ferro-alloys — the things you mix in with steel — to the Germans. Blockade, preemptive buying, bombing, were all used to deny them supplies of chrome, nickel, whatever. The Germans very quickly learned that there were far more possibilities for substitution than had previously been imagined. When we investigated after the war, we learned that they weren't really much hurt — that the cost to them of substitution was far less than the cost of the bombing we used trying to deny them the stuff. If in the 1920s and 1930s we had been told that we would have to do without natural rubber in a war, there would have been panic. Speeches of unimaginable gloom would have been made. Something might even have been done about it, although maybe a Schlesinger would have been invested as a substitute for action. Under the pressure of stark necessity in 1942, we found quite satisfactory substitutes. We should plan, but it should be an exercise of wisdom, not a form of escapism or an act of desperation.

Q : Can we go back to the strictly monetary scene? Is there a problem with the Eurodollars and now the petrodollars?

A : These are a symptom rather than a disease. In the Sixties and early Seventies the United States bought much larger quantities of goods in Europe and elsewhere than it was selling; it also had many more tourists visiting Notre Dame, the Louvre, the Place Pigalle and other centres of culture and rest than there were Europeans visiting the Grand Canyon and Times Square. In consequence, dollars accumulated

in Europe and these were augmented by Americans investing in European enterprises. That is all; the Eurodollars accumulated naturally from Americans buying more than they sold.

Similarly the accumulation of petrodollars. It is the result of the Saudi Arabians, the Libyans and the Emirates selling more oil in Europe than they can find hotels to buy or goods in Marks & Spencer. These big chunks of money, short-term deposits, then move like the armies of Genghis Khan over the known world, bidding up currency prices where they go, causing depreciation in the countries they leave behind. It's an embarrassment, but it's a result, not a cause.

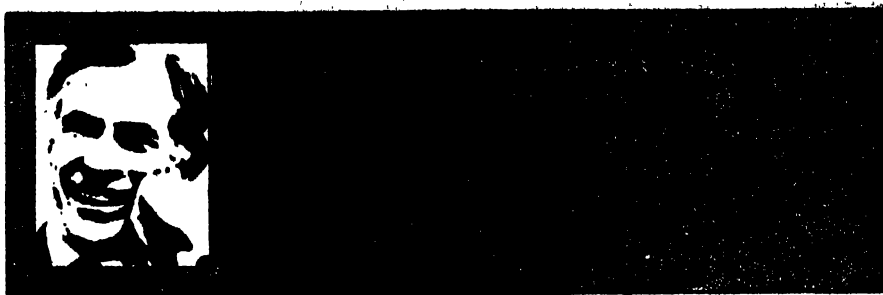
So long as the OPEC countries couldn't spend the European currencies and the dollars they earned, the accumulation of petrodollars was inevitable. But the Iranians, some of the Arab countries and the other OPEC members have learned to spend their money far, far faster than people expected. As this has happened, their contribution to the accumulation has diminished or stopped.

Q: Does the big expenditure for oil have a depressing effect on the French economy and on employment — and also in the United States? Monsieur Barre, our Premier, and President Carter have both said it costs us heavily in jobs.

A: If we bought, and the OPEC countries did not spend, it would. But as they have learned to spend — and some have truly mastered the art of extravagance — the money comes back for the purchase of machinery, equipment, Cadillacs and, unfortunately, a lot of guns and airplanes. But its net effect is depressing as well as distorting.

Q: When a currency depreciates, as the pound did recently, that country's products become cheap in the world market. Isn't this a subsidy, a kind of manipulation of exchange rates to improve trade? Some people call it monetary protection.

A: True. Although the effect soon wears off. It takes more of the depreciated currency to buy raw materials, food and other things the country has to import. As these go up in price, manufacturing costs rise, and so does the cost of living. That puts pressure on wages and leads to further rises in costs. So, before long, the products the country has to sell are marked up. The advantage from the depreciation is gone. And not only is the advantage temporary; not many countries now want to encourage and suffer the inflation which is involved. The Swiss and the Germans, as I've said, have chosen to let their currencies appreciate even at considerable cost to their export industries. Swiss watches have been very hard to sell in recent times because they must be purchased in very expensive francs. Swiss hotels and ski resorts have been underpopulated because not only have the Americans, Germans and French found it cheaper to go elsewhere but the Swiss themselves,



when they want to go skiing, find French mountains much cheaper than their own.

Q: So why wouldn't they depreciate a little bit?

A: To depreciate and make it stick, more people must want to sell your currency than to buy. That will be true if your prices have been high relative to those of other countries and foreigners have been selling you goods and not buying. Your currency will be in surplus, and by encouraging the sale of the surplus you can depreciate easily enough. But, if you have had no internal inflation, your currency will have been in demand to buy your goods. And people will seek it to hold. Then there is no accumulation to sell. This being so, though some manipulation is possible, it won't go down very far or for very long in relation to other currencies. The Swiss National Bank can sell Swiss francs and so expand the supply. And it can lend more freely and encourage the Swiss Government (with some difficulty I may say) to run a larger deficit. And wage restraints can be relaxed. Then the Swiss franc will fall in relation to other currencies but only because prices in Switzerland will be rising. Again, you see, the rate of internal inflation is ultimately the controlling factor.

I should add that the will to depreciate is not all that strong. For some years I've been a largely absentee professor at the University of Geneva, at the institute there which concerns itself with international affairs. No question is asked me so often as "why can't we let the franc fall a bit?" They could. But so long as the Swiss do not want internal inflation, they can't have much depreciation. The Swiss want also to maintain their reputation as reliable bankers who deal in a currency with reliable purchasing power and banking is, politically, an extremely influential industry in Switzerland. So the tourist and watch industries have, in some measure, been sacrificed to stable prices.

This, I should tell you, is my explanation; it's not a question to which everyone in Switzerland gives a clear answer. But the basic point is clear: the temptation to depreciate a currency in order to get a trade advantage is not nearly so great as was once imagined.

Q: Still, isn't there a chance that currency depreciation could lead to protectionism? We hear a lot about a return to protection.

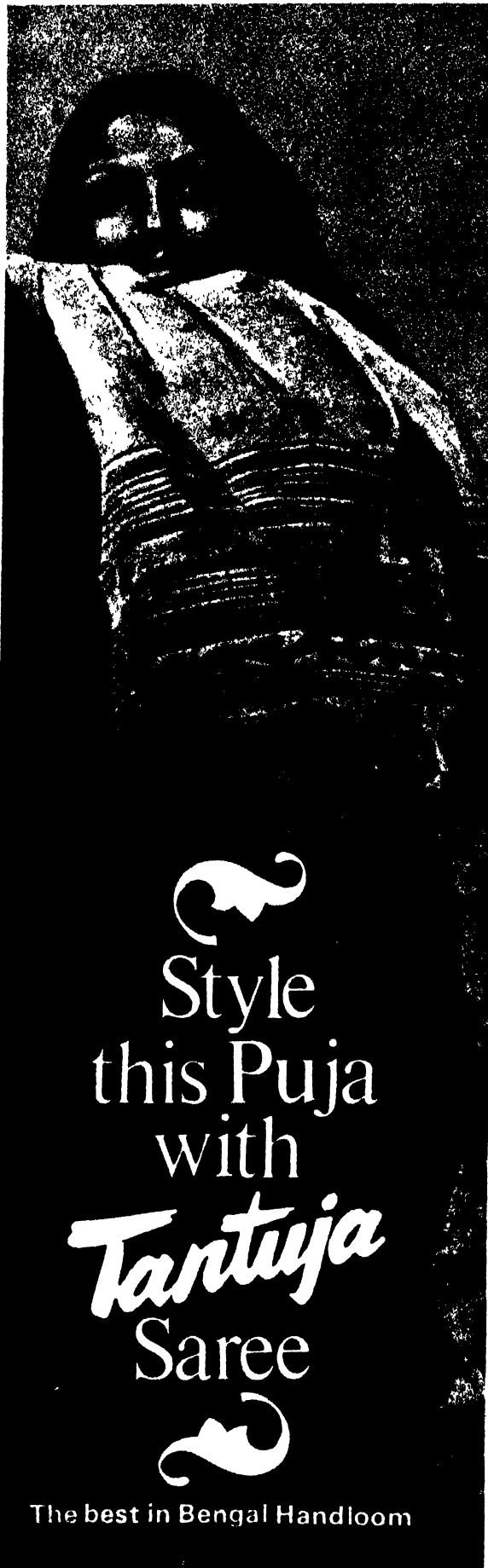
A: That change — or danger — exists. In the not distant past the

dollar was a bit high in relation to the yen. This and the efficiency of the Japanese caused buyers to swarm into Japan, Japanese goods to pour into the United States. In consequence, there was agitation for tariffs or quotas on Japanese textiles, steel and television sets. It has continued as the yen has gained. But the urge for protection must also be kept in perspective. Much of it now comes from textile or shoe manufacturers, national industries where firms are fairly numerous and small. And from the associated trade unions. Or it comes from older and inefficient national industries of which steel is the best example. Our steel industry has been drifting into obsolescence for years. And the large firms, as the industry itself recognizes, have been poorly managed — a domain of bureaucratic meatheads. There isn't much agitation for protection by the large international firms, those producing automobiles, chemicals, computers and the like. This brings us back to the role and power of the large transnational corporation. For this firm, operating as it does across national boundaries, tariffs are a nuisance. It wants to produce at the place of greatest overall advantage as regards cost, consumer persuasion, getting what it needs from the Government; often it will want to produce in one country, assemble in another. And, as I've said you will always be less concerned about foreign competition if you own the competitor. But more important than such ownership is the understanding between large transnational firms that prices should not be cut, that to do so is a disaster for all. Oligopolistic understanding operates, as one would expect, across national frontiers. Car or computer people don't engage in cut-throat price competition. So, in an economy dominated by large corporations with international operations, there is built in insurance against a protectionist revival.

Q: Does that apply to the Common Market?

A: Yes, the Common Market is a superb illustration of my point. Where does the agitation against the Common Market come from? Almost exclusively from small firms and from farmers in particular. The recent outcry in France against Italian wine imports is a case in point. Fiat, in contrast, knows that it must keep the peace with Renault and Citroen. It wouldn't think it wise to dump its cars at sacrifice prices.

I don't want to carry this point to extremes. Large firms that are in-



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efficient will seek protection. This explains the protectionist instinct of the French steel industry and now of the American steel industry. Our steel companies have just recently been providing us with another excellent example of the flexibility of the free enterprise mind. They have moved from a stirring demand for freedom from Government interference to a passionate demand for Government interference in the form of tariffs, quotas, minimum prices on imported steel and even Government-guaranteed loans for modernization of their plant.

Q: I think you are really saying that the large corporation has escaped from the market at home and also abroad, that it has escaped from free trade into its own form of protection!

A: I couldn't say it better. The big transnational or multinational firm has built-in protection from both domestic and foreign competition. So it doesn't need tariffs.

Q: Raymond Barre has recently said that the world needs organized free trade to offset chaotic economic trade relations. He urges consultation and agreement to regulate trade and ease the impact of changing trade patterns between countries.

A: Organized free trade could mean different things to different people. I'm not sure what Monsieur Barre has in mind. For some, it could signify a lot of protection. I'm not so emotionally committed to free trade that I welcome the pain it inflicts on ordinary people. Also, we've seen that the big international corporations have their own built-in protection. The pain inflicted by free trade is felt by smaller firms where the market still works.

Q: What would you do?

A: If textile imports into the United States from Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, are suddenly so large as to cause serious unemployment in the mill towns of the American South, I would negotiate limits on the inflow and allow time for a less painful adjustment. If French wine growers are going broke because of imports of Italian wine, I would again urge arrangements to ease the distress. I imagine that Monsieur Barre has this kind of regulation in mind, steps designed to minimize pain and shocks. One should always be suspicious of absolutes; any good economic policy should be open to compromise. And, needless to say, if Taiwan, Hong Kong, China or Japan is better at producing textiles than we are, they should be allowed to do it. They probably will, in any case. The more efficient producer usually triumphs in the long run.

Q: The producers of raw materials play a very important part in international trade. Are world trade relations shifting in their favour as their products become scarcer or they get better control of their prices? Are they the new rich countries?

A: Well, speaking as an American chauvinist, I certainly hope so. Nobody seems to have noticed



The French lesson consists in doing what seems most practical and then discovering the philosophical reason after the fact. And, finally, articulating that philosophy with much eloquence.

that we are the hewers of wood and the haulers of water for the rest of humankind. It's to the United States that the sophisticated world goes for the simple, unexciting products that are then processed by the more refined industries of other lands.

Q: What do you mean?

A: Where does the world go for bread, grains for its bakeries? First of all to the United States. And feedgrains to produce its meat and milk? Again the United States and for soybeans, for everything from food to plastics? Again the United States. Where does the raw cotton come from in great volume? The United States. And coal, the oldest and crudest of the industrial products — we send coal all the way to such developed countries as Japan. By all the conventional economic calculations, the United States is the first of the Third World countries I've long been urging that we should vote that way in the United Nations.

Q: But you don't export just raw materials?

A: We export raw materials in enormous volume. We also export computers and machine tools and machinery, and our blue jeans and phonograph records are the wonder of the world. We even send out an occasional Cadillac or Lincoln Continental to some OPEC land. But our balance of payments would be in worse condition than now if it weren't for our Third World products. You will see why I hope that the balance of trade shifts to the favour of the raw-material-producing countries — higher prices for raw materials, lower prices for manufactured and finished products.

Q: Is that the prospect?

A: I don't think so. The outlook still favours manufactured goods, and for reasons that we have seen. Most manufactured products come from the large corporations. The latter have the intrinsic power in their markets that is given by their size, including the power to control their prices and their costs. Most producers of raw materials and food have no such power or, if they do, they get it only with the assistance of their Governments. So the producers of manufactured products will continue to be in a better bargaining position, to have better control over their prices than those from whom they buy. Advantage will continue to be with the large, strong producer of highly processed industrial and manufactured products. We see, incidentally, how much is explained when the large corporation is given its proper place in economic discussion.

Q: What about the very poor countries like Egypt, India, Bangladesh, those that have no oil, no raw materials? What do they do? Can the rich countries and the IMF and the World Bank help them? Shouldn't the newly rich OPEC countries also help?

A: The World Bank has been a very useful institution — borrowing money in the rich countries investing in the poor. It has very much earned its keep. And I would like to see more of the oil money invested in the poor countries, although we cannot ask more of Saudi Arabia or Iran than we do of ourselves. But not everything will be solved by capital. That's too optimistic. In India, Egypt, Bangladesh and Pakistan, demography, the relationship of people to land and the age-old accommodation to poverty are the decisive factors. Not much of our discussion of these past days is relevant there. It's a different world.

Q: I have a couple of small points. The Germans and the Japanese have recently been urged by the United States to stimulate their economies in order to buy more of the world's goods at higher prices and to sell less. Is this the kind of co-ordination of economic policy that is needed?

A: In a primitive way. But, on balance, the Germans have managed their economic affairs better since World War II than the United States has. They are ahead of us in developing an incomes and prices policy. So perhaps we should be seeking advice from them. We need to remind ourselves that to be bigger is not necessarily to be wiser.

Q: What about France? Isn't there something on which we could instruct you?

A: The French lesson, as I've said, consists in doing what seems most practical and then discovering the philosophical reason after the fact. And, finally, articulating that philosophy with much eloquence. In the postwar years, when the world was still trying to operate with fixed exchange rates, there was a marvelous contrast between the French and the British practice. When internal price movements had made devaluation inevitable, the British would have six months of the most intense discussion. Active Parliamentary debates. Learned articles in *The Economist*. Even more learned letters to *The Times*. Incomprehensible discussions in the universities. The French, in contrast would devalue overnight without any discussion. It could be the better way. Do what seems practical or essential. Talk about it afterwards.

Beginning August 19

This week the Sun, Rahu and Venus are in Leo. Uranus is in Libra, Neptune is in Scorpio, Kethu is in Aquarius and Jupiter and Mercury are in Cancer. The Moon will be moving through Cancer and Leo from Gemini. Mar's position may prove unlucky for politicians and the Government itself. Mars is in Gemini.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20). This will be a week of mixed fortunes but there is nothing to get worried about. The financial front may suffer a minor setback; this will only be a temporary phase. Domestic bliss will add to your happiness. Elders will prove helpful in your ventures. You may also inherit property. An elderly female relative may oppose your plans. **Good dates:** 21, 22 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 5. **Favourable direction:** North-west.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) You will enjoy a measure of good luck this week. You are, however, advised against taking anything for granted. Do not be extravagant and do not try to push your luck a bit too far. Pay attention to your profession and business affairs and act upon the advice of your elders. You must not change your residence. Deal tactfully with domestic matters. **Good dates:** 19, 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 6. **Favourable direction:** South.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 22) This will be an auspicious week, thanks to benign stellar influences. Rapid expansion in business is indicated and some people may also win a lottery prize. A secret association will prove extraordinarily helpful. You will win the praise of everyone around you. Keep your temper under control. You may undertake a journey. **Good dates:** 19, 20, 21 and 24. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) You are advised to conserve your resources and patiently consolidate your recent gains. This will surely lead to a successful week. Some people born under this star may also be promoted. Discretion should be your watchword. Your domestic life will bring a lot of joy and happiness. You will receive letters. **Good dates:** 20, 23 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 9. **Favourable directions:** North and West.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) You are advised not to make any erratic changes. Exercise care and restraint in dealing with your elders. Employers should be kept in good humour. In property matters, luck will favour you. Love and romance should not come in the way of your duty; this can prove more expensive than you can imagine. Check extravagance. **Good dates:** 22, 23 and 24. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 10. **Favourable direction:** West.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) Your financial front will prosper to no end if you are wisely guided by your own hunches and intuition. A sad event may occur in the family. Safeguard your womenfolk. The advice of family friends and elders should be taken seriously. Do not quarrel. This week is not favourable for love and romance. **Good dates:** 20 and 22. **Lucky numbers:** 9 and 11. **Favourable directions:** South and West.



LIBRA (September — October 22) A good opportunity will surely come your way this week. You must seize it and make the best of it. Promotion is on the cards, especially for people in service. You may make sudden gains and you are advised to consolidate your gains. You may encounter serious opposition too. Check extravagance. Go ahead with your plans; **Good dates:** 20, 24 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable direction:** West.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) This will prove to be a very successful week for you, both socially and financially. You may make a very significant change in your career for the better. You may also have to change your residence. Your domestic front will remain peaceful. Romance is indicated. **Good dates:** 19, 20, 23 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 1 and 10. **Favourable directions:** South and East.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) Pay attention to business details. Be prepared for obstructions and delays both with regard to business and domestic affairs. Take nothing for granted, especially where property matters are concerned. Treat your elders with veneration and respect. A minor ailment is indicated. Proceed discreetly. **Good dates:** 21, 23 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 8. **Favourable direction:** South.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) This is the time to take a short holiday and relax. Of late, you have been overexerting yourself. Pay heed to your hunches and intuition. Recent problems will gradually cease to worry you. However, you need to be on your guard for some more time. A journey you had planned may have to be postponed. **Good dates:** 22, 23 and 24. **Lucky numbers:** 7 and 10. **Favourable direction:** West.

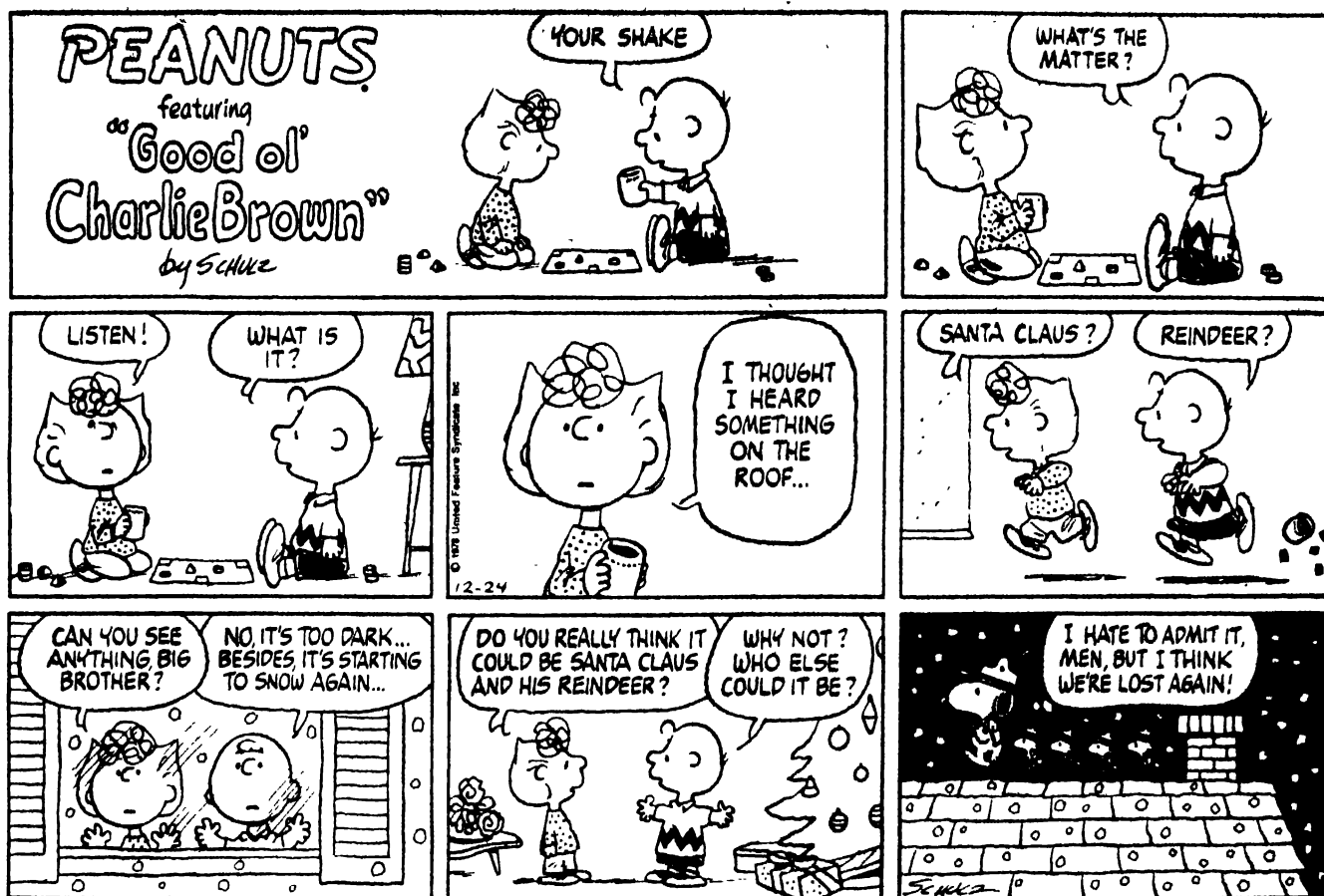


AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) This will be a week of mixed fortunes. Take things easy; there is absolutely no point in exerting yourself. Elders will prove very helpful and you may gain in property matters. Circumspection will be rewarded in many cases by promotion and success in business ventures. **Good dates:** 19, 20, 21 and 25. **Lucky numbers:** 3 and 9. **Favourable directions:** South and West.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20) Your outlook is fine. This is the time to begin a new venture and decide on a reasonable change. Go ahead with your plans; your prospects are bright. Success in business and financial affairs will be accompanied by domestic peace for most people. You may encounter some opposition from an old person or member of the other sex. **Good dates:** 21 and 23. **Lucky numbers:** 2 and 7. **Favourable direction:** East.

M. B. RAMAN



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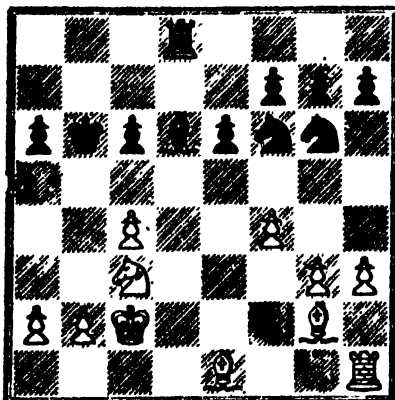
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chess

Soviet superstar Sergevsky (Black).



Vatakrap (White) to move
Position after Black's 27th move

THERE has been much talk in recent times about the rising young crop of English players, but what about the Russians? Whom have they produced? Of course it is not always so easy to obtain accurate information from that part of the world, but there has been a lot of exciting speculation about a little-known young Estonian by the name of Loony Vatakrap. Loony is a Finnish name, but many Finns have Estonian names and vice-versa. Probably his parents are of Finnish ancestry. Anyway, whatever his origins he has certainly made startling progress. Three times Estonian Champion, he first won the title at the ripe old age of 15.

Although the name Vatakrap is new to us, he is exceedingly well-known as a child prodigy in his own country. He was once trained by the late Paul Keres (the greatest Estonian chessplayer of all time), who predicted a bright future for his young protégé. Keres' prophecy has proved to be well founded. Indeed the spectacular results of Loony Vatakrap can be compared only with those of Anatoly Karpov himself.

Loony's talents, however, are not confined to the chessboard. He is a promising young table tennis player, a member of the victorious Estonian Young Pioneers' ice hockey team and pole vault champion of Pärnu. The subject of much public and official acclaim, he has already received awards ranging from 'Honoured Comrade of the Soviet Proletariat' to 'Hero of the Trade Union Sports Committee of Estonia'.

The names of Vatakrap are not well known outside Russia partly because he has never played outside his motherland. He has, however, won some very fine games inside the USSR. Here is a very mature win from the youthful Loony. Note the style is very Karpovian.

White Vatakrap Black Sergevsky

1. P-K4, P-Q3; 2. P-Q4, N-KB3; 3. N-QB3, QN-Q2; 4. KN-K2, P-QN4; 5. N x P, N x P; is good for Black.

6. P-K5, P x P; 6. P x P, N x P; 7. Q x Q+, K x Q; 8. N x P, P-QR3; 9. N(B)-Q4, B-N2; 10. B-B4, N-N3; 11. O-O-O1 For it 11. ... N x B then 12. N-K6+ and mate next move!

11. ... K-B1; 12. B-Q2, P-K3; 13. N-QN3, N-N5; 14. B-K1, B-Q3; Black seems to have a good game, but the weakness of the split queenside pawns must tell in the long run

15. P-KR3, N-B3; 16. N-R6, R-Q1; 17. A-QB4, N-B5; 18. N x B, K x N; 19. K-B2, B-K4; 20. N-B3, R x R; 21. N x R. From this point onwards White's long term advantages begin to make themselves felt. 21. ... R-Q1; 22. P-KN3, N-N3; 23. B-N2, K-N3; 24. N-B3, B-Q5; 25. N-K2, B-K4; 26. P-B4, B-Q3; 27. N-B3, P-B3 (DIAGRAM); 28. P-B6+! B x P; Or 28. ... K x P; 29. B-B2+, and now (i) 29. ... K-B5; 30. P-R3! Intending B-B1 mate (ii) 29. ... K-N5; 30. B-N6, R-QN1; 31. P-R3+, K-B5; 32. B-B1 mate. 29. N-B4+, K-N4; 30. K-N3! Threatening B-B1+. 30. ... R-Q5+; 31. B-B3, R x B+. There is nothing else to be done. 32. N x R+, K-R4; 33. N-R4, B-B7; 34. R-QB1, N-K2; Or 34. ... B x P; 35. R-B5 mate. 35. R-B2, B-K6; 36. B x P, N-R4; 37. B-K6, N x NP; 38. K-B4, N-Q1; 39. P-R3, N-N3+; 40. K-Q3, N x N; 41. K x B, N-B4+; 42. K-Q3 resigns. There is no answer to the threat of P-N4+

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

THIS deal from rubber bridge was amusing because the declarer took so many wrong turnings. He still survived till near the finish.

Dealer, West. Game all.

♠ A K J 5

♥ K 7 4

♦ —

♣ K 10 8 6 3 2

♠ 10 4

♥ A Q J 10 6 5 2

♦ 8 6 4 2

♣ —

♠ 9 7 6 2

♥ 8 3

♦ J 9

♣ A J 9 7 4

♠ Q 8 3

♥ 9

♦ A K Q 10 7 5 3

♣ Q 5

West opened Three Hearts and North ventured an overall of Four Clubs. East passed and South bid Five Diamonds, which was reasonable enough. This was passed out.

West began with Ace and Queen of hearts. First problem: should declarer play the King or take the ruff in hand?

At first it may look right to ruff in hand, play off the top diamonds, and turn to spades if ♠ J does not fall in three rounds. However, this is not necessarily correct, because if the player with four diamonds holds three spades declarer may still not be able to dispose of his two clubs in time. It is therefore better to take ♠ K while this card is not likely to be ruffed.

South in practice went up with ♥ K and discarded a club. The next question was how to cross to hand. Instead of risking a round of spades, South played a heart and East inserted the Jack of diamonds.

It seems obvious now to discard the second club, but this would have been fatal as the cards lie, because a club from East would promote a trump trick for West. South in fact overruffed and drew three rounds of trumps, arriving at this position:

♠ A K J 5

♥ —

♦ —

♣ K 10 8

♠ 10 4

♥ J 10 6 5

♦ 8

♣ —

♠ 9 7 6 2

♥ —

♦ —

♣ A J 9

♠ Q 8 3

♥ —

♦ 7 5 3

♣ Q

Now the declarer played on spades, hoping that three rounds would stand up and

that he would be able to discard his club loser in time. Foolish, of course, because West had already shown seven hearts and four diamonds, so could not hold three spades. If South simply exits with a diamond he still makes the contract, because West is void of clubs.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



FAMOUS German ships are depicted in the 1977 series of children's charity stamps being issued in West Germany and West Berlin. Each stamp is sold at a small premium above its face value for postage, the extra money raised by sales being donated to charitable societies helping invalid and handicapped children. The ships range from a fourteenth century Hanseatic cog to the transatlantic liner Bremen (above). Launched in July 1928, on the day after her sister ship Europa, the Bremen easily won the Atlantic Blue Riband on her maiden voyage. She was badly damaged in an air raid on Bremerhaven in 1941 and had to be broken up. Other stamps show the five-masted sailing ship Preussen and the liner Cap Polonio.

C.W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1. What sprang out from Medusa's body at her death?
2. What does Shinto mean?
3. Who developed macadam used for laying roads?
4. In commerce, what is Earnest Money?
5. What was Jonathan's Coffee House?
6. What is the origin of the word pogrom?
7. Who is the present Poet Laureate?

1. Pegasus, the winged horse in Greek mythology.
2. The Chinese for the Japanese term 'kami no Michi' i.e. the way of the gods.
3. John L. McAdam, an English contractor, about 1815.
4. Payment made to make blind-contractor, about 1815.
5. Place where stockbrokers met before the opening of the London Stock Exchange.
6. Russian word meaning destruction.
7. Sir John Belknap. He succeeded Cecil Day Lewis in 1972.

ANSWERS



NEW DELHI : A woman chain-snatcher swallowed a gold chain near the Rajouri Garden Chowk moments before she was caught by the public. The chain was allegedly snatched by Gujji from a woman passenger while the latter was boarding the bus. The victim, Surinder Rani, realised that someone pulled out her chain and chased the snatcher along with the co-passengers. When the snatcher knew she would be caught, she swallowed the chain. At the police station the snatcher denied having taken the chain. She was however, x-rayed at a clinic and the chain was taken out after a stomach wash—*Hindustan Times* (Rajesh Karnik, New Delhi)

RAJKOT : The story of a father who sold his minor daughter to compensate his losses on gambling has come to light. A farmer of Amarnagar in Amreli District of Gujarat, lost Rs 3000 in gambling. The amount was beyond the financial capacity of the farmer. He sold his 13-year-old daughter, through a broker, to a 45-year-old farmer to a neighbouring village said a report reaching here. The girl, it is alleged, was criminally assaulted by the buyer resulting in physical injuries to her. She had to be hospitalised. Meanwhile a maternal relative

of the girl came to know of the "deal" and reported it to police—*Deccan Herald* (S. Krishna Murthy, Bangalore)

CHIKMAGALUR : As news of a woman giving birth to a chicken spread like wild-fire, estate labourers of the same village about 100 km from here rushed to have a sight of it. Sure enough they found a chicken minus the feathers and wings. A few sceptical villagers carried it to the Kalsa Government General Hospital where a lady doctor summoned the mother, an estate work-woman. After a thorough medical check-up it came to be known that the woman was never pregnant and had not given birth to a chicken or a baby. Subsequent investigations revealed that the labourer and her husband played the modus operandi to avail themselves of maternity benefits from the estate owner during the current rainy season. It is reported the couple had a chicken baby last year too but they buried before anyone could lay hands on their issue—*The Searchlight* (Shailendra Kumar Jha, Patna)

NEW DELHI : Unhappy over the thought that the society was against their plan to get married, 24-year-old Narinder Kumar, a shopkeeper, and 20-year-old Kanchen Chugh, both of Wazirpur J. J. Colony, committed suicide in New Delhi. They lay on the railway track near Azadpur-Subzi- mandi section until a running train severed their heads from their bodies. Police found a bunch of keys from Kumar's pocket and one of them helped unlock a briefcase which lay nearby. A suicide note, written in Hindi, was found in it. Both of them wrote to their respective parents that "We have come to the conclusion that our parents and society are against our getting married and therefore, we are ending our life"—*The Statesman* (Mandira Sinha, Ranchi)

I CAN be Prime Minister only when the common people have the same views as myself... If Chaudhury Saheb does not fulfil the expectations of the people then the people might well say 'Raj Narain, you become Prime Minister' — Raj Narain quoted in the *Indian Express*

CHARAN SINGH will rule at my pleasure or he won't rule at all — Mrs Indira Gandhi quoted in *Newsweek*

A **TIGER**, even when hungry, will not eat grass. I did not want to survive by taking her (Mrs Gandhi's) support — Morarji Desai

I HAD never seen so much filth in any Government — Piloo Mody

THE CHARAN SINGH group swung from total capitulation in June 1977 to complete discard in 1979. Such a stand was beyond me as I am not that dynamic — Chandrashekhar

THOSE WHO treat me as an out-cast in their public utterances, approach me secretly for support — Mrs Gandhi

GANDHI CREATED in the country a hunger for freedom. What we all have to create now is hunger for equality — Raj Narain

I HAVE been always more political than he (Jimmy Carter) is. I can get closer to the people than he can, and then I can go back and talk to him about their hopes and dreams... He uses me as a sounding board — Rosalyn Carter, wife of US President Jimmy Carter

humour in real life



CHILDREN DAY celebration invitation of a kindergarten school ended with a note : 'PLEASE DO NOT BRING CHILDREN'—Satya Swaroop Dutt, Jamshedpur

SIGN AT a florist shop—Govind Fool Bhandar—Mrs P. Shanta, New Delhi

dia abroad

LONDON : Mr Timothy Raison, Minister of State at the Home Office agreed to defer the deportation to India of the three teenage sons of Mrs Manju Patel. Mr Patel left her sons behind with their grandparents when she came legally to Britain four years ago, but brought them to Britain earlier this year when she was told that the grandparents were now too old to look after them properly. A Home Office spokesman said that although Mrs Patel had been told four times that she would have to apply for entry certificates for the boys she had failed to do so. Consequently they were now classed as illegal immigrants and would have to be deported. Plans

had been made to fly them back to India. Mrs Radford of the Asian Women's Organization in Britain said a fund had been set up to fly Mrs Patel to India with her sons and apply for entry certificates there. Although Mrs Patel had initially rejected the plan and said "India is not my home, I have no reason for going there", a Home Office statement said: "In the circumstances Mr Raison is prepared to defer the return of the children for a day or two in order to make possible for Mrs Patel to accompany them." He saw no reason to believe that there would be any problem in bringing the children back—*The Statesman*



Hindu Chatterjee

BIJU'S GAMBIT FAILS

TWO days before he finally quit the Janata Party to join the ranks of Mr Raj Narain's Janata(S), Mr Biju Patnaik went to Mr Morarji Desai seeking the scrapping of the Ghattani inquiry against him. The inquiry by the jurist member of the Janata Parliamentary Party was initiated on the basis of charges submitted by a fellow Janata MP from Bihar, Mr P. R. Sarangi. Both the accuser and the accused had submitted their resignations to Mr Desai and the latter was authorised to accept the one who failed to vindicate his stand. If Ghattani found Biju clean Sarangi would lose his Lok Sabha seat and if Biju was found guilty he

would lose his seat. Biju, knowing the evidence against him, wanted to wriggle out of the inquiry and went to Mr Desai to bargain his continued membership of the Janata Party with only one condition: Scrap the inquiry. Morarji said, nothing doing. Biju then walked out. Mr Ghattani is expected to submit his report soon. Now, can Biju flout the gentlemen's agreement, arguing that since he is no longer a member of the Janata Party he will not abide by the findings and resign his seat? In any case if Mr Desai actually has Biju's resignation with him, can he send it to the Speaker and will the Speaker be bound to take cognizance of it? What is the Constitutional position? After endless discourses on the powers of the President, this can perhaps now keep the 'experts' busy.

NO GAMBLER, HE

WHY did the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Mr Charan Singh, resign from the Morarji Government only after Mr Desai had submitted the resignation of his Government? Mr Singh resigned early on July 16 whereas Mr Desai tendered the resignation of his Council of Ministers on the 15th afternoon. According to the knowledgeable, Mr Singh did not want to take any chances. If Mr Desai had somehow survived, Mr Singh did not want to lose his place in the Government for the uncertain gamble of joining the Janata(S). But with the capitulation of Mr Desai, his number two in the Cabinet had no choice but to join the Janata(S) of Mr Raj Narain. Mr Singh might have continued in the Desai Government until the very end but was

working against it from within. He phoned All India Radio while still being a member of the Desai Cabinet to ask the broadcasters to play up the Janata(S) and to give the strength of the break-away group as claimed by Mr Narain and Mr Bagri.

QUID PRO QUO

TWO appointments made by the Charan Singh Government within days of its assuming office are self-explanatory. Mr U. C. Tiwari, who was very close to the Emergency bigwigs and was a terror as a censor officer and before that had a mysterious role to play in the L. N. Mishra case, has now been appointed the new director of the All India Radio news services division. Mr Lal Narain Sinha, who bravely defended the

Emergency powers by opposing the grant of habeas corpus during the 18-month period in his capacity as the Solicitor-General of the Government of India, has now been brought back as the Attorney-General by the Charan Singh Government. The two appointments are sops Mr Singh has offered to Mrs Gandhi to get her support for his Government.

HARD TO GET

HEARD in the Press Information Bureau lounge: Information officer to correspondents: "Please come and meet the new Minister. He might give you a good story." Correspondents: "No Press conference before August 20. First let us find out if the Minister is here to stay or is going out in another ten days." Result: No Press conference.

LEFT UNITY

SUBHADRA JOSHI, president of the Delhi Pradesh Congress(S), who is the chairman of the Qaumi Ekta Trust, has closed down the Ekta Press in Okhla, thus rendering 42 workers jobless. While several workers have left after accepting whatever compensation was offered, the rest have taken their case to the conciliation authorities. Meanwhile, Mrs Joshi, wife of the veteran CPI leader, Mr B. D. Joshi has sold the press to the CPI(M). This will certainly 'fix' the unruly workers. It is a 'Sangani' of the Congress(S), CPI and the CPI(M). A good beginning for the unity of the left democratic forces! Left high and dry, the hapless workers are continuing their fight for justice against heavy odds, for even the conciliation officer is hesitant because of the management's 'top connections'. It is not for nothing that Mr Nehru called Mrs Joshi the 'Rani of Jhansi', though he must have been patting her on the back for her fight against a different kind of enemy.

TAILPIECE: Heard in the corridors of the Defence Ministry: The new Minister of State for Defence Production, Mr Jagbir Singh, wants to know what the department has got to do with the ordinances. The secretary tells him: Nothing. We do not deal with ordinances but with ordinance factories.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN



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